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THE HISTORY OF THE DECLINE AND FALL OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE.

VOLUME THE SECOND.

370.d

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THE

HISTORY

OF THE

DECLINE AND FALL

OF THE

ROMAN EMPIRE.

MVSEVM
BRITANNICVM

By EDWARD GIBBON, Esq;

VOLUME THE SECOND.

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MVSEVM
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A MAP of the EASTERN PART of the ROMAN EMPIRE.

By Thos Kitchin Senr Hydrographer to his Majesty.

Roman Miles of 75 to a Degree. 75 150

Greek Stadia of Eight to a Roman Mile 600 1200

English Miles. 50 100 200

Parasangs or Leagues of 25 to a Degree. 25 50 75

The Arabs often assumed a licentious Privilege of encamping on the Skirts of Mesopotamia Syria & Egypt.

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Longitude E. from Ferro

THE HISTORY OF THE DECLINE AND FALL OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE.

CHAP. XVII.

Foundation of Conſtantinople.—Political Syſtem of Conſtantine, and his Succeſſors.—Military Diſcipline.—The Palace.—The Finances.

CHAP. XVII.

THE unfortunate Licinius was the laſt rival who oppoſed the greatneſs, and the laſt captive who adorned the triumph, of Conſtantine. After a tranquil and proſperous reign, the Conqueror bequeathed to his family the inheritance of the Roman Empire; a new capital, a new policy, and a new religion; and the innovations which he eſtabliſhed have been embraced and conſecrated by ſucceeding generations. The age of the great Conſtantine and his ſons is filled with important events; but the hiſtorian muſt be oppreſſed by their number and variety, unleſs he diligently ſe-

CHAP. XVII.

parates from each other the ſcenes which are connected only by the order of time. He will deſcribe the political inſtitutions that gave ſtrength and ſtability to the empire, before he proceeds to relate the wars and revolutions which haſtened its decline. He will adopt the diviſion unknown to the ancients, of civil and eccleſiaſtical affairs: the victory of the Chriſtians, and their inteſtine diſcord, will ſupply copious and diſtinct materials both for edification and for ſcandal.

Deſign of a new capital. A. D. 324.

After the defeat and abdication of Licinius, his victorious rival proceeded to lay the foundations of a city, deſtined to reign, in future times, the miſtreſs of the Eaſt, and to ſurvive the empire and religion of Conſtantine. The motives, whether of pride or of policy, which firſt induced Diocletian to withdraw himſelf from the ancient ſeat of government, had acquired additional weight by the example of his ſucceſſors, and the habits of forty years. Rome was inſenſibly confounded with the dependent kingdoms which had once acknowledged her ſupremacy; and the country of the Cæſars was viewed with cold indifference by a martial prince, born in the neighbourhood of the Danube, educated in the courts and armies of Aſia, and inveſted with the purple by the legions of Britain. The Italians, who had received Conſtantine as their deliverer, ſubmiſſively obeyed the edicts which he ſometimes condeſcended to addreſs to the ſenate and people of Rome; but they were ſeldom honoured with the preſence of their new ſovereign. During the vigour of his age, Conſtantine, according to the various exigencies of peace and war, moved with ſlow dignity, or with active diligence, along the frontiers of his extenſive dominions; and was always prepared to take the field either againſt a foreign or a domeſtic enemy. But as he gradually reached the ſummit of proſperity and the decline of life, he began to meditate the deſign of fixing in a more permanent ſtation the ſtrength as well as majeſty of the throne. In the choice of an advantageous ſituation, he preferred the confines of Europe and Aſia; to

to curb, with a powerful arm, the barbarians who dwelt between the Danube and the Tanais; to watch with an eye of jealouſy the conduct of the Perſian monarch, who indignantly ſupported the yoke of an ignominious treaty. With theſe views, Diocletian had ſelected and embelliſhed the reſidence of Nicomedia: but the memory of Diocletian was juſtly abhorred by the protector of the church; and Conſtantine was not inſenſible to the ambition of founding a city which might perpetuate the glory of his own name. During the late operations of the war againſt Licinius, he had ſufficient opportunity to contemplate, both as a ſoldier and as a ſtateſman, the incomparable poſition of Byzantium; and to obſerve how ſtrongly it was guarded by nature againſt an hoſtile attack, whilſt it was acceſſible on every ſide to the benefits of commercial intercourſe. Many ages before Conſtantine, one of the moſt judicious hiſtorians of antiquity [1] had deſcribed the advantages of a ſituation, from whence a feeble colony of Greeks derived the command of the ſea, and the honours of a flouriſhing and independent republic [2].

Situation of Byzantium.

If we ſurvey Byzantium in the extent which it acquired with the auguſt name of Conſtantinople, the figure of the Imperial city may be repreſented under that of an unequal triangle. The obtuſe point, which advances towards the eaſt and the ſhores of Aſia, meets and repels the waves of the Thracian Boſphorus. The northern ſide of the city is bounded by the harbour; and the ſouthern is waſhed by

Deſcription of CONSTANTINOPLE.

[1] Polybius, l. iv. p. 423. edit. Caſaubon. He obſerves that the peace of the Byzantines was frequently diſturbed, and the extent of their territory contracted, by the inroads of the wild Thracians.

[2] The navigator Byzas, who was ſtyled the ſon of Neptune, founded the city 656 years before the Chriſtian æra. His followers were drawn from Argos and Megara. Byzantium was afterwards rebuilt and fortified by the Spartan general Pauſanias. See Scaliger Animadverſ. ad Euſeb. p. 81. Ducange Conſtantinopolis, l. i. part i. c. 15, 16. With regard to the wars of the Byzantines againſt Philip, the Gauls, and the kings of Bithynia, we ſhould truſt none but the ancient writers, who lived before the greatneſs of the Imperial city had excited a ſpirit of flattery and fiction.

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the Propontis, or ſea of Marmara. The baſis of the triangle is oppoſed to the weſt, and terminates the continent of Europe. But the admirable form and diviſion of the circumjacent land and water cannot, without a more ample explanation, be clearly or ſufficiently underſtood.

The Boſphorus.

The winding channel through which the waters of the Euxine flow with a rapid and inceſſant courſe towards the Mediterranean, received the appellation of Boſphorus, a name not leſs celebrated in the hiſtory, than in the fables, of antiquity [3]. A crowd of temples and of votive altars, profuſely ſcattered along its ſteep and woody banks, atteſted the unſkilfulneſs, the terrors, and the devotion of the Grecian navigators, who, after the example of the Argonauts, explored the dangers of the inhoſpitable Euxine. On theſe banks tradition long preſerved the memory of the palace of Phineus, infeſted by the obſcene harpies [4]; and of the ſylvan reign of Amycus, who defied the ſon of Leda to the combat of the Ceſtus [5]. The ſtreights of the Boſphorus are terminated by the Cyanean rocks, which, according to the deſcription of the poets, had once floated on the face of the waters; and were deſtined by the gods to protect the entrance of the Euxine againſt the eye of profane curioſity [6]. From the Cy-

[3] The Boſphorus has been very minutely deſcribed by Dionyſius of Byzantium, who lived in the time of Domitian (Hudſon Geograph. Minor. tom. iii.), and by Gilles or Gyllius, a French traveller of the XVIth century. Tournefort (Lettre XV.) ſeems to have uſed his own eyes and the learning of Gyllius.

[4] There are very few conjectures ſo happy as that of Le Clerc (Bibliotheque Univerſelle, tom. i. p. 248.), who ſuppoſes that the harpies were only locuſts. The Syriac or Phœnician name of thoſe inſects, their noiſy flight, the ſtench and devaſtation which they occaſion, and the north wind which drives them into the ſea, all contribute to form this ſtriking reſemblance.

[5] The reſidence of Amycus was in Aſia, between the old and the new caſtles, at a place called Laurus Inſana. That of Phineus was in Europe, near the village of Mauromole and the Black Sea. See Gyllius de Boſph. l. ii. c. 23. Tournefort, Lettre XV.

[6] The deception was occaſioned by ſeveral pointed rocks, alternately covered and abandoned by the waves. At preſent there are two ſmall iſlands, one towards either ſhore: that of Europe is diſtinguiſhed by the column of Pompey.

anean

anean rocks to the point and harbour of Byzantium, the winding length of the Boſphorus extends about ſixteen miles[7], and its moſt ordinary breadth may be computed at about one mile and a half. The *new* caſtles of Europe and Aſia are conſtructed, on either continent, upon the foundations of two celebrated temples, of Serapis and of Jupiter Urius. The *old* caſtles, a work of the Greek emperors, command the narroweſt part of the channel, in a place where the oppoſite banks advance within five hundred paces of each other. Theſe fortreſſes were reſtored and ſtrengthened by Mahomet the Second, when he meditated the ſiege of Conſtantinople[8]: but the Turkiſh conqueror was moſt probably ignorant that near two thouſand years before his reign, Darius had choſen the ſame ſituation to connect the two continents by a bridge of boats[9]. At a ſmall diſtance from the old caſtles we diſcover the little town of Chryſopolis, or Scutari, which may almoſt be conſidered as the Aſiatic ſuburb of Conſtantinople. The Boſphorus, as it begins to open into the Propontis, paſſes between Byzantium and Chalcedon. The latter of thoſe cities was built by the Greeks, a few years before the former; and the blindneſs of its founders, who overlooked the ſuperior advantages of the oppoſite coaſt, has been ſtigmatized by a proverbial expreſſion of contempt[10].

[7] The ancients computed one hundred and twenty ſtadia, or fifteen Roman miles. They meaſured only from the new caſtles, but they carried the ſtreights as far as the town of Chalcedon.

[8] Ducas Hiſt. c. 34. Leunclavius Hiſt. Turcica Muſulmanica, l. xv. p. 577. Under the Greek empire theſe caſtles were uſed as ſtate priſons, under the tremendous name of Lethe, or towers of oblivion.

[9] Darius engraved in Greek and Aſſyrian letters on two marble columns, the names of his ſubject-nations, and the amazing numbers of his land and ſea forces. The Byzantines afterwards tranſported theſe columns into the city, and uſed them for the altars of their tutelar deities. Herodotus, l. iv. c. 87.

[10] Namque artiſſimo inter Europam Aſiamque divortio Byzantium in extremâ Europâ poſuere Græci, quibus, Pythium Apollinem conſulentibus ubi conderent urbem, redditum oraculum eſt, quærerent ſedem *cæcorum* terris adverſam. Eâ ambage Chalcedonii monſtrabantur, quòd priores illuc advecti, prævisâ locorum utilitate pejora legiſſent. Tacit. Annal. xii. 62.

The

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The port.

The harbour of Conſtantinople, which may be conſidered as an arm of the Boſphorus, obtained, in a very remote period, the denomination of the *Golden Horn*. The curve which it deſcribes might be compared to the horn of a ſtag, or, as it ſhould ſeem, with more propriety, to that of an ox [11]. The epithet of *golden* was expreſſive of the riches which every wind wafted from the moſt diſtant countries into the ſecure and capacious port of Conſtantinople. The river Lycus, formed by the conflux of two little ſtreams, pours into the harbour a perpetual ſupply of freſh water, which ſerves to cleanſe the bottom, and to invite the periodical ſhoals of fiſh to ſeek their retreat in that convenient receſs. As the viciſſitudes of tides are ſcarcely felt in thoſe ſeas, the conſtant depth of the harbour allows goods to be landed on the quays without the aſſiſtance of boats; and it has been obſerved, that in many places the largeſt veſſels may reſt their prows againſt the houſes, while their ſterns are floating in the water [12]. From the mouth of the Lycus to that of the harbour, this arm of the Boſphorus is more than ſeven miles in length. The entrance is about five hundred yards broad, and a ſtrong chain could be occaſionally drawn acroſs it, to guard the port and city from the attack of an hoſtile navy [13].

The Propontis.

Between the Boſphorus and the Helleſpont, the ſhores of Europe and Aſia receding on either ſide incloſe the ſea of Marmara, which was known to the ancients by the denomination of Propontis. The navigation from the iſſue of the Boſphorus to the entrance of the

[11] Strabo, l. 10. p. 492. Moſt of the antlers are now broke off; or to ſpeak leſs figuratively, moſt of the receſſes of the harbour are filled up. See Gyllius de Boſphoro Thracio, l. i. c. 5.

[12] Procopius de Ædificiis, l. i. c. 5. His deſcription is confirmed by modern travellers. See Thevenot, part i. l. i. c. 15. Tournefort, Lettre XII. Niebuhr, Voyage d'Arabie, p. 22.

[13] See Ducange, C. P. l. i. part i. c. 16. and his Obſervations ſur Villehardouin, p. 289. The chain was drawn from the Acropolis, near the modern Kioſk, to the tower of Galata; and was ſupported at convenient diſtances by large wooden piles.

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Helleſpont is about one hundred and twenty miles. Thoſe who ſteer their weſtward courſe through the middle of the Propontis, may at once deſcry the high lands of Thrace and Bithynia, and never loſe ſight of the lofty ſummit of Mount Olympus, covered with eternal ſnows [14]. They leave on the left a deep gulf, at the bottom of which Nicomedia was ſeated, the Imperial reſidence of Diocletian; and they paſs the ſmall iſlands of Cyzicus and Proconneſus before they caſt anchor at Gallipoli; where the ſea, which ſeparates Aſia from Europe, is again contracted into a narrow channel.

The Helleſpont.

The geographers who, with the moſt ſkilful accuracy, have ſurveyed the form and extent of the Helleſpont, aſſign about ſixty miles for the winding courſe, and about three miles for the ordinary breadth, of thoſe celebrated ſtreights [15]. But the narroweſt part of the channel is found to the northward of the old Turkiſh caſtles between the cities of Seſtus and Abydus. It was here that the adventurous Leander braved the paſſage of the flood for the poſſeſſion of his miſtreſs [16]. It was here likewiſe, in a place where the diſtance between the oppoſite banks cannot exceed five hundred paces, that Xerxes impoſed a ſtupendous bridge of boats, for the purpoſe of tranſporting into Europe an hundred and ſeventy myriads of barba-

[14] Thevenot (Voyages au Levant, part i. l. i. chap. 14.) contracts the meaſure to 125 ſmall Greek miles. Belon (Obſervations, l. ii. c. 1.) gives a good deſcription of the Propontis, but contents himſelf with the vague expreſſion of one day and one night's ſail. When Sandys (Travels, p. 21.) talks of 150 furlongs in length as well as breadth, we can only ſuppoſe ſome miſtake of the preſs in the text of that judicious traveller.

[15] See an admirable diſſertation of M. d'Anville upon the Helleſpont or Dardanelles, in the Memoires de l'Academie des Inſcriptions, tom. xxviii. p. 318—346. Yet even that ingenious geographer is too fond of ſuppoſing new, and perhaps imaginary *meaſures*, for the purpoſe of rendering ancient writers as accurate as himſelf. The ſtadia employed by Herodotus in the deſcription of the Euxine, the Boſphorus, &c. (l. iv. c. 85.) muſt undoubtedly be all of the ſame ſpecies: but it ſeems impoſſible to reconcile them either with truth or with each other.

[16] The oblique diſtance between Seſtus and Abydus was thirty ſtadia. The improbable tale of Hero and Leander is expoſed by M. Mahudel, but is defended on the authority of poets and medals by M. de la Nauze. See the Academie des Inſcriptions, tom. vii. Hiſt. p. 74. Mem. p. 240.

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rians [17]. A ſea contracted within ſuch narrow limits, may ſeem but ill to deſerve the ſingular epithet of *broad*, which Homer, as well as Orpheus, has frequently beſtowed on the Helleſpont. But our ideas of greatneſs are of a relative nature: the traveller, and eſpecially the poet, who ſailed along the Helleſpont, who purſued the windings of the ſtream, and contemplated the rural ſcenery which appeared on every ſide to terminate the proſpect, inſenſibly loſt the remembrance of the ſea; and his fancy painted thoſe celebrated ſtreights, with all the attributes of a mighty river flowing with a ſwift current, in the midſt of a woody and inland country, and at length, through a wide mouth, diſcharging itſelf into the Ægean or Archipelago [18]. Ancient Troy [19], ſeated on an eminence at the foot of Mount Ida, overlooked the mouth of the Helleſpont, which ſcarcely received an acceſſion of waters from the tribute of thoſe immortal rivulets the Simois and Scamander. The Grecian camp had ſtretched twelve miles along the ſhore from the Sigæan to the Rhætean promontory; and the flanks of the army were guarded by the braveſt chiefs who fought under the banners of Agamemnon. The firſt of thoſe promontories was occupied by Achilles with his invincible Myrmidons, and the dauntleſs Ajax pitched his tents on the other. After Ajax had fallen a ſacrifice to his diſappointed pride, and to the ingratitude of the Greeks, his ſepulchre was erected on the ground where he had de-

[17] See the ſeventh book of Herodotus, who has erected an elegant trophy to his own fame and to that of his country. The review appears to have been made with tolerable accuracy: but the vanity, firſt of the Perſians, and afterwards of the Greeks, was intereſted to magnify the armament and the victory. I ſhould much doubt whether the *invaders* have ever outnumbered the *men* of any country which they attacked.

[18] See Wood's Obſervations on Homer, p. 320. I have, with pleaſure, ſelected this remark from an author who in general ſeems to have diſappointed the expectation of the public as a critic, and ſtill more as a traveller. He had viſited the banks of the Helleſpont; he had read Strabo; he ought to have conſulted the Roman itineraries: how was it poſſible for him to confound Ilium and Alexandria Troas (Obſervations, p. 340, 341.), two cities which were ſixteen miles diſtant from each other?

[19] Demetrius of Scepſis wrote ſixty books on thirty lines of Homer's Catalogue. The XIIIth Book of Strabo is ſufficient for *our* curioſity.

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fended the navy againſt the rage of Jove and of Hector; and the citizens of the riſing town of Rhætium celebrated his memory with divine honours [20]. Before Conſtantine gave a juſt preference to the ſituation of Byzantium, he had conceived the deſign of erecting the ſeat of empire on this celebrated ſpot, from whence the Romans derived their fabulous origin. The extenſive plain which lies below ancient Troy, towards the Rhætean promontory and the tomb of Ajax, was firſt choſen for his new capital; and, though the undertaking was ſoon relinquiſhed, the ſtately remains of unfiniſhed walls and towers attracted the notice of all who ſailed through the ſtreights of the Helleſpont [21].

Advantages of Conſtantinople.

We are at preſent qualified to view the advantageous poſition of Conſtantinople; which appears to have been formed by nature for the centre and capital of a great monarchy. Situated in the forty-firſt degree of latitude, the Imperial city commanded, from her ſeven hills [22], the oppoſite ſhores of Europe and Aſia; the climate was healthy and temperate, the ſoil fertile, the harbour ſecure and capacious; and the approach on the ſide of the continent was of ſmall extent and eaſy defence. The Boſphorus and the Helleſpont may be conſidered as the two gates of Conſtantinople; and the prince who poſſeſſed thoſe important paſſages could always ſhut them againſt a naval enemy, and open them to the fleets of commerce. The preſer-

[20] Strabo, l. xiii. p. 595. The diſpoſition of the ſhips which were drawn upon dry land, and the poſts of Ajax and Achilles, are very clearly deſcribed by Homer. See Iliad, ix. 220.

[21] Zoſim. l. ii. p. 105. Sozomen, l. ii. c. 3. Theophanes, p. 18. Nicephorus Calliſtus, l. vii. p. 48. Zonaras, tom. ii. l. xiii. p. 6. Zoſimus places the new city between Ilium and Alexandria, but this apparent difference may be reconciled by the large extent of its circumference. Before the foundation of Conſtantinople, Theſſalonica is mentioned by Cedrenus (p. 283.), and Sardica by Zonaras, as the intended capital. They both ſuppoſe, with very little probability, that the emperor, if he had not been prevented by a prodigy, would have repeated the miſtake of the *blind* Chalcedonians.

[22] Pocock's Deſcription of the Eaſt, vol. ii. part ii. p. 127. His plan of the ſeven hills is clear and accurate. That traveller is ſeldom ſo ſatisfactory.

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vation of the eaſtern provinces may, in ſome degree, be aſcribed to the policy of Conſtantine, as the Barbarians of the Euxine, who in the preceding age had poured their armaments into the heart of the Mediterranean, ſoon deſiſted from the exerciſe of piracy, and deſpaired of forcing this inſurmountable barrier. When the gates of the Helleſpont and Boſphorus were ſhut, the capital ſtill enjoyed, within their ſpacious incloſure, every production which could ſupply the wants, or gratify the luxury, of its numerous inhabitants. The ſea-coaſts of Thrace and Bithynia, which languiſh under the weight of Turkiſh oppreſſion, ſtill exhibit a rich proſpect of vineyards, of gardens, and of plentiful harveſts; and the Propontis has ever been renowned for an inexhauſtible ſtore of the moſt exquiſite fiſh, that are taken in their ſtated ſeaſons, without ſkill, and almoſt without labour [23]. But when the paſſages of the Streights were thrown open for trade, they alternately admitted the natural and artificial riches of the north and ſouth, of the Euxine and of the Mediterranean. Whatever rude commodities were collected in the foreſts of Germany and Scythia, as far as the ſources of the Tanais and the Boryſthenes; whatſoever was manufactured by the ſkill of Europe or Aſia; the corn of Egypt, and the gems and ſpices of the fartheſt India, were brought by the varying winds into the port of Conſtantinople, which, for many ages, attracted the commerce of the ancient world [24].

Foundation of the city.

The proſpect of beauty, of ſafety, and of wealth, united in a ſingle ſpot, was ſufficient to juſtify the choice of Conſtantine. But as ſome decent mixture of prodigy and fable has, in every age, been ſuppoſed to reflect a becoming majeſty on the origin of great

[23] See Belon, Obſervations, c. 72—76. Among a variety of different ſpecies, the Pelamides, a ſort of Thunnies, were the moſt celebrated. We may learn from Polybius, Strabo, and Tacitus, that the profits of the fiſhery conſtituted the principal revenue of Byzantium.

[24] See the eloquent deſcription of Buſbequius, epiſtol. i. p. 64. Eſt in Europâ; habet in conſpectu Aſiam, Ægyptum, Africamque à dextrâ: quæ tametſi continguæ non ſunt, maris tamen navigandique commoditate veluti junguntur. A ſiniſtra vero Pontus eſt Euxinus, &c.

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cities[25], the emperor was desirous of ascribing his resolution, not so much to the uncertain counsels of human policy, as to the infallible and eternal decrees of divine wisdom. In one of his laws he has been careful to instruct posterity, that, in obedience to the commands of God, he laid the everlasting foundations of Constantinople[26]: and though he has not condescended to relate in what manner the celestial inspiration was communicated to his mind, the defect of his modest silence has been liberally supplied by the ingenuity of succeeding writers; who describe the nocturnal vision which appeared to the fancy of Constantine, as he slept within the walls of Byzantium. The tutelar genius of the city, a venerable matron sinking under the weight of years and infirmities, was suddenly transformed into a blooming maid, whom his own hands adorned with all the symbols of Imperial greatness[27]. The monarch awoke, interpreted the auspicious omen, and obeyed, without hesitation, the will of heaven. The day which gave birth to a city or colony was celebrated by the Romans with such ceremonies as had been ordained by a generous superstition[28]; and though Constantine might omit some rites which savoured too strongly of their Pagan origin, yet he was anxious to leave a deep impression of hope and respect on the minds of the spectators. On foot, with a lance in his hand, the emperor himself led the solemn procession; and directed the line, which was traced as the boundary of the destined capital: till the growing circumference was observed with astonish-

[25] Datur hæc venia antiquitati, ut miscendo humana divinis, primordia urbium augustiora faciat. T. Liv. in proem.

[26] He says in one of his laws, pro commoditate Urbis quam æterno nomine, jubente Deo, donavimus. Cod. Theodos. l. xiii. tit. v. leg. 7.

[27] The Greeks, Theophanes, Cedrenus, and the author of the Alexandrian Chronicle, confine themselves to vague and general expressions. For a more particular account of the vision, we are obliged to have recourse to such Latin writers as William of Malmesbury. See Ducange, C. P. l. i. p. 24, 25.

[28] See Plutarch in Romul. tom. i. p. 49. edit. Bryan. Among other ceremonies, a large hole, which had been dug for that purpose, was filled up with handfuls of earth, which each of the settlers brought from the place of his birth, and thus adopted his new country.

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ment by the assistants, who, at length, ventured to observe, that he had already exceeded the most ample measure of a great city. "I "shall still advance," replied Constantine, "till HE, the invisible "guide who marches before me, thinks proper to stop [29]." Without presuming to investigate the nature or motives of this extraordinary conductor, we shall content ourselves with the more humble task of describing the extent and limits of Constantinople [30].

Extent.

In the actual state of the city, the palace and gardens of the Seraglio occupy the eastern promontory, the first of the seven hills, and cover about one hundred and fifty acres of our own measure. The seat of Turkish jealousy and despotism is erected on the foundations of a Grecian republic: but it may be supposed that the Byzantines were tempted by the conveniency of the harbour to extend their habitations on that side beyond the modern limits of the Seraglio. The new walls of Constantine stretched from the port to the Propontis across the enlarged breadth of the triangle, at the distance of fifteen stadia from the ancient fortification; and with the city of Byzantium they inclosed five of the seven hills, which, to the eyes of those who approach Constantinople, appear to rise above each other in beautiful order [31]. About a century after the death of the founder, the new buildings, extending on one side up the harbour, and on the other along the Propontis, already covered the narrow ridge of the sixth, and the broad summit of the seventh hill. The necessity of protecting those suburbs from the incessant inroads of the Barbarians, engaged the younger Theodosius to surround his capital with an

[29] Philostorgius, l. ii. c. 9. This incident, though borrowed from a suspected writer, is characteristic and probable.

[30] See in the Memoires de l'Academie, tom. xxxv. p. 747—758. a dissertation of M. d'Anville on the extent of Constantinople. He takes the plan inserted in the Imperium Orientale of Banduri as the most complete; but, by a series of very nice observations, he reduces the extravagant proportion of the scale, and instead of 9500, determines the circumference of the city as consisting of about 7800 French *toises*.

[31] Codinus Antiquitat. Const. p. 12. He assigns the church of St. Anthony as the boundary on the side of the harbour. It is mentioned in Ducange, l. iv. c. 6.; but I have tried, without success, to discover the exact place where it was situated.

adequate

adequate and permanent incloſure of walls [32]. From the eaſtern promontory to the golden gate, the extreme length of Conſtantinople was about three Roman miles [33]; the circumference meaſured between ten and eleven; and the ſurface might be computed as equal to about two thouſand Engliſh acres. It is impoſſible to juſtify the vain and credulous exaggerations of modern travellers, who have ſometimes ſtretched the limits of Conſtantinople over the adjacent villages of the European, and even of the Aſiatic coaſt [34]. But the ſuburbs of Pera and Galata, though ſituate beyond the harbour, may deſerve to be conſidered as a part of the city [35]; and this addition may perhaps authoriſe the meaſure of a Byzantine hiſtorian, who aſſigns ſixteen Greek (about fourteen Roman) miles for the circumference of his native city [36]. Such an extent may ſeem not unworthy of an Imperial reſidence. Yet Conſtantinople muſt yield to Babylon and Thebes [37], to ancient Rome, to London, and even to Paris [38].

The

[32] The new wall of Theodoſius was conſtructed in the year 413. In 447 it was thrown down by an earthquake, and rebuilt in three months by the diligence of the præfect Cyrus. The ſuburb of the Blachernæ was firſt taken into the city in the reign of Heraclius. Ducange Conſt. l. i. c. 10, 11.

[33] The meaſurement is expreſſed in the Notitia by 14,075 feet. It is reaſonable to ſuppoſe that theſe were Greek feet; the proportion of which has been ingeniouſly determined by M. d'Anville. He compares the 180 feet with the 78 Haſhemite cubits, which in different writers are aſſigned for the height of St. Sophia. Each of theſe cubits was equal to 27 French inches.

[34] The accurate Thevenot (l. i. c. 15.) walked in one hour and three quarters round two of the ſides of the triangle, from the Kioſk of the Seraglio to the ſeven towers. D'Anville examines with care, and receives with confidence, this deciſive teſtimony, which gives a circumference of ten or twelve miles. The extravagant computation of Tournefort (Lettre XI.) of thirty-four or thirty miles, without including Scutari, is a ſtrange departure from his uſual character.

[35] The ſycæ, or fig-trees, formed the thirteenth region, and were very much embelliſhed by Juſtinian. It has ſince borne the names of Pera and Galata. The etymology of the former is obvious; that of the latter is unknown. See Ducange Conſt. l. i. c. 22. and Gyllius de Byzant. l. iv. c. 10.

[36] One hundred and eleven ſtadia, which may be tranſlated into modern Greek miles each of ſeven ſtadia, or 660, ſometimes only 600 French toiſes. See d'Anville Meſures Itineraires, p. 53.

[37] When the ancient texts, which deſcribe the ſize of Babylon and Thebes, are ſettled, the exaggerations reduced, and the meaſures aſcertained, we find that thoſe famous cities filled the great but not incredible circumference of about twenty-five or thirty miles. Compare d'Anville Mem. de l'Academie, tom. xxviii. p. 235. with his Deſcription de l'Egypte, p. 201, 202.

[38] If we divide Conſtantinople and Paris into equal ſquares of 50 French *toiſes*, the former

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Progreſs of the work.

The maſter of the Roman world, who aſpired to erect an eternal monument to the glories of his reign, could employ in the proſecution of that great work the wealth, the labour, and all that yet remained of the genius of obedient millions. Some eſtimate may be formed of the expence beſtowed with Imperial liberality on the foundation of Conſtantinople, by the allowance of about two millions five hundred thouſand pounds for the conſtruction of the walls, the porticoes, and the aqueducts[39]. The foreſts that overſhadowed the ſhores of the Euxine, and the celebrated quarries of white marble in the little iſland of Proconneſus, ſupplied an inexhauſtible ſtock of materials, ready to be conveyed, by the convenience of a ſhort water-carriage, to the harbour of Byzantium[40]. A multitude of labourers and artificers urged the concluſion of the work with inceſſant toil: but the impatience of Conſtantine ſoon diſcovered, that, in the decline of the arts, the ſkill as well as numbers of his architects bore a very unequal proportion to the greatneſs of his deſigns. The magiſtrates of the moſt diſtant provinces were therefore directed to inſtitute ſchools, to appoint profeſſors, and by the hopes of rewards and privileges to engage in the ſtudy and practice of architecture a ſufficient number of ingenious youths, who had received a liberal education[41]. The buildings of the new city were executed by ſuch artificers as the reign of Conſtantine could afford; but they were decorated by the hands of the moſt celebrated maſters of the age of Pericles and Alexander. To revive the genius of Phidias and Lyſippus,

former contains 850, and the latter 1160 of thoſe diviſions.

[39] Six hundred centenaries, or ſixty thouſand pounds weight of gold. This ſum is taken from Codinus Antiquit. Conſt. p. 11.; but unleſs that contemptible author had derived his information from ſome purer ſources, he would probably have been unacquainted with ſo obſolete a mode of reckoning.

[40] For the foreſts of the Black Sea, conſult Tournefort, Lettre XVI.: for the marble quarries of Proconneſus, ſee Strabo, l. xiii. p. 588. The latter had already furniſhed the materials of the ſtately buildings of Cyzicus.

[41] See the Codex Theodoſ. l. xiii. tit. iv. leg. 1. This law is dated in the year 334, and was addreſſed to the præfect of Italy, whoſe juriſdiction extended over Africa. The commentary of Godefroy on the whole title well deſerves to be conſulted.

ſurpaſſed

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ſurpaſſed indeed the power of a Roman emperor; but the immortal productions which they had bequeathed to poſterity, were expoſed without defence to the rapacious vanity of a deſpot. By his commands the cities of Greece and Aſia were deſpoiled of their moſt valuable ornaments[42]. The trophies of memorable wars, the objects of religious veneration, the moſt finiſhed ſtatues of the gods and heroes, of the ſages and poets of ancient times, contributed to the ſplendid triumph of Conſtantinople; and gave occaſion to the remark of the hiſtorian Cedrenus[43], who obſerves, with ſome enthuſiaſm, that nothing ſeemed wanting except the ſouls of the illuſtrious men whom thoſe admirable monuments were intended to repreſent. But it is not in the city of Conſtantine, nor in the declining period of an empire, when the human mind was depreſſed by civil and religious ſlavery, that we ſhould ſeek for the ſouls of Homer and of Demoſthenes.

Edifices.

During the ſiege of Byzantium, the conqueror had pitched his tent on the commanding eminence of the ſecond hill. To perpetuate the memory of his ſucceſs, he choſe the ſame advantageous poſition for the principal Forum[44]; which appears to have been of a circular or rather elliptical form. The two oppoſite entrances formed triumphal arches; the porticoes, which incloſed it on every ſide, were filled with ſtatues; and the centre of the Forum was occupied by a lofty column, of which a mutilated fragment is

[42] Conſtantinopolis dedicatur pœne omnium urbium nuditate. Hieronym. Chron. p. 181. See Codinus, p. 8, 9. The author of the Antiquitat. Conſt. l. iii. (apud Banduri Imp. Orient. tom. i. p. 41.) enumerates Rome, Sicily, Antioch, Athens, and a long liſt of other cities. The provinces of Greece and Aſia Minor may be ſuppoſed to have yielded the richeſt booty.

[43] Hiſt. Compend. p. 369. He deſcribes the ſtatue, or rather buſt, of Homer with a degree of taſte which plainly indicates that Cedrenus copied the ſtyle of a more fortunate age.

[44] Zoſim. l. ii. p. 106. Chron. Alexandrin. vel Paſchal. p. 284. Duchange Conſt. l. i. c. 24. Even the laſt of thoſe writers ſeems to confound the Forum of Conſtantine with the Auguſteum, or court of the palace. I am not ſatisfied whether I have properly diſtinguiſhed what belongs to the one and the other.

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now degraded by the appellation of the *burnt pillar*. This column was erected on a pedeſtal of white marble twenty feet high; and was compoſed of ten pieces of porphyry, each of which meaſured about ten feet in height, and about thirty-three in circumference [45]. On the ſummit of the pillar, above one hundred and twenty feet from the ground, ſtood the coloſſal ſtatue of Apollo. It was of bronze, had been tranſported either from Athens or from a town of Phrygia, and was ſuppoſed to be the work of Phidias. The artiſt had repreſented the god of day, or, as it was afterwards interpreted, the emperor Conſtantine himſelf, with a ſceptre in his right hand, the globe of the world in his left, and a crown of rays glittering on his head [46]. The Circus, or Hippodrome, was a ſtately building, about four hundred paces in length, and one hundred in breadth [47]. The ſpace between the two *metæ* or goals was filled with ſtatues and obeliſks: and we may ſtill remark a very ſingular fragment of antiquity; the bodies of three ſerpents, twiſted into one pillar of braſs. Their triple heads had once ſupported the golden tripod, which, after the defeat of Xerxes, was conſecrated in the temple of Delphi by the victorious Greeks [48]. The beauty of the Hippodrome

[45] The moſt tolerable account of this column is given by Pocock, Deſcription of the Eaſt, vol. ii. part ii. p. 131. But it is ſtill in many inſtances perplexed and unſatisfactory.

[46] Ducange Conſt. l. i. c. 24. p. 76. and his Notes ad Alexiad. p. 382. The ſtatue of Conſtantine or Apollo was thrown down under the reign of Alexis Comnenus.

[47] Tournefort (Lettre XII.) computes the Atmeidan at four hundred paces. If he means geometrical paces of five feet each, it was three hundred *toiſes* in length, about forty more than the great Circus of Rome. See d' Anville Meſures Itineraires, p. 73.

[48] The guardians of the moſt holy relics would rejoice if they were able to produce ſuch a chain of evidence as may be alleged on this occaſion. See Banduri ad Antiquitat. Conſt. p. 668. Gyllius de Byzant. l. ii. c. 13. 1. The original conſecration of the tripod and pillar in the temple of Delphi may be proved from Herodotus and Pauſanias. 2. The pagan Zoſimus agrees with the three eccleſiaſtical hiſtorians, Euſebius, Socrates, and Sozomen, that the ſacred ornaments of the temple of Delphi were removed to Conſtantinople by the order of Conſtantine; and among theſe the ſerpentine pillar of the Hippodrome is particularly mentioned. 3. All the European travellers who have viſited Conſtantinople, from Buondelmonte to Pocock, deſcribe it in the ſame place, and almoſt in the ſame manner: the differences

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Hippodrome has been long ſince defaced by the rude hands of the Turkiſh conquerors: but, under the ſimilar appellation of Atmeidan, it ſtill ſerves as a place of exerciſe for their horſes. From the throne, whence the emperor viewed the Circenſian games, a winding ſtaircaſe [49] deſcended to the palace; a magnificent edifice, which ſcarcely yielded to the reſidence of Rome itſelf, and which, together with the dependent courts, gardens, and porticoes, covered a conſiderable extent of ground upon the banks of the Propontis between the Hippodrome and the church of St. Sophia [50]. We might likewiſe celebrate the baths, which ſtill retained the name of Zeuxippus, after they had been enriched, by the munificence of Conſtantine, with lofty columns, various marbles, and above threeſcore ſtatues of bronze [51]. But we ſhould deviate from the deſign of this hiſtory, if we attempted minutely to deſcribe the different buildings or quarters of the city. It may be ſufficient to obſerve, that whatever could adorn the dignity of a great capital, or contribute to the benefit or pleaſure of its numerous inhabitants, was contained within the walls of Conſtantinople. A particular deſcription, compoſed about a century after its foundation, enumerates a capitol or ſchool

differences between them are occaſioned only by the injuries which it has ſuſtained from the Turks. Mahomet the Second broke the under-jaw of one of the ſerpents with a ſtroke of his battle-axe. Thevenot, l. i. c. 17.

[49] The Latin name *Cochlea* was adopted by the Greeks, and very frequently occurs in the Byzantine hiſtory. Ducange Conſt. l. ii. c. 1. p. 104.

[50] There are three topographical points which indicate the ſituation of the palace. 1. The ſtair-caſe, which connected it with the Hippodrome or Atmeidan. 2. A ſmall artificial port on the Propontis, from whence there was an eaſy aſcent, by a flight of marble ſteps, to the gardens of the palace. 3. The Auguſteum was a ſpacious court, one ſide of which was occupied by the front of the palace, and another by the church of St. Sophia.

[51] Zeuxippus was an epithet of Jupiter, and the baths were a part of old Byzantium. The difficulty of aſſigning their true ſituation has not been felt by Ducange. Hiſtory ſeems to connect them with St. Sophia and the palace; but the original plan, inſerted in Banduri, places them on the other ſide of the city, near the harbour. For their beauties, ſee Chron. Paſchal. p. 285. and Gyllius de Byzant. l. ii. c. 7. Chriſtodorus (ſee Antiquitat. Conſt. l. vii.) compoſed inſcriptions in verſe for each of the ſtatues. He was a Theban poet in genius as well as in birth:

Bœotum in craſſo jurares aere natum.

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of learning, a circus, two theatres, eight public, and one hundred and fifty-three private, baths, fifty-two porticoes, five granaries, eight aqueducts or reſervoirs of water, four ſpacious halls for the meetings of the ſenate or courts of juſtice, fourteen churches, fourteen palaces, and four thouſand three hundred and eighty-eight houſes, which, for their ſize or beauty, deſerved to be diſtinguiſhed from the multitude of plebeian habitations [52].

Population.

The populouſneſs of his favoured city was the next and moſt ſerious object of the attention of its founder. In the dark ages which ſucceeded the tranſlation of the empire, the remote and the immediate conſequences of that memorable event were ſtrangely confounded by the vanity of the Greeks, and the credulity of the Latins [53]. It was aſſerted, and believed, that all the noble families of Rome, the ſenate, and the equeſtrian order, with their innumerable attendants, had followed their emperor to the banks of the Propontis; that a ſpurious race of ſtrangers and plebeians was left to poſſeſs the ſolitude of the ancient capital; and that the lands of Italy, long ſince converted into gardens, were at once deprived of cultivation and inhabitants [54]. In the courſe of this hiſtory, ſuch exaggerations will be reduced to their juſt value: yet, ſince the growth of Conſtantinople cannot be aſcribed to the general increaſe of mankind and of induſtry, it muſt be admitted, that this artificial

[52] See the Notitia. Rome only reckoned 1780 large houſes, *domus*; but the word muſt have had a more dignified ſignification. No *inſulæ* are mentioned at Conſtantinople. The old capital conſiſted of 424 ſtreets, the new of 322.

[53] Liutprand. Legatio ad Imp. Nicephorum, p. 153. The modern Greeks have ſtrangely diſfigured the antiquities of Conſtantinople. We might excuſe the errors of the Turkiſh or Arabian writers; but it is ſomewhat aſtoniſhing, that the Greeks, who had acceſs to the authentic materials preſerved in their own language, ſhould prefer fiction to truth, and looſe tradition to genuine hiſtory. In a ſingle page of Codinus we may detect twelve unpardonable miſtakes; the reconciliation of Severus and Niger, the marriage of their ſon and daughter, the ſiege of Byzantium by the Macedonians, the invaſion of the Gauls, which recalled Severus to Rome, the *ſixty* years which elapſed from his death to the foundation of Conſtantinople, &c.

[54] Monteſquieu, Grandeur et Decadence des Romains, c. 17.

colony

colony was raiſed at the expence of the ancient cities of the empire. Many opulent ſenators of Rome, and of the Eaſtern provinces, were probably invited by Conſtantine to adopt for their country the fortunate ſpot which he had choſen for his own reſidence. The invitations of a maſter are ſcarcely to be diſtinguiſhed from commands; and the liberality of the emperor obtained a ready and cheerful obedience. He beſtowed on his favourites the palaces which he had built in the ſeveral quarters of the city, aſſigned them lands and penſions for the ſupport of their dignity [55], and alienated the demeſnes of Pontus and Aſia, to grant hereditary eſtates by the eaſy tenure of maintaining a houſe in the capital [56]. But theſe encouragements and obligations ſoon became ſuperfluous, and were gradually aboliſhed. Wherever the ſeat of government is fixed, a conſiderable part of the public revenue will be expended by the prince himſelf, by his miniſters, by the officers of juſtice, and by the domeſtics of the palace. The moſt wealthy of the provincials will be attracted by the powerful motives of intereſt and duty, of amuſement and curioſity. A third and more numerous claſs of inhabitants will inſenſibly be formed, of ſervants, of artificers, and of merchants, who derive their ſubſiſtence from their own labour, and from the wants or luxury of the ſuperior ranks. In leſs than a century, Conſtantinople diſputed with Rome itſelf the pre-eminence of riches and numbers. New piles of buildings, crowded together with

[55] Themiſt. Orat. iii. p. 48. edit. Hardouin. Sozomen, l. ii. c. 3. Zoſim. l. ii. p. 107. Anonym. Valeſian. p. 715. If we could credit Codinus (p. 10.), Conſtantine built houſes for the ſenators on the exact model of their Roman palaces, and gratified them, as well as himſelf, with the pleaſure of an agreeable ſurpriſe; but the whole ſtory is full of fictions and inconſiſtencies.

[56] The law by which the younger Theodoſius, in the year 438, aboliſhed this tenure, may be found among the Novellæ of that emperor at the end of the Theodoſian Code, tom. vi. nov. 12. M. de Tillemont (Hiſt. des Empereurs, tom. iv. p. 371.) has evidently miſtaken the nature of theſe eſtates. With a grant from the Imperial demeſnes, the ſame condition was accepted as a favour, which would juſtly have been deemed a hardſhip, if it had been impoſed upon private property.

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too little regard to health or convenience, ſcarcely allowed the intervals of narrow ſtreets for the perpetual throng of men, of horſes, and of carriages. The allotted ſpace of ground was inſufficient to contain the increaſing people; and the additional foundations, which, on either ſide, were advanced into the ſea, might alone have compoſed a very conſiderable city [57].

The frequent and regular diſtributions of wine and oil, of corn or bread, of money or proviſions, had almoſt exempted the poorer citizens of Rome from the neceſſity of labour. The magnificence of the firſt Cæſars was in ſome meaſure imitated by the founder of Conſtantinople [58]: but his liberality, however it might excite the applauſe of the people, has incurred the cenſure of poſterity. A nation of legiſlators and conquerors might aſſert their claim to the harveſts of Africa, which had been purchaſed with their blood; and it was artfully contrived by Auguſtus, that, in the enjoyment of plenty, the Romans ſhould loſe the memory of freedom. But the prodigality of Conſtantine could not be excuſed by any conſideration either of public or private intereſt; and the annual tribute of corn impoſed upon Egypt for the benefit of his new capital, was applied to feed a lazy and inſolent populace, at the expence of the huſbandmen of an induſtrious province [59]. Some other regulations of this emperor are leſs liable to blame, but they are leſs deſerving of notice.

[57] The paſſages of Zoſimus, of Eunapius, of Sozomen, and of Agathias, which relate to the increaſe of buildings and inhabitants at Conſtantinople, are collected and connected by Gyllius de Byzant. l. i. c. 3. Sidonius Apollinaris (in Panegyr. Anthem. 56. p. 290. edit. Sirmond) deſcribes the moles that were puſhed forwards into the ſea; they conſiſted of the famous Puzzolan ſand, which hardens in the water.

[58] Sozomen, l. ii. c. 3. Philoſtorg. l. ii. c. 9. Codin. Antiquitat. Conſt. p. 8. It appears by Socrates (l. ii. c. 13.), that the daily allowance of the city conſiſted of eight myriads of σιτου, which we may either tranſlate with Valeſius by the words modii of corn, or conſider as expreſſive of the number of loaves of bread.

[59] See Cod. Theodoſ. l. xiii. and xiv. and Cod. Juſtinian. Edict. xii. tom. ii. p. 648. edit. Genev. See the beautiful complaint of Rome in the poem of Claudian de Bell. Gildonico, ver. 46—64.

Cum ſubiit par Roma mihi, diviſaque ſumſit
Æquales aurora togas; Egyptia rura
In partem ceſſere novam.

He

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He divided Conſtantinople into fourteen regions or quarters[60], dignified the public council with the appellation of Senate[61], communicated to the citizens the privileges of Italy[62], and beſtowed on the riſing city the title of Colony, the firſt and moſt favoured daughter of ancient Rome. The venerable parent ſtill maintained the legal and acknowledged ſupremacy, which was due to her age, to her dignity, and to the remembrance of her former greatneſs[63].

Dedication, A. D. 330 or 334.

As Conſtantine urged the progreſs of the work with the impatience of a lover, the walls, the porticoes, and the principal edifices were completed in a few years, or, according to another account, in a few months[64]: but this extraordinary diligence ſhould excite the leſs

[60] The regions of Conſtantinople are mentioned in the code of Juſtinian, and particularly deſcribed in the Notitia of the younger Theodoſius; but as the four laſt of them are not included within the wall of Conſtantine, it may be doubted whether this diviſion of the city ſhould be referred to the founder.

[61] Senatum conſtituit ſecundi ordinis; *Claros* vocavit. Anonym. Valeſian. p. 715. The ſenators of old Rome were ſtyled *Clariſſimi*. See a curious note of Valeſius ad Ammian. Marcellin. xxii. 9. From the eleventh epiſtle of Julian, it ſhould ſeem that the place of ſenator was conſidered as a burthen, rather than as an honour: but the Abbé de la Bleterie (Vie de Jovien, tom. ii. p. 371.) has ſhewn that this epiſtle could not relate to Conſtantinople. Might we not read, inſtead of the celebrated name of Βυζαντιους, the obſcure but more probable word Βισανθηνους? Biſanthe or Rhœdeſtus, now Rhodoſto, was a ſmall maritime city of Thrace. See Stephan. Byz. de Urbibus, p. 225. and Cellar. Geograph. tom. i. p. 849.

[62] Cod. Theodoſ. l. xiv. 13. The Commentary of Godefroy (tom. v. p. 220.) is long, but perplexed; nor indeed is it eaſy to aſcertain in what the Jus Italicum could conſiſt, after the freedom of the city had been communicated to the whole empire.

[63] Julian (Orat. i. p. 8.) celebrates Conſtantinople as not leſs ſuperior to all other cities, than ſhe was inferior to Rome itſelf. His learned commentator (Spanheim, p. 75, 76.) juſtifies this language by ſeveral parallel and contemporary inſtances. Zoſimus, as well as Socrates and Sozomen, flouriſhed after the diviſion of the empire between the two ſons of Theodoſius, which eſtabliſhed a perfect *equality* between the old and the new capital.

[64] Codinus (Antiquitat. p. 8.) affirms, that the foundations of Conſtantinople were laid in the year of the world 5837 (A. D. 329), on the 26th of September, and that the city was dedicated the 11th of May 5838 (A. D. 330). He connects theſe dates with ſeveral characteriſtic epochs, but they contradict each other; the authority of Codinus is of little weight, and the ſpace which he aſſigns muſt appear inſufficient. The term of ten years is given us by Julian (Orat. i. p. 8.), and Spanheim labours to eſtabliſh the truth of it (p. 69—75.), by the help of two paſſages from Themiſtius (Orat. iv. p. 58.) and Philoſtorgius (l. ii. c. 9.), which form a period from

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leſs admiration, ſince many of the buildings were finiſhed in ſo haſty and imperfect a manner, that, under the ſucceeding reign, they were preſerved with difficulty from impending ruin[65]. But while they diſplayed the vigour and freſhneſs of youth, the founder prepared to celebrate the dedication of his city[66]. The games and largeſſes which crowned the pomp of this memorable feſtival may eaſily be ſuppoſed: but there is one circumſtance of a more ſingular and permanent nature, which ought not entirely to be overlooked. As often as the birth-day of the city returned, the ſtatue of Conſtantine, framed, by his order, of gilt wood, and bearing in his right-hand a ſmall image of the genius of the place, was erected on a triumphal car. The guards, carrying white tapers, and clothed in their richeſt apparel, accompanied the ſolemn proceſſion as it moved through the Hippodrome. When it was oppoſite to the throne of the reigning emperor, he roſe from his ſeat, and with grateful reverence adored the memory of his predeceſſor[67]. At the feſtival of the dedication, an edict, engraved on a column of marble, beſtowed the title of SECOND or NEW ROME on the city of Conſtantine[68]. But the name of Conſtantinople[69] has prevailed over that honourable epithet; and, after the revolution of fourteen centuries, ſtill perpetuates the fame of its author[70].

The

from the year 324 to the year 334. Modern critics are divided concerning this point of chronology, and their different ſentiments are very accurately diſcuſſed by Tillemont, Hiſt. des Empereurs, tom. iv. p. 619–625.

[65] Themiſtius, Orat. iii. p. 47. Zoſim. l. ii. p. 108. Conſtantine himſelf, in one of his laws (Cod. Theod. l. xv. tit. i.), betrays his impatience.

[66] Cedrenus and Zonaras, faithful to the mode of ſuperſtition which prevailed in their own times, aſſure us, that Conſtantinople was conſecrated to the Virgin mother of God.

[67] The earlieſt and moſt complete account of this extraordinary ceremony may be found in the Alexandrian Chronicle, p. 285. Tillemont, and the other friends of Conſtantine, who are offended with the air of Paganiſm, which ſeems unworthy of a Chriſtian prince, had a right to conſider it as doubtful, but they were not authoriſed to omit the mention of it.

[68] Sozomen, l. ii. c. 2. Ducange C. P. l. i. c. 6. Velut ipſius Romæ filiam, is the expreſſion of Auguſtin de Civitat. Dei, l. 5. c. 25.

[69] Eutropius, l. x. c. 8. Julian. Orat. i. p. 8. Ducange C. P. l. i. c. 5. The name of Conſtantinople is extant on the medals of Conſtantine.

[70] The lively Fontenelle (Dialogues des Morts, xii.) affects to deride the vanity of human

A MAP of the Parts of
EUROPE and ASIA,
adjacent to
CONSTANTINOPLE.
EUXINE or BLACK SEA
PROPONTIS
SEA of MARMARA
CONSTANTINOPLE
Golden Horn Port
Pera
Galata
Blachernæ
Golden Gate
Seven Towers
Bosphorus
Salmydessus
Derkos
Long Wall
Cranean Rocks
The Bosphorus
Temple of Jupiter Urius
Old Castle
Olympiodorus's Harbour
Chalcedon
Bryas
Pantichium
Artane
Damaniasi
Nicomedia
Acritas
Dybissa
Prusias
Adrianus
Thracian Chersonesus
Roman Miles of 75 to a Degree.
Rhœbus R.
Enos
Candia
Cardia
Ganos
Heraclea
Perinthus or Heraclea
Selymbria
Callipolis
Priapus
Proconnesus
Ophiussa
Lampsacus
Parium
Abydus
Sestus
Percote
Hellespont
Dardanelles
Mandanus
Sidena
Granicus R.
Granicus
Ilium
Ruins of Troy
Mt. Ida
Scamander R.
Alexandria Troas
Rhœteum
Ophrynium
Antandrus
Abydenus
Pityeia
Panormus
Assus
Myrlea
Nice
Nicæa
Dascylium
Zeleia
Aesepus R.
Lopadium
Prusa ad Olympum
Mount Olympus
Longitude R. from Ferro
Publish'd according to Act of parliam.t by W. Strahan & T. Cadell in the Strand June 1.st 1781.
T. Kitchin Geo.r Sculp.t

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Form of government.

The foundation of a new capital is naturally connected with the eſtabliſhment of a new form of civil and military adminiſtration. The diſtinct view of the complicated ſyſtem of policy introduced by Diocletian, improved by Conſtantine, and completed by his immediate ſucceſſors, may not only amuſe the fancy by the ſingular picture of a great empire, but will tend to illuſtrate the ſecret and internal cauſes of its rapid decay. In the purſuit of any remarkable inſtitution, we may be frequently led into the more early or the more recent times of the Roman hiſtory; but the proper limits of this enquiry will be included within a period of about one hundred and thirty years, from the acceſſion of Conſtantine to the publication of the Theodoſian Code[71]; from which, as well as from the *Notitia* of the Eaſt and Weſt[72], we derive the moſt copious and authentic information of the ſtate of the empire. This variety of objects will ſuſpend, for ſome time, the courſe of the narrative; but the interruption will be cenſured only by thoſe readers who are inſenſible to the importance of laws and manners, while they peruſe, with eager curioſity, the tranſient intrigues of a court, or the accidental event of a battle.

Hierarchy of the ſtate.

The manly pride of the Romans, content with ſubſtantial power, had left to the vanity of the Eaſt the forms and ceremonies of oſten-

human ambition, and ſeems to triumph in the diſappointment of Conſtantine, whoſe immortal name is now loſt in the vulgar appellation of Iſtambol, a Turkiſh corruption of εις την πολιν. Yet the original name is ſtill preſerved, 1. By the nations of Europe. 2. By the modern Greeks. 3. By the Arabs, whoſe writings are diffuſed over the wide extent of their conqueſts in Aſia and Africa. See d'Herbelot Bibliotheque Orientale, p. 275. 4. By the more learned Turks, and by the emperor himſelf in his public mandates. Cantemir's Hiſtory of the Othman Empire, p. 51.

[71] The Theodoſian Code was promulgated A. D. 438. See the Prolegomena of Godefroy, c. i. p. 185.

[72] Pancirolus, in his elaborate Commentary, aſſigns to the Notitia a date almoſt ſimilar to that of the Theodoſian Code; but his proofs, or rather conjectures, are extremely feeble. I ſhould be rather inclined to place this uſeful work between the final diviſion of the empire (A. D. 395), and the ſucceſsful invaſion of Gaul by the Barbarians (A. D. 407). See Hiſtoire des anciens Peuples de l'Europe, tom. vii. p. 40.

tatious

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tatious greatneſs [73]. But when they loſt even the ſemblance of thoſe virtues which were derived from their ancient freedom, the ſimplicity of Roman manners was inſenſibly corrupted by the ſtately affectation of the courts of Aſia. The diſtinctions of perſonal merit and influence, ſo conſpicuous in a republic, ſo feeble and obſcure under a monarchy, were aboliſhed by the deſpotiſm of the emperors; who ſubſtituted in their room a ſevere ſubordination of rank and office, from the titled ſlaves who were ſeated on the ſteps of the throne, to the meaneſt inſtruments of arbitrary power. This multitude of abject dependents was intereſted in the ſupport of the actual government, from the dread of a revolution which might at once confound their hopes, and intercept the reward of their ſervices. In this divine hierarchy (for ſuch it is frequently ſtyled), every rank was marked with the moſt ſcrupulous exactneſs, and its dignity was diſplayed in a variety of trifling and ſolemn ceremonies, which it was a ſtudy to learn, and a ſacrilege to neglect [74]. The purity of the Latin language was debaſed, by adopting, in the intercourſe of pride and flattery, a profuſion of epithets, which Tully would ſcarcely have underſtood, and which Auguſtus would have rejected with indignation. The principal officers of the empire were ſaluted, even by the ſovereign himſelf, with the deceitful titles of your *Sincerity*, your *Gravity*, your *Excellency*, your *Eminency*, your *ſublime and wonderful Magnitude*, your *illuſtrious and magnificent Highneſs* [75]. The codicils or patents of their office were curiouſly emblazoned

[73] Scilicet externæ ſuperbiæ ſueto, non in erat notitia noſtri (perhaps *noſtræ*); apud quos vis imperii valet, inania tranſmittuntur. Tacit. Annal. xv. 31. The gradation from the ſtyle of freedom and ſimplicity, to that of form and ſervitude, may be traced in the Epiſtles of Cicero, of Pliny, and of Symmachus.

[74] The emperor Gratian, after confirming a law of precedency publiſhed by Valentinian, the father of his *Divinity*, thus continues: Siquis igitur indebitum ſibi locum uſurpaverit, nulla ſe ignoratione defendat; ſitque plane *ſacrilegii* reus, qui *divina* præcepta neglexerit. Cod. Theod. l. vi. tit. v. leg. 2.

[75] Conſult the *Notitia Dignitatum*, at the end of the Theodoſian Code, tom. vi. p. 316.

with

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with ſuch emblems as were beſt adapted to explain its nature and high dignity; the image or portrait of the reigning emperors; a triumphal car; the book of mandates placed on a table, covered with a rich carpet, and illuminated by four tapers; the allegorical figures of the provinces which they governed; or the appellations and ſtandards of the troops whom they commanded. Some of theſe official enſigns were really exhibited in their hall of audience; others preceded their pompous march whenever they appeared in public; and every circumſtance of their demeanour, their dreſs, their ornaments, and their train, was calculated to inſpire a deep reverence for the repreſentatives of ſupreme majeſty. By a philoſophic obſerver, the ſyſtem of the Roman government might have been miſtaken for a ſplendid theatre, filled with players of every character and degree, who repeated the language, and imitated the paſſions, of their original model [76].

Three ranks of honour.

All the magiſtrates of ſufficient importance to find a place in the general ſtate of the empire, were accurately divided into three claſſes. 1. The *Illuſtrious*. 2. The *Spectabiles*, or *Reſpectable*: And 3. The *Clariſſimi*; whom we may tranſlate by the word *Honourable*. In the times of Roman ſimplicity, the laſt-mentioned epithet was uſed only as a vague expreſſion of deference, till it became at length the peculiar and appropriated title of all who were members of the ſenate [77], and conſequently of all who, from that venerable body, were ſelected to govern the provinces. The vanity of thoſe who, from their rank and office, might claim a ſuperior diſtinction above the reſt of the ſenatorial order, was long afterwards indulged with the new appellation of *Reſpectable*: but the title of *Illuſtrious* was

[76] Pancirolus ad Notitiam utriuſque Imperii, p. 39. But his explanations are obſcure, and he does not ſufficiently diſtinguiſh the painted emblems from the effective enſigns of office.

[77] In the Pandects, which may be referred to the reigns of the Antonines, *Clariſſimus* is the ordinary and legal title of a ſenator.

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always reſerved to ſome eminent perſonages who were obeyed or reverenced by the two ſubordinate claſſes. It was communicated only, I. To the conſuls and patricians; II. To the Prætorian præfects, with the præfects of Rome and Conſtantinople; III. To the maſters general of the cavalry and the infantry; and, IV. To the ſeven miniſters of the palace, who exerciſed their *ſacred* functions about the perſon of the emperor[78]. Among thoſe illuſtrious magiſtrates who were eſteemed co-ordinate with each other, the ſeniority of appointment gave place to the union of dignities[79]. By the expedient of honorary codicils, the emperors, who were fond of multiplying their favours, might ſometimes gratify the vanity, though not the ambition, of impatient courtiers[80].

The conſuls.

I. As long as the Roman conſuls were the firſt magiſtrates of a free ſtate, they derived their right to power from the choice of the people. As long as the emperors condeſcended to diſguiſe the ſervitude which they impoſed, the conſuls were ſtill elected by the real or apparent ſuffrage of the ſenate. From the reign of Diocletian, even theſe veſtiges of liberty were aboliſhed, and the ſucceſsful candidates who were inveſted with the annual honours of the conſulſhip, affected to deplore the humiliating condition of their predeceſſors. The Scipios and the Catos had been reduced to ſolicit the votes of plebeians, to paſs through the tedious and expenſive forms of a popular election, and to expoſe their dignity to the ſhame of a public refuſal; while their own happier fate had reſerved them for an age and government in which the rewards of virtue were aſſigned by the unerring wiſdom of a gracious ſovereign[81]. In the epiſtles which the emperor addreſſed

[78] Pancirol. p. 12—17. I have not taken any notice of the two inferior ranks, *Perfectiſſimus*, and *Egregius*, which were given to many perſons, who were not raiſed to the ſenatorial dignity.

[79] Cod. Theodoſ. l. vi. tit. vi. The rules of precedency are aſcertained with the moſt minute accuracy by the emperors, and illuſtrated with equal prolixity by their learned interpreter.

[80] Cod. Theodoſ. l. vi. tit. xxii.

[81] Auſonius (in Gratiarum Actione) baſely expatiates on this unworthy topic, which is managed by Mamertinus (Panegyr. Vet. xi. 16. 19.) with ſomewhat more freedom and ingenuity.

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dreſſed to the two conſuls elect, it was declared, that they were created by his ſole authority [82]. Their names and portraits, engraved on gilt tablets of ivory, were diſperſed over the empire as preſents to the provinces, the cities, the magiſtrates, the ſenate, and the people [83]. Their ſolemn inauguration was performed at the place of the Imperial reſidence; and during a period of one hundred and twenty years, Rome was conſtantly deprived of the preſence of her ancient magiſtrates [84]. On the morning of the firſt of January, the conſuls aſſumed the enſigns of their dignity. Their dreſs was a robe of purple embroidered in ſilk and gold, and ſometimes ornamented with coſtly gems [85]. On this ſolemn occaſion they were attended by the moſt eminent officers of the ſtate and army, in the habit of ſenators; and the uſeleſs faſces, armed with the once formidable axes, were borne before them by the lictors [86]. The proceſſion moved from the palace [87] to the

[82] Cum de Conſulibus in annum creandis, ſolus mecum volutarem . . . te Conſulem et deſignavi, et declaravi, et priorem nuncupavi: are ſome of the expreſſions employed by the emperor Gratian to his præceptor the poet Auſonius.

[83] Immaneſque . . . . dentes
Qui ſecti ferro in tabulas auroque micantes,
Inſcripti rutilum cœlato Conſule nomen
Per proceres et vulgus eant.
Claud. in ii Conſ. Stilichon. 456.

Montfaucon has repreſented ſome of theſe tablets or dyptics; ſee Supplement à l'Antiquité expliquée, tom. iii. p. 220.

[84] Conſule lætatur poſt plurima ſecula viſo
Pallanteus apex: agnoſcunt roſtra curules
Auditas quondam proavis: deſuetaque cingit
Regiùs auratis Fora faſcibus Ulpia lictor.
Claudian in vi Conſ. Honorii, 643.

From the reign of Carus to the ſixth conſulſhip of Honorius, there was an interval of one hundred and twenty years, during which the emperors were always abſent from Rome on the firſt day of January. See the Chronologie de Tillemont, tom. iii. iv. and v.

[85] See Claudian in Conſ. Prob. et Olybrii, 178, &c. and in iv Conſ. Honorii, 585, &c.; though in the latter it is not eaſy to ſeparate the ornaments of the emperor from thoſe of the conſul. Auſonius received, from the liberality of Gratian, a *veſtis palmata*, or robe of ſtate, in which the figure of the emperor Conſtantius was embroidered.

[86] Cernis et armorum proceres legumque potentes:
Patricios ſumunt habitus; et more Gabino
Diſcolor incedit legio, poſitiſque parumper
Bellorum ſignis, ſequitur vexilla Quirini.
Lictori cedunt aquilæ, ridetque togatus
Miles, et in mediis effulget curia caſtris.
Claud. in iv Conſ. Honorii, 5.
——— *ſtrictaſque* procul radiare *ſecures*.
In Conſ. Prob. 229.

[87] See Valeſius ad Ammian. Marcellin. l. xxii. c. 7.

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Forum, or principal ſquare of the city; where the conſuls aſcended their tribunal, and ſeated themſelves in the curule chairs, which were framed after the faſhion of ancient times. They immediately exerciſed an act of juriſdiction, by the manumiſſion of a ſlave, who was brought before them for that purpoſe; and the ceremony was intended to repreſent the celebrated action of the elder Brutus, the author of liberty and of the conſulſhip, when he admitted among his fellow-citizens the faithful Vindex, who had revealed the conſpiracy of the Tarquins [88]. The public feſtival was continued during ſeveral days in all the principal cities; in Rome, from cuſtom; in Conſtantinople, from imitation; in Carthage, Antioch, and Alexandria, from the love of pleaſure and the ſuperfluity of wealth [89]. In the two capitals of the empire, the annual games of the theatre, the circus, and the amphitheatre [90], coſt four thouſand pounds of gold, (about) one hundred and ſixty thouſand pounds ſterling: and if ſo heavy an expence ſurpaſſed the faculties or the inclination of the magiſtrates themſelves, the ſum was ſupplied from the Imperial treaſury [91]. As ſoon as the conſuls had diſcharged theſe cuſtomary duties, they were at liberty to retire into the ſhade of private life, and to enjoy, during the remainder of the year, the undiſturbed contemplation of their own greatneſs. They no longer preſided in the national councils; they no longer executed the reſolutions of peace or war. Their abilities (unleſs they were employed in more effective offices) were of little moment; and their names ſerved only

[88] Auſpice mox læto ſonuit clamore tribunal;
Te faſtos ineunte quater; ſolemnia ludit
Omnia libertas: deductum vindice morem
Lex ſervat; famuluſque jugo laxatus herili
Ducitur, et grato remeat ſecurior ictu.
Claudian in iv Conſ. Honorii, 611.

[89] Celebrant quidem ſolemnes iſtos dies, omnes ubique urbes quæ ſub legibus agunt; et Roma de more, et Conſtantinopolis de imitatione, et Antiochia pro luxu, et diſcincta Carthago, et domus fluminis Alexandria, ſed Treviri Principis beneficio. Auſonius in Grat. Actione.

[90] Claudian (in Conſ. Mall. Theodori, 279—331.) deſcribes, in a lively and fanciful manner, the various games of the circus, the theatre, and the amphitheatre, exhibited by the new conſul. The ſanguinary combats of gladiators had already been prohibited.

[91] Procopius in Hiſt. Arcana, c. 26.

as the legal date of the year, in which they had filled the chair of Marius and of Cicero. Yet it was ſtill felt and acknowledged, in the laſt period of Roman ſervitude, that this empty name might be compared, and even preferred, to the poſſeſſion of ſubſtantial power. The title of conſul was ſtill the moſt ſplendid object of ambition, the nobleſt reward of virtue and loyalty. The emperors themſelves, who diſdained the faint ſhadow of the republic, were conſcious that they acquired an additional ſplendour and majeſty as often as they aſſumed the annual honours of the conſular dignity [92].

The proudeſt and moſt perfect ſeparation which can be found in any age or country, between the nobles and the people, is perhaps that of the Patricians and the Plebeians, as it was eſtabliſhed in the firſt age of the Roman republic. Wealth and honours, the offices of the ſtate, and the ceremonies of religion, were almoſt excluſively poſſeſſed by the former; who preſerving the purity of their blood with the moſt inſulting jealouſy [93], held their clients in a condition of ſpecious vaſſalage. But theſe diſtinctions, ſo incompatible with the ſpirit of a free people, were removed, after a long ſtruggle, by the perſevering efforts of the Tribunes. The moſt active and ſucceſsful of the Plebeians accumulated wealth, aſpired to honours, deſerved triumphs, contracted alliances, and, after ſome generations, aſſumed the pride of ancient nobility [94]. The Patrician families, on the

The patricians.

[92] In Conſulatu honos ſine labore ſuſcipitur. (Mamertin. in Panegyr. Vet. xi. 2.) This exalted idea of the conſulſhip is borrowed from an Oration (iii. p. 107.) pronounced by Julian in the ſervile court of Conſtantius. See the Abbé de la Bleterie (Memoires de l'Academie, tom. xxiv. p. 289.), who delights to purſue the veſtiges of the old conſtitution, and who ſometimes finds them in his copious fancy.

[93] Intermarriages between the Patricians and Plebeians were prohibited by the laws of the XII Tables; and the uniform operations of human nature may atteſt that the cuſtom ſurvived the law. See in Livy (iv. 1—6.), the pride of family urged by the conſul, and the rights of mankind aſſerted by the tribune Canuleius.

[94] See the animated pictures drawn by Salluſt, in the Jugurthine war, of the pride of the nobles, and even of the virtuous Metellus, who was unable to brook the idea that

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the other hand, whoſe original number was never recruited till the end of the commonwealth, either failed in the ordinary courſe of nature, or were extinguiſhed in ſo many foreign and domeſtic wars, or, through a want of merit or fortune, inſenſibly mingled with the maſs of the people [95]. Very few remained who could derive their pure and genuine origin from the infancy of the city, or even from that of the republic, when Cæſar and Auguſtus, Claudius and Veſpaſian, created from the body of the ſenate a competent number of new Patrician families, in the hope of perpetuating an order, which was ſtill conſidered as honourable and ſacred [96]. But theſe artificial ſupplies (in which the reigning houſe was always included) were rapidly ſwept away by the rage of tyrants, by frequent revolutions, by the change of manners, and by the intermixture of nations [97]. Little more was left when Conſtantine aſcended the throne, than a vague and imperfect tradition, that the Patricians had once been the firſt of the Romans. To form a body of nobles, whoſe influence may reſtrain, while it ſecures the authority of the monarch, would

that the honour of the conſulſhip ſhould be beſtowed on the obſcure merit of his lieutenant Marius (c. 64). Two hundred years before, the race of the Metelli themſelves were confounded among the Plebeians of Rome; and from the etymology of their name of *Cæcilius*, there is reaſon to believe that thoſe haughty nobles derived their origin from a ſutler.

[95] In the year of Rome 800, very few remained, not only of the old Patrician families, but even of thoſe which had been created by Cæſar and Auguſtus. (Tacit. Annal. xi. 25.) The family of Scaurus (a branch of the Patrician Æmilii) was degraded ſo low, that his father, who exerciſed the trade of a charcoal-merchant, left him only ten ſlaves, and ſomewhat leſs than three hundred pounds ſterling. (Valerius Maximus, l. iv. c. 4. n. 11.; Aurel. Victor in Scauro.) The family was ſaved from oblivion by the merit of the ſon.

[96] Tacit. Annal. xi. 25. Dion Caſſius, l. iii. p. 693. The virtues of Agricola, who was created a Patrician by the emperor Veſpaſian, reflected honour on that ancient order; but his anceſtors had not any claim beyond an Equeſtrian nobility.

[97] This failure would have been almoſt impoſſible if it were true, as Caſaubon compels Aurelius Victor to affirm (ad Sueton. in Cæſar. c. 42. See Hiſt. Auguſt. p. 203. and Caſaubon, Comment. p. 220.), that Veſpaſian created at once a thouſand Patrician families. But this extravagant number is too much even for the whole Senatorial order, unleſs we ſhould include all the Roman knights who were diſtinguiſhed by the permiſſion of wearing the laticlave.

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have been very inconsistent with the character and policy of Constantine; but had he seriously entertained such a design, it might have exceeded the measure of his power to ratify, by an arbitrary edict, an institution which must expect the sanction of time and of opinion. He revived, indeed, the title of PATRICIANS, but he revived it as a personal, not as an hereditary distinction. They yielded only to the transient superiority of the annual consuls; but they enjoyed the pre-eminence over all the great officers of state, with the most familiar access to the person of the prince. This honourable rank was bestowed on them for life; and as they were usually favourites, and ministers who had grown old in the Imperial court, the true etymology of the word was perverted by ignorance and flattery; and the Patricians of Constantine were reverenced as the adopted *Fathers* of the emperor and the republic[92].

The Prætorian præfects.

II. The fortunes of the Prætorian præfects were essentially different from those of the consuls and patricians. The latter saw their ancient greatness evaporate in a vain title. The former, rising by degrees from the most humble condition, were invested with the civil and military administration of the Roman world. From the reign of Severus to that of Diocletian, the guards and the palace, the laws and the finances, the armies and the provinces, were entrusted to their superintending care; and, like the Vizirs of the East, they held with one hand the seal, and with the other the standard, of the empire. The ambition of the præfects, always formidable and sometimes fatal, to the masters whom they served, was supported by the strength of the Prætorian bands; but after those haughty troops had been weakened by Diocletian, and finally suppressed by Constantine, the præfects, who survived their fall, were reduced without difficulty to the station of useful and obedient ministers. When they were no longer responsible for the safety of the emperor's person,

[92] Zosimus, l. ii. p. 118.; and Godefroy ad Cod. Theodos. l. vi. tit. vi.

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they reſigned the juriſdiction which they had hitherto claimed and exerciſed over all the departments of the palace. They were deprived by Conſtantine of all military command, as ſoon as they had ceaſed to lead into the field, under their immediate orders, the flower of the Roman troops; and at length, by a ſingular revolution, the captains of the guards were transformed into the civil magiſtrates of the provinces. According to the plan of government inſtituted by Diocletian, the four princes had each their Prætorian præfect; and, after the monarchy was once more united in the perſon of Conſtantine, he ſtill continued to create the ſame number of FOUR PRÆFECTS, and entruſted to their care the ſame provinces which they already adminiſtered. 1. The præfect of the Eaſt ſtretched his ample juriſdiction into the three parts of the globe which were ſubject to the Romans, from the cataracts of the Nile to the banks of the Phaſis, and from the mountains of Thrace to the frontiers of Perſia. 2. The important provinces of Pannonia, Dacia, Macedonia, and Greece, once acknowledged the authority of the præfect of Illyricum. 3. The power of the præfect of Italy was not confined to the country from whence he derived his title; it extended over the additional territory of Rhætia as far as the banks of the Danube, over the dependent iſlands of the Mediterranean, and over that part of the continent of Africa which lies between the confines of Cyrene and thoſe of Tingitania. 4. The præfect of the Gauls comprehended under that plural denomination the kindred provinces of Britain and Spain, and his authority was obeyed from the wall of Antoninus to the foot of Mount Atlas [99].

After the Prætorian præfects had been diſmiſſed from all military command, the civil functions which they were ordained to exerciſe

[99] Zoſimus, l. ii. p. 109, 110. If we had not fortunately poſſeſſed this ſatisfactory account of the diviſion of the power and provinces of the Prætorian præfects, we ſhould frequently have been perplexed amidſt the copious details of the Code, and the circumſtantial minuteneſs of the Notitia.

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over ſo many ſubject nations, were adequate to the ambition and abilities of the moſt conſummate miniſters. To their wiſdom was committed the ſupreme adminiſtration of juſtice and of the finances, the two objects which, in a ſtate of peace, comprehend almoſt all the reſpective duties of the ſovereign and of the people; of the former, to protect the citizens who are obedient to the laws; of the latter, to contribute the ſhare of their property which is required for the expences of the ſtate. The coin, the highways, the poſts, the granaries, the manufactures, whatever could intereſt the public proſperity, was moderated by the authority of the Prætorian præfects. As the immediate repreſentatives of the Imperial majeſty, they were empowered to explain, to enforce, and on ſome occaſions to modify, the general edicts by their diſcretionary proclamations. They watched over the conduct of the provincial governors, removed the negligent, and inflicted puniſhments on the guilty. From all the inferior juriſdictions, an appeal in every matter of importance, either civil or criminal, might be brought before the tribunal of the præfect: but *his* ſentence was final and abſolute; and the emperors themſelves refuſed to admit any complaints againſt the judgment or the integrity of a magiſtrate whom they honoured with ſuch unbounded confidence [100]. His appointments were ſuitable to his dignity [101]; and if avarice was his ruling paſſion, he enjoyed frequent opportunities of collecting a rich harveſt of fees, of preſents, and of perquiſites. Though the emperors no longer dreaded the ambition of their

[100] See a law of Conſtantine himſelf. A præfectis autem prætorio provocare non ſinimus. Cod. Juſtinian. l. vii. tit. lxii. leg. 19. Chariſius, a lawyer of the time of Conſtantine (Heinec. Hiſt. Juris Romani, p. 349.), who admits this law as a fundamental principle of juriſprudence, compares the Prætorian præfects to the maſters of the horſe of the ancient dictators. Pandect. l. i. tit. xi.

[101] When Juſtinian, in the exhauſted condition of the empire, inſtituted a Prætorian præfect for Africa, he allowed him a ſalary of one hundred pounds of gold. Cod. Juſtinian. l. i. tit. xxvii. leg. 1.

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præfects, they were attentive to counterbalance the power of this great office by the uncertainty and ſhortneſs of its duration[102].

The præfects of Rome and Conſtantinople.

From their ſuperior importance and dignity, Rome and Conſtantinople were alone excepted from the juriſdiction of the Prætorian præfects. The immenſe ſize of the city, and the experience of the tardy, ineffectual operation of the laws, had furniſhed the policy of Auguſtus with a ſpecious pretence for introducing a new magiſtrate, who alone could reſtrain a ſervile and turbulent populace by the ſtrong arm of arbitrary power[103]. Valerius Meſſalla was appointed the firſt præfect of Rome, that his reputation might countenance ſo invidious a meaſure: but, at the end of a few days, that accompliſhed citizen[104] reſigned his office, declaring with a ſpirit worthy of the friend of Brutus, that he found himſelf incapable of exerciſing a power incompatible with public freedom[105]. As the ſenſe of liberty became leſs exquiſite, the advantages of order were more clearly underſtood; and the præfect, who ſeemed to have been deſigned as a terror only to ſlaves and vagrants, was permitted to extend

[102] For this, and the other dignities of the empire, it may be ſufficient to refer to the ample commentaries of Pancirolus and Godefroy, who have diligently collected and accurately digeſted in their proper order all the legal and hiſtorical materials. From thoſe authors, Dr. Howell (Hiſtory of the World, vol. ii. p. 24—77.) had deduced a very diſtinct abridgment of the ſtate of the Roman empire.

[103] Tacit. Annal. vi. 11. Euſeb. in Chron. p. 155. Dion Caſſius, in the oration of Mæcenas (l. vii. p. 675.), deſcribes the prerogatives of the præfect of the city as they were eſtabliſhed in his own time.

[104] The fame of Meſſalla has been ſcarcely equal to his merit. In the earlieſt youth he was recommended by Cicero to the friendſhip of Brutus. He followed the ſtandard of the republic till it was broken in the fields of Philippi: he then accepted and deſerved the favour of the moſt moderate of the conquerors; and uniformly aſſerted his freedom and dignity in the court of Auguſtus. The triumph of Meſſalla was juſtified by the conqueſt of Aquitain. As an orator, he diſputed the palm of eloquence with Cicero himſelf. Meſſalla cultivated every muſe, and was the patron of every man of genius. He ſpent his evenings in philoſophic converſation with Horace; he aſſumed his place at table between Delia and Tibullus; and amuſed his leiſure by encouraging the poetical talents of young Ovid.

[105] Incivilem eſſe poteſtatem conteſtans, ſays the tranſlator of Euſebius. Tacitus expreſſes the ſame idea in other words: quaſi neſcius exercendi.

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his civil and criminal juriſdiction over the equeſtrian and noble families of Rome. The prætors, annually created as the judges of law and equity, could not long diſpute the poſſeſſion of the Forum with a vigorous and permanent magiſtrate, who was uſually admitted into the confidence of the prince. Their courts were deſerted, their number, which had once fluctuated between twelve and eighteen [106], was gradually reduced to two or three, and their important functions were confined to the expenſive obligation [107] of exhibiting games for the amuſement of the people. After the office of Roman conſuls had been changed into a vain pageant, which was rarely diſplayed in the capital, the præfects aſſumed their vacant place in the ſenate, and were ſoon acknowledged as the ordinary preſidents of that venerable aſſembly. They received appeals from the diſtance of one hundred miles; and it was allowed as a principle of juriſprudence, that all municipal authority was derived from them alone [108]. In the diſcharge of his laborious employment, the governor of Rome was aſſiſted by fifteen officers, ſome of whom had been originally his equals, or even his ſuperiors. The principal departments were relative to the command of a numerous watch eſtabliſhed as a ſafeguard againſt fires, robberies, and nocturnal diſorders; the cuſtody and diſtribution of the public allowance of corn and proviſions; the care of the port, of the aqueducts, of the common ſewers, and of the navigation and bed of the Tyber; the in-

[106] See Lipſius, Excurſus D. ad 1 lib. Tacit. Annal.

[107] Heineccii Element. Juris Civilis ſecund. ordinem Pandect. tom. i. p. 70. See likewiſe Spanheim de Uſu Numiſmatum, tom. ii. diſſertat. x. p. 119. In the year 450, Marcian publiſhed a law, that *three* citizens ſhould be annually created Prætors of Conſtantinople by the choice of the ſenate, but with their own conſent. Cod. Juſtinian. l. i. tit. xxxix. leg. 2.

[108] Quidquid igitur intra urbem admittitur, ad P. U. videtur pertinere; ſed et ſiquid intra centeſimum milliarium. Ulpian in Pandect. l. i. tit. xiii. n. i. He proceeds to enumerate the various offices of the præfect, who, in the Code of Juſtinian (l. i. tit. xxxix. leg. 3.), is declared to precede and command all city magiſtates, ſine injuriâ ac detrimento honoris alieni.

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ſpection of the markets, the theatres, and of the private as well as public works. Their vigilance enſured the three principal objects of a regular police, ſafety, plenty, and cleanlineſs; and as a proof of the attention of government to preſerve the ſplendour and ornaments of the capital, a particular inſpector was appointed for the ſtatues; the guardian, as it were, of that inanimate people, which, according to the extravagant computation of an old writer, was ſcarcely inferior in number to the living inhabitants of Rome. About thirty years after the foundation of Conſtantinople, a ſimilar magiſtrate was created in that riſing metropolis, for the ſame uſes, and with the ſame powers. A perfect equality was eſtabliſhed between the dignity of the *two* municipal, and that of the *four* prætorian, præfects [109].

The proconſuls, vice-præfects, &c.

Thoſe who, in the Imperial hierarchy, were diſtinguiſhed by the title of *Reſpectable*, formed an intermediate claſs between the *illuſtrious* præfects and the *honourable* magiſtrates of the provinces. In this claſs, the proconſuls of Aſia, Achaia, and Africa, claimed a pre-eminence, which was yielded to the remembrance of their ancient dignity; and the appeal from their tribunal to that of the præfects was almoſt the only mark of their dependence [110]. But the civil government of the empire was diſtributed into thirteen great DIOCESES, each of which equalled the juſt meaſure of a powerful kingdom. The firſt of theſe dioceſes was ſubject to the juriſdiction of the *count* of the Eaſt; and we may convey ſome idea of the importance and variety of his functions, by obſerving, that ſix hundred appa-

[109] Beſides our uſual guides, we may obſerve, that Felix Cantelorius has written a ſeparate treatiſe, De Præfecto Urbis; and that many curious details concerning the police of Rome and Conſtantinople are contained in the fourteenth book of the Theodoſian Code.

[110] Eunapius affirms, that the proconſul of Aſia was independent of the præfect; which muſt, however, be underſtood with ſome allowance: the juriſdiction of the vice-præfect he moſt aſſuredly diſclaimed. Pancirolus, p. 161.

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ritors, who would be ſtyled at preſent either ſecretaries, or clerks, or uſhers, or meſſengers, were employed in his immediate office [111]. The place of *Auguſtal præfect* of Egypt was no longer filled by a Roman knight; but the name was retained; and the extraordinary powers which the ſituation of the country, and the temper of the inhabitants, had once made indiſpenſable, were ſtill continued to the governor. The eleven remaining dioceſes, of Aſiana, Pontica, and Thrace; of Macedonia, Dacia, and Pannonia or Weſtern Illyricum; of Italy and Africa; of Gaul, Spain, and Britain; were governed by twelve *vicars* or *vice-præfects* [112], whoſe name ſufficiently explains the nature and dependence of their office. It may be added, that the lieutenant-generals of the Roman armies, the military counts and dukes, who will be hereafter mentioned, were allowed the rank and title of *Reſpectable*.

The governors of the provinces.

As the ſpirit of jealouſy and oſtentation prevailed in the councils of the emperors, they proceeded with anxious diligence to divide the ſubſtance and to multiply the titles of power. The vaſt countries which the Roman conquerors had united under the ſame ſimple form of adminiſtration, were imperceptibly crumbled into minute fragments; till at length the whole empire was diſtributed into one hundred and ſixteen provinces, each of which ſupported an expenſive and ſplendid eſtabliſhment. Of theſe, three were governed by *proconſuls*, thirty-ſeven by *conſulars*, five by *correctors*, and ſeventy-one by *preſidents*. The appellations of theſe magiſtrates were different; they ranked in ſucceſſive order, the enſigns of their dignity were curiouſly varied, and their ſituation, from accidental circumſtances, might be more or leſs agreeable or advan-

[111] The proconſul of Africa had four hundred apparitors; and they all received large ſalaries, either from the treaſury or the province. See Pancirol. p. 26. and Cod. Juſtinian. l. xii. tit. lvi, lvii.

[112] In Italy there was likewiſe the *Vicar of Rome*. It has been much diſputed, whether his juriſdiction meaſured one hundred miles from the city, or whether it ſtretched over the ten ſouthern provinces of Italy.

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tageous. But they were all (excepting only the proconſuls) alike included in the claſs of *honourable* perſons; and they were alike entruſted, during the pleaſure of the prince, and under the authority of the præfects or their deputies, with the adminiſtration of juſtice and the finances in their reſpective diſtricts. The ponderous volumes of the Codes and Pandects[113] would furniſh ample materials for a minute enquiry into the ſyſtem of provincial government, as in the ſpace of ſix centuries it was improved by the wiſdom of the Roman ſtateſmen and lawyers. It may be ſufficient for the hiſtorian to ſelect two ſingular and ſalutary proviſions intended to reſtrain the abuſe of authority. 1. For the preſervation of peace and order, the governors of the provinces were armed with the ſword of juſtice. They inflicted corporal puniſhments, and they exerciſed, in capital offences, the power of life and death. But they were not authoriſed to indulge the condemned criminal with the choice of his own execution, or to pronounce a ſentence of the mildeſt and moſt honourable kind of exile. Theſe prerogatives were reſerved to the præfects, who alone could impoſe the heavy fine of fifty pounds of gold: their vicegerents were confined to the trifling weight of a few ounces[114]. This diſtinction, which ſeems to grant the larger, while it denies the ſmaller degree of authority, was founded on a very rational motive. The ſmaller degree was infinitely more liable to abuſe. The paſſions of a provincial magiſtrate might frequently provoke him into acts of oppreſſion, which affected only the freedom or the fortunes of the ſubject; though, from a principle of prudence, perhaps of humanity, he might ſtill be terrified by the guilt of innocent blood.

[113] Among the works of the celebrated Ulpian, there was one in ten books, concerning the office of a proconſul, whoſe duties in the moſt eſſential articles were the ſame as thoſe of an ordinary governor of a province.

[114] The preſidents, or conſulars, could impoſe only two ounces; the vice-præfects, three; the proconſuls, count of the Eaſt, and præfect of Egypt, ſix. See Heineccii Jur. Civil. tom. i. p. 75. Pandect. l. xlviii. tit. xix. n. 8. Cod. Juſtinian. l. i. tit. liv. leg. 4. 6.

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It may likewiſe be conſidered, that exile, conſiderable fines, or the choice of an eaſy death, relate more particularly to the rich and the noble; and the perſons the moſt expoſed to the avarice or reſentment of a provincial magiſtrate, were thus removed from his obſcure perſecution to the more auguſt and impartial tribunal of the Prætorian præfect. 2. As it was reaſonably apprehended that the integrity of the judge might be biaſſed, if his intereſt was concerned, or his affections were engaged; the ſtricteſt regulations were eſtabliſhed, to exclude any perſon, without the ſpecial diſpenſation of the emperor, from the government of the province where he was born [115]; and to prohibit the governor or his ſon from contracting marriage with a native or an inhabitant [116]; or from purchaſing ſlaves, lands, or houſes, within the extent of his juriſdiction [117]. Notwithſtanding theſe rigorous precautions, the emperor Conſtantine, after a reign of twenty-five years, ſtill deplores the venal and oppreſſive adminiſtration of juſtice, and expreſſes the warmeſt indignation that the audience of the judge, his diſpatch of buſineſs, his ſeaſonable delays, and his final ſentence, were publicly ſold, either by himſelf or by the officers of his court. The continuance, and perhaps the impunity, of theſe crimes, is atteſted by the repetition of impotent laws, and ineffectual menaces [118].

[115] Ut nulli patriæ ſuæ adminiſtratio ſine ſpeciali principis permiſſu permittatur. Cod. Juſtinian. l. i. tit. xli. This law was firſt enacted by the emperor Marcus, after the rebellion of Caſſius (Dion. l. lxxi.). The ſame regulation is obſerved in China, with equal ſtrictneſs and with equal effect.

[116] Pandect. l. xxiii. tit. ii. n. 38. 57. 63.

[117] In jure continetur, ne quis in adminiſtratione conſtitutus aliquid compararet. Cod. Theod. l. viii. tit. xv. leg. 1. This maxim of common law was enforced by a ſeries of edicts (ſee the remainder of the title) from Conſtantine to Juſtin. From this prohibition, which is extended to the meaneſt officers of the governor, they except only clothes and proviſions. The purchaſe within five years may be recovered; after which, on information, it devolves to the treaſury.

[118] Ceſſent rapaces jam nunc officialium manus; ceſſent, inquam; nam ſi moniti non ceſſaverint, gladiis præcidentur, &c. Cod. Theod. l. i. tit. vii. leg. 1. Zeno enacted, that all governors ſhould remain in the province, to anſwer any accuſations, fifty days after the expiration of their power. Cod. Juſtinian. l. ii. tit. xlix. leg. 1.

All

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The profeſſion of the law.

All the civil magiſtrates were drawn from the profeſſion of the law. The celebrated Inſtitutes of Juſtinian are addreſſed to the youth of his dominions, who had devoted themſelves to the ſtudy of Roman juriſprudence; and the ſovereign condeſcends to animate their diligence, by the aſſurance that their ſkill and ability would in time be rewarded by an adequate ſhare in the government of the republic [119]. The rudiments of this lucrative ſcience were taught in all the conſiderable cities of the Eaſt and Weſt; but the moſt famous ſchool was that of Berytus [120], on the coaſt of Phœnicia; which flouriſhed above three centuries from the time of Alexander Severus, the author perhaps of an inſtitution ſo advantageous to his native country. After a regular courſe of education, which laſted five years, the ſtudents diſperſed themſelves through the provinces, in ſearch of fortune and honours; nor could they want an inexhauſtible ſupply of buſineſs in a great empire, already corrupted by the multiplicity of laws, of arts, and of vices. The court of the Prætorian præfect of the Eaſt could alone furniſh employment for one hundred and fifty advocates, ſixty-four of whom were diſtinguiſhed by peculiar privileges, and two were annually choſen with a ſalary of ſixty pounds of gold, to defend the cauſes of the treaſury. The firſt experiment was made of their judicial talents, by appointing them to act occaſionally as aſſeſſors to the magiſtrates; from thence they were often raiſed to preſide in the tribunals before which they had pleaded. They obtained the government of a province; and, by the aid of merit, of reputation, or of favour, they aſcended, by ſucceſſive ſteps,

[119] Summâ igitur ope, et alacri ſtudio has leges noſtras accipite; et voſmetipſos ſic eruditos oſtendite, ut ſpes vos pulcherrima foveat; toto legitimo opere perfecto, poſſe etiam noſtram rempublicam in partibus ejus vobis credendis gubernari. Juſtinian in procm. Inſtitutionum.

[120] The ſplendour of the ſchool of Berytus, which preſerved in the Eaſt the language and juriſprudence of the Romans, may be computed to have laſted from the third to the middle of the ſixth century. Heinecc. Jur. Rom. Hiſt. p. 351—356.

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to the *illuſtrious* dignities of the ſtate [121]. In the practice of the bar, theſe men had conſidered reaſon as the inſtrument of diſpute; they interpreted the laws according to the dictates of private intereſt; and the ſame pernicious habits might ſtill adhere to their characters in the public adminiſtration of the ſtate. The honour of a liberal profeſſion has indeed been vindicated by ancient and modern advocates, who have filled the moſt important ſtations, with pure integrity, and conſummate wiſdom: but in the decline of Roman juriſprudence, the ordinary promotion of lawyers was pregnant with miſchief and diſgrace. The noble art, which had once been preſerved as the ſacred inheritance of the patricians, was fallen into the hands of freedmen and plebeians [122], who, with cunning rather than with ſkill, exerciſed a ſordid and pernicious trade. Some of them procured admittance into families for the purpoſe of fomenting differences, of encouraging ſuits, and of preparing a harveſt of gain for themſelves or their brethren. Others, recluſe in their chambers, maintained the dignity of legal profeſſors, by furniſhing a rich client with ſubtleties to confound the plaineſt truth, and with arguments to colour the moſt unjuſtifiable pretenſions. The ſplendid and popular claſs was compoſed of the advo-

[121] As in a former period I have traced the civil and military promotion of Pertinax, I ſhall here inſert the civil honours of Mallius Theodorus. 1. He was diſtinguiſhed by his eloquence, while he pleaded as an advocate in the court of the Prætorian præfect. 2. He governed one of the provinces of Africa either as preſident or conſular, and deſerved, by his adminiſtration, the honour of a braſs ſtatue. 3. He was appointed vicar, or vice-præfect of Macedonia. 4. Quæſtor. 5. Count of the ſacred largeſſes. 6. Prætorian præfect of the Gauls, whilſt he might yet be repreſented as a young man. 7. After a retreat, perhaps a diſgrace of many years, which Mallius (confounded by ſome critics with the poet Manilius, ſee Fabricius Bibliothec. Latin. edit. Erneſt. tom. i. c. 18. p. 501.) employed in the ſtudy of the Grecian philoſophy, he was named Prætorian præfect of Italy in the year 397. 8. While he ſtill exerciſed that great office, he was created, in the year 399, conſul for the Weſt; and his name, on account of the infamy of his colleague, the eunuch Eutropius, often ſtands alone in the Faſti. 9. In the year 408, Mallius was appointed a ſecond time Prætorian præfect of Italy. Even in the venal panegyric of Claudian, we may diſcover the merit of Mallius Theodorus, who, by a rare felicity, was the intimate friend both of Symmachus and of St. Auguſtin. See Tillemont Hiſt. des Emp. tom. v. p. 1110—1114.

[122] Mamertinus in Panegyr. Vet. xi. 20. Aſterius apud Photium, p. 1500.

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cates, who filled the Forum with the ſound of their turgid and loquacious rhetoric. Careleſs of fame and of juſtice, they are deſcribed, for the moſt part, as ignorant and rapacious guides, who conducted their clients through a maze of expence, of delay, and of diſappointment; from whence, after a tedious ſeries of years, they were at length diſmiſſed, when their patience and fortune were almoſt exhauſted [123].

The military officers.

III. In the ſyſtem of policy introduced by Auguſtus, the governors, thoſe at leaſt of the Imperial provinces, were inveſted with the full powers of the ſovereign himſelf. Miniſters of peace and war, the diſtribution of rewards and puniſhments depended on them alone, and they ſucceſſively appeared on their tribunal in the robes of civil magiſtracy, and in complete armour at the head of the Roman legions [124]. The influence of the revenue, the authority of law, and the command of a military force, concurred to render their power ſupreme and abſolute; and whenever they were tempted to violate their allegiance, the loyal province which they involved in their rebellion, was ſcarcely ſenſible of any change in its political ſtate. From the time of Commodus to the reign of Conſtantine, near one hundred governors might be enumerated, who, with various ſucceſs, erected the ſtandard of revolt; and though the innocent were too often ſacrificed, the guilty might be ſometimes prevented, by the ſuſpicious cruelty of their maſter [125]. To

[123] The curious paſſage of Ammianus (l. xxx. c. 4.) in which he paints the manners of contemporary lawyers, affords a ſtrange mixture of ſound ſenſe, falſe rhetoric, and extravagant ſatire. Godefroy (Prolegom. ad Cod. Theod. c. i. p. 185.) ſupports the hiſtorian by ſimilar complaints and authentic facts. In the fourth century, many camels might have been laden with law-books. Eunapius in Vet. Edeſii, p. 72.

[124] See a very ſplendid example in the Life of Agricola, particularly c. 20, 21. The lieutenant of Britain was entruſted with the ſame powers which Cicero, proconſul of Cilicia, had exerciſed in the name of the ſenate and people.

[125] The Abbé Dubos, who has examined with accuracy (ſee Hiſt. de la Monarchie Françoiſe, tom. i. p. 41—100. edit. 1742) the inſtitutions of Auguſtus and of Conſtantine, obſerves, that if Otho had been put to death the day before he executed his conſpiracy, Otho would now appear in hiſtory as innocent as Corbulo.

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ſecure his throne and the public tranquillity from theſe formidable ſervants, Conſtantine reſolved to divide the military from the civil adminiſtration; and to eſtabliſh, as a permanent and profeſſional diſtinction, a practice which had been adopted only as an occaſional expedient. The ſupreme juriſdiction exerciſed by the Prætorian præfects over the armies of the empire, was transferred to the two *maſters general* whom he inſtituted, the one for the *cavalry*, the other for the *infantry*; and though each of theſe *illuſtrious* officers was more peculiarly reſponſible for the diſcipline of thoſe troops which were under his immediate inſpection, they both indifferently commanded in the field the ſeveral bodies, whether of horſe or foot, which were united in the ſame army[126]. Their number was ſoon doubled by the diviſion of the Eaſt and Weſt; and as ſeparate generals of the ſame rank and title were appointed on the four important frontiers of the Rhine, of the Upper and the Lower Danube, and of the Euphrates, the defence of the Roman empire was at length committed to eight maſters general of the cavalry and infantry. Under their orders, thirty-five military commanders were ſtationed in the provinces: three in Britain, ſix in Gaul, one in Spain, one in Italy, five on the Upper, and four on the Lower Danube; in Aſia eight, three in Egypt, and four in Africa. The titles of *counts*, and *dukes*[127], by which they were properly diſtinguiſhed, have obtained in modern languages ſo very different a ſenſe, that the uſe of them may occaſion ſome ſurpriſe. But it ſhould be recollected, that the ſecond of thoſe appellations is only a corruption of the Latin word, which was indiſcriminately applied to any mili-

[126] Zoſimus, l. ii. p. 110. Before the end of the reign of Conſtantius, the *magiſtri militum* were already increaſed to four. See Valeſius ad Ammian. l. xvi. c. 7.

[127] Though the military counts and dukes are frequently mentioned, both in hiſtory and the codes, we muſt have recourſe to the Notitia for the exact knowledge of their number and ſtations. For the inſtitution, rank, privileges, &c. of the counts in general, ſee Cod. Theod. l. vi. tit. xii—xx. with the Commentary of Godefroy.

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tary chief. All these provincial generals were therefore *dukes*; but no more than ten among them were dignified with the rank of *counts* or companions, a title of honour, or rather of favour, which had been recently invented in the court of Constantine. A gold belt was the ensign which distinguished the office of the counts and dukes; and besides their pay, they received a liberal allowance sufficient to maintain one hundred and ninety servants, and one hundred and fifty-eight horses. They were strictly prohibited from interfering in any matter which related to the administration of justice or the revenue; but the command which they exercised over the troops of their department, was independent of the authority of the magistrates. About the same time that Constantine gave a legal sanction to the ecclesiastical order, he instituted in the Roman empire the nice balance of the civil and the military powers. The emulation, and sometimes the discord, which reigned between two professions of opposite interests and incompatible manners, was productive of beneficial and of pernicious consequences. It was seldom to be expected that the general and the civil governor of a province should either conspire for the disturbance, or should unite for the service, of their country. While the one delayed to offer the assistance which the other disdained to solicit, the troops very frequently remained without orders or without supplies; the public safety was betrayed, and the defenceless subjects were left exposed to the fury of the Barbarians. The divided administration, which had been formed by Constantine, relaxed the vigour of the state, while it secured the tranquillity of the monarch.

Distinction of the troops.

The memory of Constantine has been deservedly censured for another innovation which corrupted military discipline, and prepared the ruin of the empire. The nineteen years which preceded his final victory over Licinius, had been a period of licence and intestine war. The rivals who contended for the possession of the Roman world,

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world, had withdrawn the greateſt part of their forces from the guard of the general frontier; and the principal cities which formed the boundary of their reſpective dominions were filled with ſoldiers, who conſidered their countrymen as their moſt implacable enemies. After the uſe of theſe internal garriſons had ceaſed with the civil war, the conqueror wanted either wiſdom or firmneſs to revive the ſevere diſcipline of Diocletian, and to ſuppreſs a fatal indulgence, which habit had endeared and almoſt confirmed to the military order. From the reign of Conſtantine, a popular and even legal diſtinction was admitted between the *Palatines*[128] and the *Borderers*; the troops of the court, as they were improperly ſtyled, and the troops of the frontier. The former, elevated by the ſuperiority of their pay and privileges, were permitted, except in the extraordinary emergencies of war, to occupy their tranquil ſtations in the heart of the provinces. The moſt flouriſhing cities were oppreſſed by the intolerable weight of quarters. The ſoldiers inſenſibly forgot the virtues of their profeſſion, and contracted only the vices of civil life. They were either degraded by the induſtry of mechanic trades, or enervated by the luxury of baths and theatres. They ſoon became careleſs of their martial exerciſes, curious in their diet and apparel; and while they inſpired terror to the ſubjects of the empire, they trembled at the hoſtile approach of the Barbarians[129]. The chain of fortifications which Diocletian and his colleagues had extended along the banks of the great rivers, was no longer maintained with the ſame care, or defended with the ſame vigilance. The numbers

[128] Zoſimus, l. ii. p. 111. The diſtinction between the two claſſes of Roman troops is very darkly expreſſed in the hiſtorians, the laws, and the Notitia. Conſult, however, the copious *paratitlon* or abſtract, which Godefroy has drawn up of the ſeventh book, de Re Militari, of the Theodoſian Code, l. vii. tit. i. leg. 18. L. viii. tit. i. leg. 10.

[129] Ferox erat in ſuos miles et rapax, ignavus vero in hoſtes et fractus. Ammian. l. xxii. c. 4. He obſerves that they loved downy beds and houſes of marble; and that their cups were heavier than their ſwords.

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which ſtill remained under the name of the troops of the frontier, might be ſufficient for the ordinary defence. But their ſpirit was degraded by the humiliating reflection, that *they* who were expoſed to the hardſhips and dangers of a perpetual warfare, were rewarded only with about two-thirds of the pay and emoluments which were laviſhed on the troops of the court. Even the bands or legions that were raiſed the neareſt to the level of thoſe unworthy favourites, were in ſome meaſure diſgraced by the title of honour which they were allowed to aſſume. It was in vain that Conſtantine repeated the moſt dreadful menaces of fire and ſword againſt the Borderers who ſhould dare to deſert their colours, to connive at the inroads of the Barbarians, or to participate in the ſpoil [130]. The miſchiefs which flow from injudicious counſels are ſeldom removed by the application of partial ſeverities: and though ſucceeding princes laboured to reſtore the ſtrength and numbers of the frontier garriſons, the empire, till the laſt moment of its diſſolution, continued to languiſh under the mortal wound which had been ſo raſhly or ſo weakly inflicted by the hand of Conſtantine.

Reduction of the legions.

The ſame timid policy, of dividing whatever is united, of reducing whatever is eminent, of dreading every active power, and of expecting that the moſt feeble will prove the moſt obedient, ſeems to pervade the inſtitutions of ſeveral princes, and particularly thoſe of Conſtantine. The martial pride of the legions, whoſe victorious camps had ſo often been the ſcene of rebellion, was nouriſhed by the memory of their paſt exploits, and the conſciouſneſs of their actual ſtrength. As long as they maintained their ancient eſtabliſhment of ſix thouſand men, they ſubſiſted, under the reign of Diocletian, each of them ſingly, a viſible and important object in the military hiſtory of the Roman empire. A few years afterwards,

[130] Cod. Theod. l. vii. tit. i. leg. 1. tit. xii. leg. 1. See Howell's Hiſt. of the World, vol. ii. p. 19. That learned hiſtorian, who is not ſufficiently known, labours to juſtify the character and policy of Conſtantine.

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theſe gigantic bodies were ſhrunk to a very diminutive ſize; and when *ſeven* legions, with ſome auxiliaries, defended the city of Amida againſt the Perſians, the total garriſon, with the inhabitants of both ſexes, and the peaſants of the deſerted country, did not exceed the number of twenty thouſand perſons [131]. From this fact, and from ſimilar examples, there is reaſon to believe, that the conſtitution of the legionary troops, to which they partly owed their valour and diſcipline, was diſſolved by Conſtantine; and that the bands of Roman infantry, which ſtill aſſumed the ſame names and the ſame honours, conſiſted only of one thouſand or fifteen hundred men [132]. The conſpiracy of ſo many ſeparate detachments, each of which was awed by the ſenſe of its own weakneſs, could eaſily be checked; and the ſucceſſors of Conſtantine might indulge their love of oſtentation, by iſſuing their orders to one hundred and thirty-two legions, inſcribed on the muſter-roll of their numerous armies. The remainder of their troops was diſtributed into ſeveral hundred cohorts of infantry, and ſquadrons of cavalry. Their arms, and titles, and enſigns, were calculated to inſpire terror, and to diſplay the variety of nations who marched under the Imperial ſtandard. And not a veſtige was left of that ſevere ſimplicity, which, in the ages of freedom and victory, had diſtinguiſhed the line of battle of a Roman army from the confuſed hoſt of an Aſiatic monarch [133]. A more particular enumeration, drawn from the *Notitia*, might exerciſe the diligence of an antiquary; but the hiſtorian will content himſelf with obſerving, that the number of permanent ſtations or

[131] Ammian. l. xix. c. 2. He obſerves, (c. 5.) that the deſperate ſallies of two Gallic legions were like an handful of water thrown on a great conflagration.

[132] Pancirolus ad Notitiam, p. 96. Memoires de l'Academie des Inſcriptions, tom. xxv. p. 491.

[133] Romana acies unius prope formæ erat et hominum et armorum genere.—Regia acies varia magis multis gentibus diſſimilitudine armorum auxiliorumque erat. T. Liv. l. xxxvii. c. 39, 40. Flaminius, even before the event, had compared the army of Antiochus to a ſupper, in which the fleſh of one vile animal was diverſified by the ſkill of the cooks. See the life of Flaminius in Plutarch.

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garriſons eſtabliſhed on the frontiers of the empire, amounted to five hundred and eighty-three; and that, under the ſucceſſors of Conſtantine, the complete force of the military eſtabliſhment was computed at ſix hundred and forty-five thouſand ſoldiers [134]. An effort ſo prodigious ſurpaſſed the wants of a more ancient, and the faculties of a later, period.

Difficulty of levies.

In the various ſtates of ſociety, armies are recruited from very different motives. Barbarians are urged by the love of war; the citizens of a free republic may be prompted by a principle of duty; the ſubjects, or at leaſt the nobles of a monarchy, are animated by a ſentiment of honour; but the timid and luxurious inhabitants of a declining empire muſt be allured into the ſervice by the hopes of profit, or compelled by the dread of puniſhment. The reſources of the Roman treaſury were exhauſted by the increaſe of pay, by the repetition of donatives, and by the invention of new emoluments and indulgences, which, in the opinion of the provincial youth, might compenſate the hardſhips and dangers of a military life. Yet, although the ſtature was lowered [135], although ſlaves, at leaſt by a tacit connivance, were indiſcriminately received into the ranks, the inſurmountable difficulty of procuring a regular and adequate ſupply of volunteers, obliged the emperors to adopt more effectual and coercive methods. The lands beſtowed on the veterans, as the free reward of their valour, were henceforward granted under a condition, which contains the firſt rudiments of the feudal tenures; that their ſons, who ſucceeded to the inheritance, ſhould devote themſelves to the profeſſion of arms, as ſoon as they attained the age of manhood; and their cowardly refuſal was puniſhed by the loſs of honour, of fortune,

[134] Agathias, l. v. p. 157. edit. Louvre.

[135] Valentinian (Cod. Theodoſ. l. vii. tit. xiii. leg. 3.) fixes the ſtandard at five feet ſeven inches, about five feet four inches and a half Engliſh meaſure. It had formerly been five feet ten inches, and in the beſt corps ſix Roman feet. Sed tunc erat amplior multitudo, & plures ſequebantur militiam armatam. Vegetius de Re Militari, l. i. c. 5.

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or even of life[136]. But as the annual growth of the ſons of the veterans bore a very ſmall proportion to the demands of the ſervice, levies of men were frequently required from the provinces, and every proprietor was obliged either to take up arms, or to procure a ſubſtitute, or to purchaſe his exemption by the payment of a heavy fine. The ſum of forty-two pieces of gold, to which it was *reduced*, aſcertains the exorbitant price of volunteers, and the reluctance with which the government admitted of this alternative[137]. Such was the horror for the profeſſion of a ſoldier, which had affected the minds of the degenerate Romans, that many of the youth of Italy, and the provinces, choſe to cut off the fingers of their right hand to eſcape from being preſſed into the ſervice; and this ſtrange expedient was ſo commonly practiſed, as to deſerve the ſevere animadverſion of the laws[138], and a peculiar name in the Latin language[139].

Increaſe of Barbarian auxiliaries.

The introduction of Barbarians into the Roman armies became every day more univerſal, more neceſſary, and more fatal. The

[136] See the two titles, De Veteranis, and De Filiis Veteranorum, in the ſeventh book of the Theodoſian Code. The age at which their military ſervice was required, varied from twenty-five to ſixteen. If the ſons of the veterans appeared with a horſe, they had a right to ſerve in the cavalry; two horſes gave them ſome valuable privileges.

[137] Cod. Theod. l. vii. tit. xiii. leg. 7. According to the hiſtorian Socrates (ſee Godefroy ad loc.), the ſame emperor Valens ſometimes required eighty pieces of gold for a recruit. In the following law it is faintly expreſſed, that ſlaves ſhall not be admitted inter optimas lectiſſimorum militum turmas.

[138] The perſon and property of a Roman knight, who had mutilated his two ſons, were ſold at public auction by the order of Auguſtus. (Sueton. in Auguſt. c. 27.) The moderation of that artful uſurper proves, that this example of ſeverity was juſtified by the ſpirit of the times. Ammianus makes a diſtinction between the effeminate Italians and the hardy Gauls. (L. xv. c. 12.) Yet only fifteen years afterwards, Valentinian, in a law addreſſed to the præfect of Gaul, is obliged to enact that theſe cowardly deſerters ſhall be burnt alive. (Cod. Theod. l. vii. tit. xiii. leg. 5.) Their numbers in Illyricum were ſo conſiderable, that the province complained of a ſcarcity of recruits (Id. leg. 10.)

[139] They were called *Murci*. *Murcidus* is found in Plautus and Feſtus, to denote a lazy and cowardly perſon, who, according to Arnobius and Auguſtin, was under the immediate protection of the goddeſs *Murcia*. From this particular inſtance of cowardice, *murcare* is uſed as ſynonimous to *mutilare*, by the writers of the middle Latinity. See Lindenbrogius, and Valeſius ad Ammian. Marcellin. l. xv. c. 12.

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moſt daring of the Scythians, of the Goths, and of the Germans, who delighted in war, and who found it more profitable to defend than to ravage the provinces, were enrolled, not only in the auxiliaries of their reſpective nations, but in the legions themſelves, and among the moſt diſtinguiſhed of the Palatine troops. As they freely mingled with the ſubjects of the empire, they gradually learned to deſpiſe their manners, and to imitate their arts. They abjured the implicit reverence which the pride of Rome had exacted from their ignorance, while they acquired the knowledge and poſſeſſion of thoſe advantages by which alone ſhe ſupported her declining greatneſs. The Barbarian ſoldiers who diſplayed any military talents, were advanced, without exception, to the moſt important commands; and the names of the tribunes, of the counts and dukes, and of the generals themſelves, betray a foreign origin, which they no longer condeſcended to diſguiſe. They were often entruſted with the conduct of a war againſt their countrymen; and though moſt of them preferred the ties of allegiance to thoſe of blood, they did not always avoid the guilt, or at leaſt the ſuſpicion, of holding a treaſonable correſpondence with the enemy, of inviting his invaſion, or of ſparing his retreat. The camps, and the palace of the ſon of Conſtantine, were governed by the powerful faction of the Franks, who preſerved the ſtricteſt connection with each other, and with their country, and who reſented every perſonal affront as a national indignity [140]. When the tyrant Caligula was ſuſpected of an intention to inveſt a very extraordinary candidate with the conſular robes, the ſacrilegious profanation would have ſcarcely excited leſs aſtoniſhment, if, inſtead of a horſe, the nobleſt chieftain of Germany or Britain had been the object of his choice. The revolution of three centuries had produced ſo remarkable a change in the prejudices of the people, that,

[140] Malarichus—adhibitis Francis quorum erectius jam loquebatur tumultuabaturque. ea tempeſtate in palatio multitudo florebat, Ammian. l. xv. c. 5.

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with the public approbation, Conſtantine ſhewed his ſucceſſors the example of beſtowing the honours of the conſulſhip on the Barbarians, who, by their merit and ſervices, had deſerved to be ranked among the firſt of the Romans[141]. But as theſe hardy veterans, who had been educated in the ignorance or contempt of the laws, were incapable of exerciſing any civil offices, the powers of the human mind were contracted by the irreconcilable ſeparation of talents as well as of profeſſions. The accompliſhed citizens of the Greek and Roman republics, whoſe characters could adapt themſelves to the bar, the ſenate, the camp, or the ſchools, had learned to write, to ſpeak, and to act with the ſame ſpirit, and with equal abilities.

Seven miniſters of the palace.

IV. Beſides the magiſtrates and generals, who at a diſtance from the court diffuſed their delegated authority over the provinces and armies, the emperor conferred the rank of *Illuſtrious* on ſeven of his more immediate ſervants, to whoſe fidelity he entruſted his ſafety, or his counſels, or his treaſures.

The chamberlain.

1. The private apartments of the palace were governed by a favourite eunuch, who, in the language of that age, was ſtyled the *præpoſitus* or præfect of the ſacred bedchamber. His duty was to attend the emperor in his hours of ſtate, or in thoſe of amuſement, and to perform about his perſon all thoſe menial ſervices, which can only derive their ſplendour from the influence of royalty. Under a prince who deſerved to reign, the great chamberlain (for ſuch we may call him) was an uſeful and humble domeſtic; but an artful domeſtic, who improves every occaſion of unguarded confidence, will inſenſibly acquire over a feeble mind that aſcendant which harſh wiſdom and uncomplying virtue

[141] Barbaros omnium primus, ad uſque faſces auxerat et trabeas conſulares. Ammian. l. xx. c. 10. Euſebius (in Vit. Conſtantin. l. iv. c. 7.) and Aurelius Victor ſeem to confirm the truth of this aſſertion; yet in the thirty-two conſular Faſti of the reign of Conſtantine, I cannot diſcover the name of a ſingle Barbarian. I ſhould therefore interpret the liberality of that prince, as relative to the ornaments, rather than to the office, of the conſulſhip.

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can ſeldom obtain. The degenerate grandſons of Theodoſius, who were inviſible to their ſubjects, and contemptible to their enemies, exalted the præfects of their bed-chamber above the heads of all the miniſters of the palace[142]; and even his deputy, the firſt of the ſplendid train of ſlaves who waited in the preſence, was thought worthy to rank before the *reſpectable* proconſuls of Greece or Aſia. The juriſdiction of the chamberlain was acknowledged by the *counts*, or ſuperintendents, who regulated the two important provinces, of the magnificence of the wardrobe, and of the luxury of the Imperial table[143]. 2. The principal adminiſtration of public affairs was committed to the diligence and abilities of the *maſter of the offices*[144]. He was the ſupreme magiſtrate of the palace, inſpected the diſcipline of the civil and military *ſchools*, and received appeals from all parts of the empire; in the cauſes which related to that numerous army of privileged perſons, who, as the ſervants of the court, had obtained, for themſelves and families, a right to decline the authority of the ordinary judges. The correſpondence between the prince and his ſubjects was managed by the four *ſcrinia*, or offices of this miniſter of ſtate. The firſt was appropriated to memorials, the ſecond to epiſtles, the third to petitions, and the fourth to papers and orders of a miſcellaneous kind. Each of theſe was directed by an inferior *maſter* of *reſpectable* dignity, and the whole buſineſs was diſpatched by an hundred and forty-eight ſecretaries, choſen for the moſt part

The maſter of the offices.

[142] Cod. Theod. l. vi. tit. 8.

[143] By a very ſingular metaphor, borrowed from the military character of the firſt emperors, the ſteward of their houſehold was ſtyled the count of their camp (comes caſtrenſis). Caſſiodorius very ſeriouſly repreſents to him, that his own fame, and that of the empire, muſt depend on the opinion which foreign ambaſſadors may conceive of the plenty and magnificence of the royal table (Variar. l. vi. epiſtol. 9.).

[144] Gutherius (de Officiis Domûs Auguſtæ, l. ii. c. 20. l. iii.) has very acurately explained the functions of the maſter of the offices, and the conſtitution of his ſubordinate *ſcrinia*. But he vainly attempts, on the moſt doubtful authority, to deduce from the time of the Antonines, or even of Nero, the origin of a magiſtrate who cannot be found in hiſtory before the reign of Conſtantine.

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from the profeſſion of the law, on account of the variety of abſtracts of reports and references which frequently occurred in the exerciſe of their ſeveral functions. From a condeſcenſion, which in former ages would have been eſteemed unworthy of the Roman majeſty, a particular ſecretary was allowed for the Greek language; and interpreters were appointed to receive the ambaſſadors of the Barbarians: but the department of foreign affairs, which conſtitutes ſo eſſential a part of modern policy, ſeldom diverted the attention of the maſter of the offices. His mind was more ſeriouſly engaged by the general direction of the poſts and arſenals of the empire. There were thirty-four cities, fifteen in the Eaſt, and nineteen in the Weſt, in which regular companies of workmen were perpetually employed in fabricating defenſive armour, offenſive weapons of all ſorts, and military engines, which were depoſited in the arſenals, and occaſionally delivered for the ſervice of the troops. 3. In the courſe of nine centuries, the office of *quæſtor* had experienced a very ſingular revolution. In the infancy of Rome, two inferior magiſtrates were annually elected by the people, to relieve the conſuls from the invidious management of the public treaſure[145]; a ſimilar aſſiſtant was granted to every proconſul, and to every prætor, who exerciſed a military or provincial command; with the extent of conqueſt, the two quæſtors were gradually multiplied to the number of four, of eight, of twenty, and for a ſhort time, perhaps, of forty[146]; and the nobleſt citizens ambitiouſly ſolicited an office which gave them a ſeat in the ſenate, and a juſt hope of obtaining the honours of the republic.

The quæſtor.

[145] Tacitus (Annal. xi. 22.) ſays, that the firſt quæſtors were elected by the people, ſixty-four years after the foundation of the republic; but he is of opinion, that they had, long before that period, been annually appointed by the conſuls, and even by the kings. But this obſcure point of antiquity is conteſted by other writers.

[146] Tacitus (Annal. xi. 22.) ſeems to conſider twenty as the higheſt number of quæſtors; and Dion (l. xliii. p. 374.) inſinuates, that if the dictator Cæſar once created forty, it was only to facilitate the payment of an immenſe debt of gratitude. Yet the augmentation which he made of prætors ſubſiſted under the ſucceeding reigns.

Whilſt

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Whilſt Auguſtus affected to maintain the freedom of election, he conſented to accept the annual privilege of recommending, or rather indeed of nominating, a certain proportion of candidates; and it was his cuſtom to ſelect one of theſe diſtinguiſhed youths, to read his orations or epiſtles in the aſſemblies of the ſenate [147]. The practice of Auguſtus was imitated by ſucceeding princes; the occaſional commiſſion was eſtabliſhed as a permanent office; and the favoured quæſtor, aſſuming a new and more illuſtrious character, alone ſurvived the ſuppreſſion of his ancient and uſeleſs colleagues [148]. As the orations, which he compoſed in the name of the emperor [149], acquired the force, and, at length, the form of abſolute edicts, he was conſidered as the repreſentative of the legiſlative power, the oracle of the council, and the original ſource of the civil juriſprudence. He was ſometimes invited to take his ſeat in the ſupreme judicature of the Imperial conſiſtory, with the Prætorian præfects and the maſter of the offices; and he was frequently requeſted to reſolve the doubts of inferior judges: but as he was not oppreſſed with a variety of

[147] Sueton. in Auguſt. c. 65. and Torrent. ad loc. Dion. Caſ. p. 755.

[148] The youth and inexperience of the quæſtors, who entered on that important office in their twenty-fifth year (Lipſ. Excurſ. ad Tacit. l. iii. D.), engaged Auguſtus to remove them from the management of the treaſury; and though they were reſtored by Claudius, they ſeem to have been finally diſmiſſed by Nero. (Tacit. Annal. xxii. 29. Sueton. in Aug. c. 36. in Claud. c. 24. Dion, p. 696. 961, &c. Plin. Epiſtol. x. 20. & alib.) In the provinces of the Imperial diviſion, the place of the quæſtors was more ably ſupplied by the *procurators* (Dion Caſ. p. 707. Tacit. in Vit. Agricol. c. 15.); or, as they were afterwards called, *rationales*. (Hiſt. Auguſt. p. 130.) But in the provinces of the ſenate we may ſtill diſcover a ſeries of quæſtors till the reign of Marcus Antoninus (See the Inſcriptions of Gruter, the Epiſtles of Pliny, and a deciſive fact in the Auguſtan Hiſtory, p. 64.). From Ulpian we may learn (Pandect. l. i. tit. 13.), that under the government of the houſe of Severus, their provincial adminiſtration was aboliſhed; and in the ſubſequent troubles, the annual or triennial elections of quæſtors muſt have naturally ceaſed.

[149] Cum patris nomine & epiſtolas ipſe dictaret, & edicta conſcriberet, orationeſque in ſenatu recitaret, etiam quæſtoris vice. Sueton. in Tit. c. 6. The office muſt have acquired new dignity, which was occaſionally executed by the heir apparent of the empire. Traian entruſted the ſame care to Hadrian his quæſtor and couſin. See Dodwell, Prælection. Cambden. x. xi. p. 362—394.

ſubordinate buſineſs, his leiſure and talents were employed to cultivate that dignified ſtyle of eloquence, which, in the corruption of taſte and language, ſtill preſerves the majeſty of the Roman laws [150]. In ſome reſpects, the office of the Imperial quæſtor may be compared with that of a modern chancellor; but the uſe of a great ſeal, which ſeems to have been adopted by the illiterate Barbarians, was never introduced to atteſt the public acts of the emperors. 4. The extraordinary title of *count of the ſacred largeſſes*, was beſtowed on the treaſurer-general of the revenue, with the intention perhaps of inculcating, that every payment flowed from the voluntary bounty of the monarch. To conceive the almoſt infinite detail of the annual and daily expence of the civil and military adminiſtration in every part of a great empire, would exceed the powers of the moſt vigorous imagination. The actual account employed ſeveral hundred perſons, diſtributed into eleven different offices, which were artfully contrived to examine and control their reſpective operations. The multitude of theſe agents had a natural tendency to increaſe; and it was more than once thought expedient to diſmiſs to their native homes, the uſeleſs ſupernumeraries, who, deſerting their honeſt labours, had preſſed with too much eagerneſs into the lucrative profeſſion of the finances [151]. Twenty-nine provincial receivers, of whom eighteen were honoured with the title of count, correſponded with the treaſurer; and he extended his juriſdiction over the mines from whence the precious metals were extracted, over the mints, in which they were converted into the current coin, and over the public treaſuries of the moſt important cities, where they were depoſited for the ſervice of the ſtate. The foreign trade of the empire

The public treaſurer.

[150] ——Terris edicta daturus;
Supplicibus reſponſa.—Oracula regis
Eloquio crevere tuo; nec dignius unquam
Majeſtas meminit ſeſe Romana locutam.
Claudian in Conſulat. Mall. Theodor. 33.
See likewiſe Symmachus (Epiſtol. i. 17.) and Caſſiodorius (Variar. vi. 5.).

[151] Cod. Theod. l. vi. tit. 30. Cod. Juſtinian. l. xii. tit. 24.

was

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was regulated by this miniſter, who directed likewiſe all the linen and woollen manufactures, in which the ſucceſſive operations of ſpinning, weaving, and dying, were executed, chiefly by women of a ſervile condition, for the uſe of the palace and army. Twenty-ſix of theſe inſtitutions are enumerated in the Weſt, where the arts had been more recently introduced, and a ſtill larger proportion may be allowed for the induſtrious provinces of the Eaſt[152]. 5. Beſides the public revenue, which an abſolute monarch might levy and expend according to his pleaſure, the emperors, in the capacity of opulent citizens, poſſeſſed a very extenſive property, which was adminiſtered by the *count*, or treaſurer of *the private eſtate*. Some part had perhaps been the ancient demeſnes of kings and republics; ſome acceſſions might be derived from the families which were ſucceſſively inveſted with the purple; but the moſt conſiderable portion flowed from the impure ſource of confiſcations and forfeitures. The Imperial eſtates were ſcattered through the provinces, from Mauritania to Britain; but the rich and fertile ſoil of Cappadocia tempted the monarch to acquire in that country his faireſt poſſeſſions[153], and either Conſtantine or his ſucceſſors embraced the occaſion of juſtifying avarice by religious zeal. They ſuppreſſed the rich temple of Comana, where the high prieſt of the goddeſs of war ſupported the dignity of a ſovereign prince; and they applied to their private uſe the conſecrated lands, which were inhabited by ſix thouſand ſubjects or ſlaves of the deity and her miniſters[154]. But theſe were

The private treaſurer.

[152] In the departments of the two counts of the treaſury, the eaſtern part of the *Notitia* happens to be very defective. It may be obſerved, that we had a treaſury cheſt in London, and a gyneceum or manufacture at Wincheſter. But Britain was not thought worthy either of a mint or of an arſenal. Gaul alone poſſeſſed three of the former, and eight of the latter.

[153] Cod. Theod. l. vi. tit. xxx. leg. 2. and Godefroy ad loc.

[154] Strabon. Geograph. l. xii. p. 809. The other temple of Comana, in Pontus, was a colony from that of Cappadocia, l. xii. p. 825. The preſident Des Broſſes (ſee his Saluſte, tom. ii. p. 21.) conjectures that the deity adored in both Comanas was Beltis, the Venus of the Eaſt, the goddeſs of generation; a very different being indeed from the goddeſs of war.

not

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not the valuable inhabitants: the plains that ſtretch from the foot of Mount Argæus to the banks of the Sarus, bred a generous race of horſes, renowned above all others in the ancient world, for their majeſtic ſhape and incomparable ſwiftneſs. Theſe *ſacred* animals, deſtined for the ſervice of the palace and the Imperial games, were protected by the laws from the profanation of a vulgar maſter[155]. The demeſnes of Cappadocia were important enough to require the inſpection of a *count*[156]; officers of an inferior rank were ſtationed in the other parts of the empire; and the deputies of the private, as well as thoſe of the public, treaſurer, were maintained in the exerciſe of their independent functions, and encouraged to controul the authority of the provincial magiſtrates[157]. 6, 7. The choſen bands of cavalry and infantry, which guarded the perſon of the emperor, were under the immediate command of the *two counts of the domeſtics.* The whole number conſiſted of three thouſand five hundred men, divided into ſeven *ſchools*, or troops, of five hundred each; and in the Eaſt, this honourable ſervice was almoſt entirely appropriated to the Armenians. Whenever, on public ceremonies, they were drawn up in the courts and porticos of the palace, their lofty ſtature, ſilent order, and ſplendid arms of ſilver and gold, diſplayed a martial pomp, not unworthy of the Roman majeſty[158]. From the ſeven ſchools two companies of horſe and foot were ſelected, of the *protectors*, whoſe advantageous ſtation was the hope and reward of the moſt deſerving ſoldiers. They mounted guard in the interior apartments, and were occaſionally diſpatched into the provinces, to

The counts of the domeſtics.

[155] Cod. Theod. l. x. tit. vi. de Grege Dominico. Godefroy has collected every circumſtance of antiquity relative to the Cappadocian horſes. One of the fineſt breeds, the Palmatian, was the forfeiture of a rebel, whoſe eſtate lay about ſixteen miles from Tyana, near the great road between Conſtantinople and Antioch.

[156] Juſtinian (Novell. 30.) ſubjected the province of the count of Cappadocia, to the immediate authority of the favourite eunuch, who preſided over the ſacred bedchamber.

[157] Cod. Theod. l. vi. tit. xxx. leg. 4, &c.

[158] Pancirolus, p. 102. 136. The appearance of theſe military domeſtics is deſcribed in the Latin poem of Corippus, De Laudibus Juſtin. l. iii. 157—179. P. 419, 420, of the Appendix Hiſt. Byzantin. Rom. 177.

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execute with celerity and vigour the orders of their maſter[159]. The counts of the domeſtics had ſucceeded to the office of the Prætorian præfects; like the præfects, they aſpired from the ſervice of the palace to the command of armies.

Agents, or official ſpies.

The perpetual intercourſe between the court and the provinces was facilitated by the conſtruction of roads and the inſtitution of poſts. But theſe beneficial eſtabliſhments were accidentally connected with a pernicious and intolerable abuſe. Two or three hundred *agents* or meſſengers were employed, under the juriſdiction of the maſter of the offices, to announce the names of the annual conſuls, and the edicts or victories of the emperors. They inſenſibly aſſumed the licence of reporting whatever they could obſerve of the conduct either of magiſtrates or of private citizens; and were ſoon conſidered as the eyes of the monarch[160], and the ſcourge of the people. Under the warm influence of a feeble reign, they multiplied to the incredible number of ten thouſand, diſdained the mild though frequent admonitions of the laws, and exerciſed in the profitable management of the poſts a rapacious and inſolent oppreſſion. Theſe official ſpies, who regularly correſponded with the palace, were encouraged, by favour and reward, anxiouſly to watch the progreſs of every treaſonable deſign, from the faint and latent ſymptoms of diſaffection, to the actual preparation of an open revolt. Their careleſs or criminal violation of truth and juſtice was covered by the conſecrated maſk of zeal; and they might ſecurely aim their poiſoned arrows at the breaſt either of the guilty or the innocent, who had provoked their reſentment, or refuſed to purchaſe their ſilence. A faithful ſubject, of Syria perhaps, or of Britain, was expoſed to the danger, or at leaſt to the dread, of being dragged in chains to

[159] Ammianus Marcellinus, who ſerved ſo many years, obtained only the rank of a Protector. The firſt ten among theſe honourable ſoldiers were *Clariſſimi*.

[160] Xenophon. Cyropæd. l. viii. Briſſon, de Regno Perſico, l. i. N° 190. p. 264. The emperors adopted with pleaſure this Perſian metaphor.

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the court of Milan or Conſtantinople, to defend his life and fortune againſt the malicious charge of theſe privileged informers. The ordinary adminiſtration was conducted by thoſe methods which extreme neceſſity can alone palliate; and the defects of evidence were diligently ſupplied by the uſe of torture [161].

Uſe of torture.

The deceitful and dangerous experiment of the criminal *quæſtion*, as it is emphatically ſtyled, was admitted, rather than approved, in the juriſprudence of the Romans. They applied this ſanguinary mode of examination only to ſervile bodies, whoſe ſufferings were ſeldom weighed by thoſe haughty republicans in the ſcale of juſtice or humanity: but they would never conſent to violate the ſacred perſon of a citizen, till they poſſeſſed the cleareſt evidence of his guilt [162]. The annals of tyranny, from the reign of Tiberius to that of Domitian, circumſtantially relate the executions of many innocent victims; but, as long as the faineſt remembrance was kept alive of the national freedom and honour, the laſt hours of a Roman were ſecure from the danger of ignominious torture [163]. The conduct of the provincial magiſtrates was not, however, regulated by the practice of the city, or the ſtrict maxims of the civilians. They found the uſe of torture eſtabliſhed not only among the ſlaves of Oriental deſpotiſm, but among the Macedonians, who obeyed a limited monarch; among the Rhodians, who flouriſhed

[161] For the *Agentes in Rebus*, ſee Ammian. l. xv. c. 3. l. xvi. c. 5. l. xxii. c. 7. with the curious annotations of Valeſius. Cod. Theod. l. vi. tit. xxvii, xxviii, xxix. Among the paſſages collected in the Commentary of Godefroy, the moſt remarkable is one from Libanius, in his diſcourſe concerning the death of Julian.

[162] The Pandects (l. xlviii. tit. xviii.) contain the ſentiments of the moſt celebrated civilians on the ſubject of torture. They ſtrictly confine it to ſlaves; and Ulpian himſelf is ready to acknowledge, that Res eſt fragilis, et periculoſa, et quæ veritatem fallat.

[163] In the conſpiracy of Piſo againſt Nero, Epicharis (libertina mulier) was the only perſon tortured; the reſt were *intacti tormentis*. It would be ſuperfluous to add a weaker, and it would be difficult to find a ſtronger, example. Tacit. Annal. xv. 57.

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by the liberty of commerce; and even among the ſage Athenians, who had aſſerted and adorned the dignity of human kind[164]. The acquieſcence of the provincials encouraged their governors to acquire, or perhaps to uſurp, a diſcretionary power of employing the rack, to extort from vagrants or plebeian criminals the confeſſion of their guilt, till they inſenſibly proceeded to confound the diſtinctions of rank, and to diſregard the privileges of Roman citizens. The apprehenſions of the ſubjects urged them to ſolicit, and the intereſt of the ſovereign engaged him to grant, a variety of ſpecial exemptions, which tacitly allowed, and even authoriſed, the general uſe of torture. They protected all perſons of illuſtrious or honourable rank, biſhops and their preſbyters, profeſſors of the liberal arts, ſoldiers and their families, municipal officers, and their poſterity to the third generation, and all children under the age of puberty[165]. But a fatal maxim was introduced into the new juriſprudence of the empire, that in the caſe of treaſon, which included every offence that the ſubtlety of lawyers could derive from an *hoſtile intention* towards the prince or republic[166], all privileges were ſuſpended, and all conditions were reduced to the ſame ignominious level. As the ſafety of the emperor was avowedly preferred to every conſideration of juſtice or humanity, the dignity of age, and the tenderneſs of youth, were alike expoſed to the moſt cruel tortures; and the terrors of a malicious information, which might ſelect them as the accomplices, or even as the witneſſes, perhaps, of an imaginary crime,

[164] Dicendum . . . de Inſtitutis Athenienſium, Rhodiorum, doctiſſimorum hominum, apud quos etiam (id quod acerbiſſimum eſt) liberi, civeſque torquentur. Cicero. Partit. Orat. c. 34. We may learn from the trial of Philotas the practice of the Macedonians. (Diodor. Sicul. l. xvii. p. 604. Q. Curt. l. vi. c. 11.)

[165] Heineccius (Element. Jur. Civil. part vii. p. 81.) has collected theſe exemptions into one view.

[166] This definition of the ſage Ulpian (Pandect. l. xlviii. tit. iv.) ſeems to have been adapted to the court of Caracalla, rather than to that of Alexander Severus. See the Codes of Theodoſius and Juſtinian ad leg. Juliam majeſtatis.

perpetually

perpetually hung over the heads of the principal citizens of the Roman world[167].

Finances.

These evils, however terrible they may appear, were confined to the ſmaller number of Roman ſubjects, whoſe dangerous ſituation was in ſome degree compenſated by the enjoyment of thoſe advantages, either of nature or of fortune, which expoſed them to the jealouſy of the monarch. The obſcure millions of a great empire have much leſs to dread from the cruelty than from the avarice of their maſters; and *their* humble happineſs is principally affected by the grievance of exceſſive taxes, which gently preſſing on the wealthy, deſcend with accelerated weight on the meaner and more indigent claſſes of ſociety. An ingenious philoſopher[168] has calculated the univerſal meaſure of the public impoſitions by the degrees of freedom and ſervitude; and ventures to aſſert, that, according to an invariable law of nature, it muſt always increaſe with the former, and diminiſh in a juſt proportion to the latter. But this reflection, which would tend to alleviate the miſeries of deſpotiſm, is contradicted at leaſt by the hiſtory of the Roman empire; which accuſes the ſame princes of deſpoiling the ſenate of its authority, and the provinces of their wealth. Without aboliſhing all the various cuſtoms and duties on merchandiſes, which are imperceptibly diſcharged by the apparent choice of the purchaſer, the policy of Conſtantine and his ſucceſſors preferred a ſimple and direct mode of taxation, more congenial to the ſpirit of an arbitrary government[169].

[167] Arcadius Chariſius is the oldeſt lawyer quoted in the Pandects to juſtify the univerſal practice of torture in all caſes of treaſon; but this maxim of tyranny, which is admitted by Ammianus (l. xix. c. 12.) with the moſt reſpectful terror, is enforced by ſeveral laws of the ſucceſſors of Conſtantine. See Cod. Theod. l. ix. tit. xxxv. In majeſtatis crimine omnibus æqua eſt conditio.

[168] Monteſquieu, Eſprit des Loix, l. xii. c. 13.

[169] Mr. Hume (Eſſays, vol. i. p. 389.) has ſeen this important truth, with ſome degree of perplexity.

The

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The general tribute, or indiction.

The name and uſe of the *indictions*[170], which ſerve to aſcertain the chronology of the middle ages, was derived from the regular practice of the Roman tributes[171]. The emperor ſubſcribed with his own hand, and in purple ink, the ſolemn edict, or indiction, which was fixed up in the principal city of each dioceſe, during two months previous to the firſt day of September. And, by a very eaſy connection of ideas, the word *indiction* was transferred to the meaſure of tribute which it preſcribed, and to the annual term which it allowed for the payment. This general eſtimate of the ſupplies was proportioned to the real and imaginary wants of the ſtate; but as often as the expence exceeded the revenue, or the revenue fell ſhort of the computation, an additional tax, under the name of *ſuper-indiction*, was impoſed on the people, and the moſt valuable attribute of ſovereignty was communicated to the Prætorian præfects, who, on ſome occaſions, were permitted to provide for the unforeſeen and extraordinary exigencies of the public ſervice. The execution of theſe laws (which it would be tedious to purſue in their minute and intricate detail) conſiſted of two diſtinct operations; the reſolving the general impoſition into its conſtituent parts, which were aſſeſſed on the provinces, the cities, and the individuals of the Roman world; and the collecting the ſeparate contributions of the individuals, the cities, and the provinces, till the accumulatated ſums were poured into the Imperial treaſuries. But as the account between the monarch and the ſubject was perpetually open, and as the

[170] The cycle of indictions, which may be traced as high as the reign of Conſtantius, or perhaps of his father Conſtantine, is ſtill employed by the Papal court: but the commencement of the year has been very reaſonably altered to the firſt of January. See l'Art de Verifier les Dates, p. xi.; and Dictionnaire Raiſon. de la Diplomatique, tom. ii. p. 25.; two accurate treatiſes, which come from the workſhop of the Benedictines.

[171] The firſt twenty-eight titles of the eleventh book of the Theodoſian Code are filled with the circumſtantial regulations on the important ſubject of tributes; but they ſuppoſe a clearer knowledge of fundamental principles than it is at preſent in our power to attain.

renewal

renewal of the demand anticipated the perfect diſcharge of the preceding obligation, the weighty machine of the finances was moved by the ſame hands round the circle of its yearly revolution. Whatever was honourable or important in the adminiſtration of the revenue, was committed to the wiſdom of the præfects, and their provincial repreſentatives; the lucrative functions were claimed by a crowd of ſubordinate officers, ſome of whom depended on the treaſurer, others on the governor of the province; and who, in the inevitable conflicts of a perplexed juriſdiction, had frequent opportunities of diſputing with each other the ſpoils of the people. The laborious offices, which could be productive only of envy and reproach, of expence and danger, were impoſed on the *Decurions*, who formed the corporations of the cities, and whom the ſeverity of the Imperial laws had condemned to ſuſtain the burthens of civil ſociety [172]. The whole landed property of the empire (without excepting the patrimonial eſtates of the monarch) was the object of ordinary taxation; and every new purchaſer contracted the obligations of the former proprietor. An accurate *cenſus* [173], or ſurvey, was the only equitable mode of aſcertaining the proportion which every citizen ſhould be obliged to contribute for the public ſervice; and from the well-known period of the indictions, there is reaſon to believe that this difficult and expenſive operation was repeated at the regular diſtance of fifteen years. The lands were meaſured by ſurveyors, who were ſent into the provinces; their nature, whether arable or paſture, or vineyards or woods, was diſtinctly reported; and an eſtimate was made of their common value from the average

[172] The title concerning the Decurions (l. xii. tit. i.) is the moſt ample in the whole Theodoſian Code; ſince it contains not leſs than one hundred and ninety-two diſtinct laws to aſcertain the duties and privileges of that uſeful order of citizens.

[173] Habemus enim et hominum numerum qui delati ſunt, et agrûm modum. Eumenius in Panegyr. Vet. viii. 6. See Cod. Theod. l. xiii. tit. x. xi. with Godefroy's Commentary.

produce

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produce of five years. The numbers of ſlaves and of cattle conſtituted an eſſential part of the report; an oath was adminiſtered to the proprietors, which bound them to diſcloſe the true ſtate of their affairs; and their attempts to prevaricate, or elude the intention of the legiſlator, were ſeverely watched, and puniſhed as a capital crime, which included the double guilt of treaſon and ſacrilege[174]. A large portion of the tribute was paid in money; and of the current coin of the empire, gold alone could be legally accepted[175]. The remainder of the taxes, according to the proportions determined by the annual indiction, was furniſhed in a manner ſtill more direct, and ſtill more oppreſſive. According to the different nature of lands, their real produce, in the various articles of wine or oil, corn or barley, wood or iron, was tranſported by the labour or at the expence of the provincials to the Imperial magazines, from whence they were occaſionally diſtributed, for the uſe of the court, of the army, and of the two capitals, Rome and Conſtantinople. The commiſſioners of the revenue were ſo frequently obliged to make conſiderable purchaſes, that they were ſtrictly prohibited from allowing any compenſation, or from receiving in money the value of thoſe ſupplies which were exacted in kind. In the primitive ſimplicity of ſmall communities, this method may be well adapted to collect the almoſt voluntary offerings of the people; but it is at once ſuſceptible of the utmoſt latitude and of the utmoſt ſtrictneſs, which in a corrupt and abſolute monarchy muſt introduce a perpetual conteſt

[174] Siquis ſacrilegâ vitem falce ſuccideriſ, aut feracium Ramorum fœtus hebetaverit, quo declinet fidem Cenſuum, et mentiatur callide paupertatis ingenium, mox detectus capitale ſubibit exitium, et bona ejus in Fiſci jura migrabunt. Cod. Theod. l. xiii. tit. xi. leg. 1. Although this law is not without its ſtudied obſcurity, it is, however, clear enough to prove the minuteneſs of the inquiſition, and the diſproportion of the penalty.

[175] The aſtoniſhment of Pliny would have ceaſed. Equidem miror P. R. victis gentibus argentum ſemper imperitaſſe non aurum. Hiſt. Natur. xxxiii. 15.

between

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between the power of oppreſſion and the arts of fraud [176]. The agriculture of the Roman provinces was inſenſibly ruined, and, in the progreſs of deſpotiſm, which tends to diſappoint its own purpoſe, the emperors were obliged to derive ſome merit from the forgiveneſs of debts, or the remiſſion of tributes, which their ſubjects were utterly incapable of paying. According to the new diviſion of Italy, the fertile and happy province of Campania, the ſcene of the early victories and of the delicious retirements of the citizens of Rome, extended between the ſea and the Apennine from the Tyber to the Silarus. Within ſixty years after the death of Conſtantine, and on the evidence of an actual ſurvey, an exemption was granted in favour of three hundred and thirty thouſand Engliſh acres of deſert and uncultivated land; which amounted to one-eighth of the whole ſurface of the province. As the footſteps of the barbarians had not yet been ſeen in Italy, the cauſe of this amazing deſolation, which is recorded in the laws, can be aſcribed only to the adminiſtration, of the Roman emperors [177].

Aſſeſſed in the form of a capitation.

Either from deſign or from accident, the mode of aſſeſſment ſeemed to unite the ſubſtance of a land-tax with the forms of a capitation [178]. The returns which were ſent of every province or diſtrict, expreſſed the number of tributary ſubjects, and the amount

[176] Some precautions were taken (ſee Cod. Theod. l. xi. tit. ii. and Cod. Juſtinian. l. x. tit. xxvii. leg. 1, 2, 3.) to reſtrain the magiſtrates from the abuſe of their authority, either in the exaction or in the purchaſe of corn: but thoſe who had learning enough to read the orations of Cicero againſt Verres (iii. de Frumento), might inſtruct themſelves in all the various arts of oppreſſion, with regard to the weight, the price, the quality, and the carriage. The avarice of an unlettered governor would ſupply the ignorance of precept or precedent.

[177] Cod. Theod. l. xi. tit. xxviii. leg. 2. publiſhed the 24th of March, A. D. 395, by the emperor Honorius, only two months after the death of his father Theodoſius. He ſpeaks of 528,000 Roman jugera, which I have reduced to the Engliſh meaſure. The jugerum contained 28,800 ſquare Roman feet.

[178] Godefroy (Cod. Theod. tom. vi. p. 116.) argues with weight and learning on the ſubject of the capitation; but while he explains the *caput*, as a ſhare or meaſure of property, he too abſolutely excludes the idea of a perſonal aſſeſſment.

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of the public impoſitions. The latter of theſe ſums was divided by the former; and the eſtimate, that ſuch a province contained ſo many *capita*, or heads of tribute; and that each *head* was rated at ſuch a price, was univerſally received, not only in the popular, but even in the legal computation. The value of a tributary head muſt have varied, according to many accidental, or at leaſt fluctuating circumſtances; but ſome knowledge has been preſerved of a very curious fact, the more important, ſince it relates to one of the richeſt provinces of the Roman empire, and which now flouriſhes as the moſt ſplendid of the European kingdoms. The rapacious miniſters of Conſtantius had exhauſted the wealth of Gaul, by exacting twenty-five pieces of gold for the annual tribute of every head. The humane policy of his ſucceſſor reduced the capitation to ſeven pieces [179]. A moderate proportion between theſe oppoſite extremes of extraordinary oppreſſion and of tranſient indulgence, may therefore be fixed at ſixteen pieces of gold, or about nine pounds ſterling, the common ſtandard perhaps of the impoſitions of Gaul [180]. But this calculation, or rather indeed the facts from whence it is deduced, cannot fail of ſuggeſting two difficulties to a thinking mind, who

[179] Quid profuerit *(Julianus)* anhelantibus extremâ penuriâ Gallis, hinc maxime claret, quod primitus partes eas ingreſſus, pro *capitibus* ſingulis tributi nomine vicenos quinos aureos reperit flagitari; diſcedens vero ſeptenos tantum numera univerſa complentes. Ammian. l. xvi. c. 5.

[180] In the calculation of any ſum of money under Conſtantine and his ſucceſſors, we need only refer to the excellent diſcourſe of Mr. Greave on the Denarius, for the proof of the following principles: 1. That the ancient and modern Roman pound, containing 5256 grains of Troy weight, is about one twelfth lighter than the Engliſh pound, which is compoſed of 5760 of the ſame grains. 2. That the pound of gold, which had once been divided into forty-eight *aurei*, was at this time coined into ſeventy-two ſmaller pieces of the ſame denomination. 3. That five of theſe aurei were the legal tender for a pound of ſilver, and that conſequently the pound of gold was exchanged for fourteen pounds eight ounces of ſilver, according to the Roman, or about thirteen pounds according to the Engliſh, weight. 4. That the Engliſh pound of ſilver is coined into ſixty-two ſhillings. From theſe elements we may compute the Roman pound of gold, the uſual method of reckoning large ſums, at forty pounds ſterling; and we may fix the currency of the *aureus* at ſomewhat more than eleven ſhillings.

will

will be at once ſurpriſed by the *equality*, and by the *enormity* of the capitation. An attempt to explain them may perhaps reflect ſome light on the intereſting ſubject of the finances of the declining empire.

I. It is obvious, that, as long as the immutable conſtitution of human nature produces and maintains ſo unequal a diviſion of property, the moſt numerous part of the community would be deprived of their ſubſiſtence, by the equal aſſeſſment of a tax from which the ſovereign would derive a very trifling revenue. Such indeed might be the theory of the Roman capitation; but in the practice, this unjuſt equality was no longer felt, as the tribute was collected on the principle of a *real*, not of a *perſonal* impoſition. Several indigent citizens contributed to compoſe a ſingle *head*, or ſhare of taxation; while the wealthy provincial, in proportion to his fortune, alone repreſented ſeveral of thoſe imaginary beings. In a poetical requeſt, addreſſed to one of the laſt and moſt deſerving of the Roman princes who reigned in Gaul, Sidonius Apollinaris perſonifies his tribute under the figure of a triple monſter, the Geryon of the Grecian fables, and intreats the new Hercules that he would moſt graciouſly be pleaſed to ſave his life by cutting off three of his heads [181]. The fortune of Sidonius far exceeded the cuſtomary wealth of a poet; but if he had purſued the alluſion, he muſt have painted many of the Gallic nobles with the hundred heads of the deadly Hydra, ſpreading over the face of the country, and devouring the ſubſtance of an hundred families. II. The difficulty of allowing an annual ſum of about nine pounds ſterling, even for the average of the capitation of Gaul, may be rendered more evident

[181] Geryones nos eſſe puta, monſtrumque tributum,
Hic *capita* ut vivam, tu mihi tolle *tria*.
Sidon. Apollinar. Carm. xiii.
The reputation of Father Sirmond led me to expect more ſatisfaction than I have found in his note (p. 144.) on this remarkable paſſage. The words, ſuo vel *ſuorum* nomine, betray the perplexity of the commentator.

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by the compariſon of the preſent ſtate of the ſame country, as it is now governed by the abſolute monarch of an induſtrious, wealthy, and affectionate people. The taxes of France cannot be magnified, either by fear or by flattery, beyond the annual amount of eighteen millions ſterling, which, ought perhaps to be ſhared among four and twenty millions of inhabitants[182]. Seven millions of theſe, in the capacity of fathers, or brothers, or huſbands, may diſcharge the obligations of the remaining multitude of women and children; yet the equal proportion of each tributary ſubject will ſcarcely riſe above fifty ſhillings of our money, inſtead of a proportion almoſt four times as conſiderable, which was regularly impoſed on their Gallic anceſtors. The reaſon of this difference may be found, not ſo much in the relative ſcarcity or plenty of gold and ſilver, as in the different ſtate of ſociety in ancient Gaul and in modern France. In a country where perſonal freedom is the privilege of every ſubject, the whole maſs of taxes, whether they are levied on property or on conſumption, may be fairly divided among the whole body of the nation. But the far greater part of the lands of ancient Gaul, as well as of the other provinces of the Roman world, were cultivated by ſlaves, or by

[182] This aſſertion, however formidable it may ſeem, is founded on the original regiſters of births, deaths, and marriages, collected by public authority, and now depoſited in the *Contrôle General* at Paris. The annual average of births thoughout the whole kingdom, taken in five years (from 1770 to 1774, both inclusive), is, 479,649 boys, and 449,269 girls, in all 928,918 children. The province of French Hainault alone furniſhes 9906 births: and we are aſſured, by an actual numeration of the people, annually repeated from the year 1773 to the year 1776, that, upon an average, Hainault contains 257,097 inhabitants. By the rules of fair analogy, we might infer, that the ordinary proportion of annual births to the whole people is about 1 to 26; and that the kingdom of France contains 24,151,868 perſons of both ſexes and of every age. If we content ourſelves with the more moderate proportion of 1 to 25, the whole population will amount to 23,222,950. From the diligent reſearches of the French government (which are not unworthy of our own imitation), we may hope to obtain a ſtill greater degree of certainty on this important ſubject.

peaſants,

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peaſants, whoſe dependent condition was a leſs rigid ſervitude [183]. In ſuch a ſtate the poor were maintained at the expence of the maſters, who enjoyed the fruits of their labour; and as the rolls of tribute were filled only with the names of thoſe citizens who poſſeſſed the means of an honourable, or at leaſt of a decent ſubſiſtence, the comparative ſmallneſs of their numbers explains and juſtifies the high rate of their capitation. The truth of this aſſertion may be illuſtrated by the following example: The Edui, one of the moſt powerful and civilized tribes or *cities* of Gaul, occupied an extent of territory, which now contains above five hundred thouſand inhabitants, in the two eccleſiaſtical dioceſes of Autun and Nevers [184]: and with the probable acceſſion of thoſe of Châlons and Maçon [185], the population would amount to eight hundred thouſand ſouls. In the time of Conſtantine, the territory of the Edui afforded no more than twenty-five thouſand *heads* of capitation, of whom ſeven thouſand were diſcharged by that prince for the intolerable weight of tri-

[183] Cod. Theod. l. v. tit. ix. x. xi. Cod. Juſtinian. l. xi. tit. lxiii. Coloni appellantur qui conditionem debent genitali ſolo, propter agriculturam ſub dominio poſſeſſorum. Auguſtin. de Civitate Dei, l. x. c. 1.

[184] The ancient juriſdiction of *(Auguſtodunum)* Autun in Burgundy, the capital of the Edui, comprehended the adjacent territory of *(Noviodunum)* Nevers. See d'Anville, Notice de l'ancienne Gaule, p. 491. The two dioceſes of Autun and Nevers are now compoſed, the former of 610, and the latter of 160, pariſhes. The regiſters of births, taken during eleven years, in 476 pariſhes of the ſame province of Burgundy, and multiplied by the moderate proportion of 25 (ſee Meſſance Recherches ſur la Population, p. 142.), may authoriſe us to aſſign an average number of 656 perſons for each pariſh, which being again multiplied by the 770 pariſhes of the dioceſes of Nevers and Autun, will produce the ſum of 505,120 perſons for the extent of country which was once poſſeſſed by the Edui.

[185] We might derive an additional ſupply of 301,750 inhabitants from the dioceſes of Châlons *(Cabillonum)* and of Maçon *(Matiſco)*; ſince they contain, the one 200, and the other 260, pariſhes. This acceſſion of territory might be juſtified by very ſpecious reaſons. 1. Châlons and Maçon were undoubtedly within the original juriſdiction of the Edui. (See d'Anville Notice, p. 187. 443.) 2. In the Notitia of Gaul, they are enumerated not as *Civitates*, but merely as *Caſtra*. 3. They do not appear to have been epiſcopal ſeats before the fifth and ſixth centuries. Yet there is a paſſage in Eumenius (Panegyr. Vet. viii. 7.) which very forcibly deters me from extending the territory of the Edui in the reign of Conſtantine, along the beautiful banks of the navigable Saône.

bute.

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bute [186]. A juſt analogy would ſeem to countenance the opinion of an ingenious hiſtorian [187], that the free and tributary citizens did not ſurpaſs the number of half a million; and if, in the ordinary adminiſtration of government, their annual payments may be computed at about four millions and a half of our money, it would appear, that although the ſhare of each individual was four times as conſiderable, a fourth part only of the modern taxes of France was levied on the Imperial province of Gaul. The exactions of Conſtantius may be calculated at ſeven millions ſterling, which were reduced to two millions by the humanity or the wiſdom of Julian.

Capitation on trade and induſtry.

But this tax, or capitation, on the proprietors of land, would have ſuffered a rich and numerous claſs of free citizens to eſcape. With the view of ſharing that ſpecies of wealth which is derived from art or labour, and which exiſts in money or in merchandiſe, the emperors impoſed a diſtinct and perſonal tribute on the trading part of their ſubjects [188]. Some exemptions, very ſtrictly confined both in time and place, were allowed to the proprietors who diſpoſed of the produce of their own eſtates. Some indulgence was granted to the profeſſion of the liberal arts: but every other branch of commercial induſtry was affected by the ſeverity of the law. The honourable merchant of Alexandria, who imported the gems and ſpices of India for the uſe of the weſtern world; the uſurer, who derived from the intereſt of money a ſilent and ignominious profit; the ingenious manufacturer, the diligent mechanic, and even the moſt obſcure retailer of a ſequeſtered village, were obliged to admit the officers of the revenue into the partnerſhip of their gain; and the ſovereign of the Roman empire, who tolerated the profeſſion, conſented to

[186] Eumenius in Panegyr. Vet. viii. 11.
[187] L'Abbé du Bos, Hiſt. Critique de la M. F. tom. i. p. 121.
[188] See Cod. Theod. l. xiii. tit. i. and iv.

ſhare

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ſhare the infamous ſalary, of public proſtitutes. As this general tax upon induſtry was collected every fourth year, it was ſtyled the *Luſtral Contribution*: and the hiſtorian Zoſimus[189] laments that the approach of the fatal period was announced by the tears and terrors of the citizens, who were often compelled by the impending ſcourge to embrace the moſt abhorred and unnatural methods of procuring the ſum at which their property had been aſſeſſed. The teſtimony of Zoſimus cannot indeed be juſtified from the charge of paſſion and prejudice, but, from the nature of this tribute, it ſeems reaſonable to conclude, that it was arbitrary in the diſtribution, and extremely rigorous in the mode of collecting. The ſecret wealth of commerce, and the precarious profits of art or labour, are ſuſceptible only of a diſcretionary valuation, which is ſeldom diſadvantageous to the intereſt of the treaſury; and as the perſon of the trader ſupplies the want of a viſible and permanent ſecurity, the payment of the impoſition, which, in the caſe of a land-tax, may be obtained by the ſeizure of property, can rarely be extorted by any other means than thoſe of corporal puniſhments. The cruel treatment of the inſolvent debtors of the ſtate, is atteſted, and was perhaps mitigated, by a very humane edict of Conſtantine, who, diſclaiming the uſe of racks and of ſcourges, allots a ſpacious and airy priſon for the place of their confinement[190].

Free gifts.

Theſe general taxes were impoſed and levied by the abſolute authority of the monarch: but the occaſional offerings of the *coronary gold* ſtill retained the name and ſemblance of popular conſent. It was an ancient cuſtom that the allies of the republic, who aſcribed

[189] Zoſimus, l. ii. p. 115. There is probably as much paſſion and prejudice in the attack of Zoſimus, as in the elaborate defence of the memory of Conſtantine by the zealous Dr. Howell. Hiſt. of the World, vol. ii. p. 20.

[190] Cod. Theod. l. xi. tit. vii. leg. 3.

their

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their ſafety or deliverance to the ſucceſs of the Roman arms; and even the cities of Italy, who admired the virtues of their victorious general, adorned the pomp of his triumph by their voluntary gifts of crowns of gold, which, after the ceremony, were conſecrated in the temple of Jupiter, to remain a laſting monument of his glory to future ages. The progreſs of zeal and flattery ſoon multiplied the number, and increaſed the ſize, of theſe popular donations; and the triumph of Cæſar was enriched with two thouſand eight hundred and twenty-two maſſy crowns, whoſe weight amounted to twenty thouſand four hundred and fourteen pounds of gold. This treaſure was immediately melted down by the prudent dictator, who was ſatisfied that it would be more ſerviceable to his ſoldiers than to the Gods: his example was imitated by his ſucceſſors; and the cuſtom was introduced, of exchanging theſe ſplendid ornaments for the more acceptable preſent of the current gold coin of the empire[191]. The ſpontaneous offering was at length exacted as the debt of duty; and inſtead of being confined to the occaſion of a triumph, it was ſuppoſed to be granted by the ſeveral cities and provinces of the monarchy, as often as the emperor condeſcended to announce his acceſſion, his conſulſhip, the birth of a ſon, the creation of a Cæſar, a victory over the barbarians, or any other real or imaginary event which graced the annals of his reign. The peculiar free gift of the ſenate of Rome was fixed by cuſtom at ſixteen hundred pounds of gold, or about ſixty-four thouſand pounds ſterling. The oppreſſed ſubjects celebrated their own felicity, that their ſovereign ſhould graciouſly conſent to accept this feeble but voluntary teſtimony of their loyalty and gratitude[192].

A people

[191] See Lipſius de Magnitud. Romana, l. ii. c. 9. The Tarragoneſe Spain preſented the emperor Claudius with a crown of gold of ſeven, and Gaul with another of nine *hundred* pounds weight. I have followed the rational emendation of Lipſius.

[192] Cod. Theod. l. xii. tit. xiii. The ſenators were ſuppoſed to be exempt from the *Aurum*

CHAP. XVII. Concluſion.

A people elated by pride, or ſoured by diſcontent, are ſeldom qualified to form a juſt eſtimate of their actual ſituation. The ſubjects of Conſtantine were incapable of diſcerning the decline of genius and manly virtue, which ſo far degraded them below the dignity of their anceſtors; but they could feel and lament the rage of tyranny, the relaxation of diſcipline, and the increaſe of taxes. The impartial hiſtorian, who acknowledges the juſtice of their complaints, will obſerve ſome favourable circumſtances which tended to alleviate the miſery of their condition. The threatening tempeſt of Barbarians, which ſo ſoon ſubverted the foundations of Roman greatneſs, was ſtill repelled, or ſuſpended, on the frontiers. The arts of luxury and literature were cultivated, and the elegant pleaſures of ſociety were enjoyed, by the inhabitants of a conſiderable portion of the globe. The forms, the pomp, and the expence of the civil adminiſtration contributed to reſtrain the irregular licence of the ſoldiers; and although the laws were violated by power, or perverted by ſubtlety, the ſage principles of the Roman juriſprudence preſerved a ſenſe of order and equity, unknown to the deſpotic governments of the Eaſt. The rights of mankind might derive ſome protection from religion and philoſophy; and the name of freedom, which could no longer alarm, might ſometimes admoniſh, the ſucceſſors of Auguſtus, that they did not reign over a nation of ſlaves or Barbarians [193].

Aurum Coronarium; but the *Auri Oblatio*, which was required at their hands, was preciſely of the ſame nature.

[193] The great Theodoſius, in his judicious advice to his ſon (Claudian in iv Conſulat. Honorii, 214, &c.), diſtinguiſhes the ſtation of a Roman prince from that of a Parthian monarch. Virtue was neceſſary for the one. Birth might ſuffice for the other.

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Character of Conſtantine.—Gothic War.—Death of Conſtantine.—Diviſion of the Empire among his three Sons.—Perſian War.—Tragic Deaths of Conſtantine the Younger, and Conſtans.—Uſurpation of Magnentius.—Civil War.—Victory of Conſtantius.

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Character of Conſtantine.

THE character of the prince who removed the ſeat of empire, and introduced ſuch important changes into the civil and religious conſtitution of his country, has fixed the attention, and divided the opinions, of mankind. By the grateful zeal of the Chriſtians, the deliverer of the church has been decorated with every attribute of a hero, and even of a ſaint; while the diſcontent of the vanquiſhed party has compared Conſtantine to the moſt abhorred of thoſe tyrants, who, by their vice and weakneſs, diſhonoured the Imperial purple. The ſame paſſions have in ſome degree been perpetuated to ſucceeding generations, and the character of Conſtantine is conſidered, even in the preſent age, as an object either of ſatire or of panegyric. By the impartial union of thoſe defects which are confeſſed by his warmeſt admirers, and of thoſe virtues which are acknowledged by his moſt implacable enemies, we might hope to delineate a juſt portrait of that extraordinary man, which the truth and candour of hiſtory ſhould adopt without a bluſh [1]. But it would ſoon

[1] On ne ſe trompera point ſur Conſtantin, en croyant tout le mal qu'en dit Euſebe, et tout le bien qu'en dit Zoſime. Fleury Hiſt. Eccleſiaſtique, tom. iii. p. 233. Euſebius and

ſoon appear, that the vain attempt to blend ſuch diſcordant colours, and to reconcile ſuch inconſiſtent qualities, muſt produce a figure monſtrous rather than human, unleſs it is viewed in its proper and diſtinct lights, by a careful ſeparation of the different periods of the reign of Conſtantine.

His virtues.

The perſon, as well as the mind of Conſtantine, had been enriched by nature with her choiceſt endowments. His ſtature was lofty, his countenance majeſtic, his deportment graceful; his ſtrength and activity were diſplayed in every manly exerciſe, and from his earlieſt youth, to a very advanced ſeaſon of life, he preſerved the vigour of his conſtitution by a ſtrict adherence to the domeſtic virtues of chaſtity and temperance. He delighted in the ſocial intercourſe of familiar converſation; and though he might ſometimes indulge his diſpoſition to raillery with leſs reſerve than was required by the ſevere dignity of his ſtation, the courteſy and liberality of his manners gained the hearts of all who approached him. The ſincerity of his friendſhip has been ſuſpected; yet he ſhewed, on ſome occaſions, that he was not incapable of a warm and laſting attachment. The diſadvantage of an illiterate education had not prevented him from forming a juſt eſtimate of the value of learning; and the arts and ſciences derived ſome encouragement from the munificent protection of Conſtantine. In the diſpatch of buſineſs, his diligence was indefatigable; and the active powers of his mind were almoſt continually exerciſed in reading, writing, or meditating, in giving audience to ambaſſadors, and in examining the complaints of his ſubjects. Even thoſe who cenſured the propriety of his meaſures were compelled to acknowledge, that he poſſeſſed magnanimity to conceive, and patience to execute, the moſt arduous deſigns, without

and Zoſimus form indeed the two extremes of flattery and invective. The intermediate ſhades are expreſſed by thoſe writers, whoſe character or ſituation variouſly tempered the influence of their religious zeal.

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being checked either by the prejudices of education, or by the clamours of the multitude. In the field, he infuſed his own intrepid ſpirit into the troops, whom he conducted with the talents of a conſummate general; and to his abilities, rather than to his fortune, we may aſcribe the ſignal victories which he obtained over the foreign and domeſtic foes of the republic. He loved glory, as the reward, perhaps as the motive, of his labours. The boundleſs ambition, which, from the moment of his accepting the purple at York, appears as the ruling paſſion of his ſoul, may be juſtified by the dangers of his own ſituation, by the character of his rivals, by the conſciouſneſs of ſuperior merit, and by the proſpect that his ſucceſs would enable him to reſtore peace and order to the diſtracted empire. In his civil wars againſt Maxentius and Licinius, he had engaged on his ſide the inclinations of the people, who compared the undiſſembled vices of thoſe tyrants, with the ſpirit of wiſdom and juſtice which ſeemed to direct the general tenor of the adminiſtration of Conſtantine [2].

His vices.

Had Conſtantine fallen on the banks of the Tyber, or even in the plains of Hadrianople, ſuch is the character which, with a few exceptions, he might have tranſmitted to poſterity. But the concluſion of his reign (according to the moderate and indeed tender ſentence of a writer of the ſame age) degraded him from the rank which he had acquired among the moſt deſerving of the Roman princes [3]. In the life of Auguſtus, we behold the tyrant of the

[2] The virtues of Conſtantine are collected for the moſt part from Eutropius, and the younger Victor, two ſincere pagans, who wrote after the extinction of his family. Even Zoſimus, and the *Emperor* Julian, acknowledge his perſonal courage and military atchievements.

[3] See Eutropius, x. 6. In primo Imperii tempore optimis principibus, ultimo mediis comparandus. From the ancient Greek verſion of Pœanius (edit. Havercamp, p. 697.), I am inclined to ſuſpect that Eutropius had originally written *vix* mediis; and that the offenſive monoſyllable was dropped by the wilful inadvertency of tranſcribers. Aurelius Victor expreſſes the general opinion by a vulgar and indeed obſcure proverb, *Trachala* decem annis præſtantiſſimus; duodecim ſequentibus *latro*; decem noviſſimis *pupillus* ob immodicas profuſiones.

republic,

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republic, converted, almoſt by imperceptible degrees, into the father of his country and of human kind. In that of Conſtantine, we may contemplate a hero, who had ſo long inſpired his ſubjects with love, and his enemies with terror, degenerating into a cruel and diſſolute monarch, corrupted by his fortune, or raiſed by conqueſt above the neceſſity of diſſimulation. The general peace which he maintained during the laſt fourteen years of his reign, was a period of apparent ſplendour rather than of real proſperity; and the old age of Conſtantine was diſgraced by the oppoſite yet reconcilable vices of rapaciouſneſs and prodigality. The accumulated treaſures found in the palaces of Maxentius and Licinius, were laviſhly conſumed; the various innovations introduced by the conqueror, were attended with an increaſing expence; the coſt of his buildings, his court, and his feſtivals, required an immediate and plentiful ſupply; and the oppreſſion of the people was the only fund which could ſupport the magnificence of the ſovereign [4]. His unworthy favourites, enriched by the boundleſs liberality of their maſter, uſurped with impunity the privilege of rapine and corruption [5]. A ſecret but univerſal decay was felt in every part of the public adminiſtration, and the emperor himſelf, though he ſtill retained the obedience, gradually loſt the eſteem, of his ſubjects. The dreſs and manners which, towards the decline of life, he choſe to affect, ſerved only to degrade him in the eyes of mankind. The Aſiatic pomp, which had been adopted by the pride of Diocletian, aſſumed an air of ſoftneſs and effeminacy in the perſon of Conſtantine. He is repreſented with falſe hair of various colours, laborioufly arranged by the

A. D. 323—337.

[4] Julian. Orat. i. p. 8. in a flattering diſcourſe pronounced before the ſon of Conſtantine; and Cæſares, p. 335. Zoſimus, p. 114, 115. The ſtately buildings of Conſtantinople, &c. may be quoted as a laſting and unexceptionable proof of the profuſeneſs of their founder.

[5] The impartial Ammianus deſerves all our confidence. Proximorum fauces aperuit primus omnium Conſtantinus. L. xvi. c. 8. Euſebius himſelf confeſſes the abuſe (Vit. Conſtantin. l. iv. c. 29. 54.); and ſome of the Imperial laws feebly point out the remedy. See above, p. 39 of this volume.

ſkilful

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ſkilful artiſts of the times; a diadem of a new and more expenſive faſhion; a profuſion of gems and pearls, of collars and bracelets, and a variegated flowing robe of ſilk, moſt curiouſly embroidered with flowers of gold. In ſuch apparel, ſcarcely to be excuſed by the youth and folly of Elagabalus, we are at a loſs to diſcover the wiſdom of an aged monarch, and the ſimplicity of a Roman veteran[6]. A mind thus relaxed by proſperity and indulgence, was incapable of riſing to that magnanimity which diſdains ſuſpicion, and dares to forgive. The deaths of Maximian and Licinius may perhaps be juſtified by the maxims of policy, as they are taught in the ſchools of tyrants; but an impartial narrative of the executions, or rather murders, which ſullied the declining age of Conſtantine, will ſuggeſt to our moſt candid thoughts, the idea of a prince who could ſacrifice without reluctance the laws of juſtice, and the feelings of nature, to the dictates either of his paſſions or of his intereſt.

His family.

The ſame fortune which ſo invariably followed the ſtandard of Conſtantine, ſeemed to ſecure the hopes and comforts of his domeſtic life. Thoſe among his predeceſſors who had enjoyed the longeſt and moſt proſperous reigns, Auguſtus, Trajan, and Dioclétian, had been diſappointed of poſterity; and the frequent revolutions had never allowed ſufficient time for any Imperial family to grow up and multiply under the ſhade of the purple. But the royalty of the Flavian line, which had been firſt ennobled by the Gothic Claudius, deſcended through ſeveral generations; and Conſtantine himſelf derived from his royal father the hereditary honours which he tranſmitted to his children. The emperor had been twice married. Minervina, the obſcure but lawful object of his youthful

[6] Julian, in the Cæſars, attempts to ridicule his uncle. His ſuſpicious teſtimony is confirmed however by the learned Spanheim, with the authority of medals (See Commentaire, p. 156. 299. 397. 459.). Euſebius (Orat. c. 5.) alleges, that Conſtantine dreſſed for the public, not for himſelf. Were this admitted, the vaineſt coxcomb could never want an excuſe.

attachment,

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attachment[7], had left him only one ſon, who was called Criſpus. By Fauſta, the daughter of Maximian, he had three daughters, and three ſons known by the kindred names of Conſtantine, Conſtantius, and Conſtans. The unambitious brothers of the great Conſtantine, Julius Conſtantius, Dalmatius, and Hannibalianus[8], were permitted to enjoy the moſt honourable rank, and the moſt affluent fortune, that could be conſiſtent with a private ſtation. The youngeſt of the three lived without a name, and died without poſterity. His two elder brothers obtained in marriage the daughters of wealthy ſenators, and propagated new branches of the Imperial race. Gallus and Julian afterwards became the moſt illuſtrious of the children of Julius Conſtantius, the *Patrician*. The two ſons of Dalmatius, who had been decorated with the vain title of *Cenſor*, were named Dalmatius and Hannibalianus. The two ſiſters of the great Conſtantine, Anaſtaſia and Eutropia, were beſtowed on Optatus and Nepotianus, two ſenators of noble birth, and of conſular dignity. His third ſiſter, Conſtantia, was diſtinguiſhed by her preeminence of greatneſs and of miſery. She remained the widow of the vanquiſhed Licinius; and it was by her entreaties, that an innocent boy, the offſpring of their marriage, preſerved for ſome time, his life, the title of Cæſar, and a precarious hope of the ſucceſſion. Beſides the females, and the allies of the Flavian houſe, ten or twelve males, to whom the language of modern courts would apply the title of princes of the blood, ſeemed, according to the order of their birth, to be deſtined either to inherit or to ſupport the throne of Conſtantine. But in leſs than thirty years, this numerous

[7] Zoſimus and Zonaras agree in repreſenting Minervina as the concubine of Conſtantine: but Ducange has very gallantly reſcued her character, by producing a deciſive paſſage from one of the panegyrics: "Ab ipſo fine pueritiæ te matrimonii legibus dediſti."

[8] Ducange (Familiæ Byzantinæ, p. 44.) beſtows on him, after Zonaras, the name of Conſtantine; a name ſomewhat unlikely, as it was already occupied by the elder brother. That of Hannibalianus is mentioned in the Paſchal Chronicle, and is approved by Tillemont, Hiſt. des Empereurs, tom. iv. p. 527.

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and increaſing family was reduced to the perſons of Conſtantius and Julian, who alone had ſurvived a ſeries of crimes and calamities, ſuch as the tragic poets have deplored in the devoted lines of Pelops and of Cadmus.

Virtues of Criſpus.

Criſpus, the eldeſt ſon of Conſtantine, and the preſumptive heir of the empire, is repreſented by impartial hiſtorians as an amiable and accompliſhed youth. The care of his education, or at leaſt of his ſtudies, was entruſted to Lactantius, the moſt eloquent of the Chriſtians; a præceptor admirably qualified to form the taſte, and to excite the virtues, of his illuſtrious diſciple[9]. At the age of ſeventeen, Criſpus was inveſted with the title of Cæſar, and the adminiſtration of the Gallic provinces, where the inroads of the Germans gave him an early occaſion of ſignalizing his military proweſs. In the civil war which broke out ſoon afterwards, the father and ſon divided their powers; and this hiſtory has already celebrated the valour as well as conduct diſplayed by the latter, in forcing the ſtreights of the Helleſpont, ſo obſtinately defended by the ſuperior fleet of Licinius. This naval victory contributed to determine the event of the war; and the names of Conſtantine and of Criſpus were united in the joyful acclamations of their eaſtern ſubjects; who loudly proclaimed, that the world had been ſubdued, and was now governed, by an emperor endowed with every virtue; and by his illuſtrious ſon, a prince beloved of heaven, and the lively image of his father's perfections. The public favour, which ſeldom accompanies old-age, diffuſed its luſtre over the youth of Criſpus. He deſerved the eſteem, and he engaged the affections, of the court, the army, and the people. The experienced merit of a reigning monarch is acknowledged by his ſubjects with reluctance, and frequently

[9] Jerom. in Chron. The poverty of Lactantius may be applied either to the praiſe of the diſintereſted philoſopher, or to the ſhame of the unfeeling patron. See Tillemont, Mem. Eccleſiaſt. tom. vi. part i. p. 345. Dupin, Bibliotheque Eccleſiaſt. tom. i. p. 205. Lardner's Credibility of the Goſpel Hiſtory, part ii. vol. vii. p. 66.

quently denied with partial and diſcontented murmurs; while, from the opening virtues of his ſucceſſor, they fondly conceive the moſt unbounded hopes of private as well as public felicity[10].

Jealouſy of Conſtantine. A. D. 324, October 10.

This dangerous popularity ſoon excited the attention of Conſtantine, who, both as a father and as a king, was impatient of an equal. Inſtead of attempting to ſecure the allegiance of his ſon, by the generous ties of confidence and gratitude, he reſolved to prevent the miſchiefs which might be apprehended from diſſatisfied ambition. Criſpus ſoon had reaſon to complain, that, while his infant brother Conſtantius was ſent, with the title of Cæſar, to reign over his peculiar department of the Gallic provinces[11], *he*, a prince of mature years, who had performed ſuch recent and ſignal ſervices, inſtead of being raiſed to the ſuperior rank of Auguſtus, was confined almoſt a priſoner to his father's court; and expoſed, without power or defence, to every calumny which the malice of his enemies could ſuggeſt. Under ſuch painful circumſtances, the royal youth might not always be able to compoſe his behaviour, or ſuppreſs his diſcontent; and we may be aſſured, that he was encompaſſed by a train of indiſcreet or perfidious followers, who aſſiduouſly ſtudied to inflame, and who were perhaps inſtructed to betray, the unguarded warmth of his reſentment. An edict of Conſtantine, publiſhed about this time, manifeſtly indicates his real or affected ſuſpicions, that a ſecret conſpiracy had been formed againſt his perſon and government. By all the allurements of honours and rewards, he invites informers of every degree to accuſe without exception his magiſtrates or miniſters, his friends or his moſt intimate favourites,

A. D. 325, October 1.

[10] Euſeb. Hiſt. Eccleſiaſt. l. x. c. 9. Eutropius (x. 6.) ſtyles him, "egregium virum;" and Julian (Orat. i.) very plainly alludes to the exploits of Criſpus in the civil war. See Spanheim. Comment. p. 92.

[11] Compare Idatius and the Paſchal Chronicle, with Ammianus (l. xiv. c. 5.). The *year* in which Conſtantius was created Cæſar, ſeems to be more accurately fixed by the two chronologiſts; but the hiſtorian who lived in his court, could not be ignorant of the *day* of the anniverſary. For the appointment of the new Cæſar to the provinces of Gaul, ſee Julian. Orat. i. p. 12. Godefroy, Chronol. Legum, p. 26. and Blondel de la Primauté de l'Egliſe, p. 1183.

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proteſting, with a ſolemn aſſeveration, that he himſelf will liſten to the charge, that he himſelf will revenge his injuries; and concluding with a prayer, which diſcovers ſome apprehenſion of danger, that the providence of the Supreme Being may ſtill continue to protect the ſafety of the emperor and of the empire[12].

Diſgrace and death of Criſpus, A. D. 326, July.

The informers, who complied with ſo liberal an invitation, were ſufficiently verſed in the arts of courts to ſelect the friends and adherents of Criſpus as the guilty perſons; nor is there any reaſon to diſtruſt the veracity of the emperor, who had promiſed an ample meaſure of revenge and puniſhment. The policy of Conſtantine maintained, however, the ſame appearances of regard and confidence towards a ſon, whom he began to conſider as his moſt irreconcilable enemy. Medals were ſtruck with the cuſtomary vows for the long and auſpicious reign of the young Cæſar[13]; and as the people, who was not admitted into the ſecrets of the palace, ſtill loved his virtues, and reſpected his dignity, a poet who ſolicits his recal from exile, adores with equal devotion the majeſty of the father and that of the ſon[14]. The time was now arrived for celebrating the auguſt ceremony of the twentieth year of the reign of Conſtantine; and the emperor, for that purpoſe, removed his court from Nicomedia to Rome, where the moſt ſplendid preparations had been made for his reception. Every eye, and every tongue, affected to expreſs their ſenſe of the general happineſs, and the veil of ceremony and diſſimulation was drawn for a while over the darkeſt deſigns of revenge and murder[15]. In the midſt of the feſtival, the unfortunate Criſpus was apprehended by order of the em-

[12] Cod. Theod. l. ix. tit. iv. Godefroy ſuſpected the ſecret motives of this law. Comment. tom. iii. p. 9.

[13] Ducange Fam. Byzant. p. 28. Tillemont, tom. iv. p. 610.

[14] His name was Porphyrius Optatianus. The date of his panegyric, written according to the taſte of the age in vile acroſtics, is ſettled by Scaliger ad Euſeb. p. 250. Tillemont, tom. iv. p. 607. ad Fabricius Biblioth. Latin. l. iv. c. 1.

[15] Zoſim. l. ii. p. 103. Godefroy Chronol. Legum, p. 28.

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peror, who laid aſide the tenderneſs of a father, without aſſuming the equity of a judge. The examination was ſhort and private[16]; and as it was thought decent to conceal the fate of the young prince from the eyes of the Roman people, he was ſent under a ſtrong guard to Pola, in Iſtria, where, ſoon afterwards, he was put to death, either by the hand of the executioner, or by the more gentle operation of poiſon[17]. The Cæſar Licinius, a youth of amiable manners, was involved in the ruin of Criſpus[18]; and the ſtern jealouſy of Conſtantine was unmoved by the prayers and tears of his favourite ſiſter, pleading for the life of a ſon; whoſe rank was his only crime, and whoſe loſs ſhe did not long ſurvive. The ſtory of theſe unhappy princes, the nature and evidence of their guilt, the forms of their trial, and the circumſtances of their death, were buried in myſterious obſcurity; and the courtly biſhop, who has celebrated in an elaborate work the virtues and piety of his hero, obſerves a prudent ſilence on the ſubject of theſe tragic events[19]. Such haughty contempt for the opinion of mankind, whilſt it imprints an indelible ſtain on the memory of Conſtantine, muſt remind us of the very different behaviour of one of the greateſt monarchs of the preſent

[15] Ἀκριτως, *without a trial*, is the ſtrong, and moſt probably the juſt expreſſion of Suidas. The elder Victor, who wrote under the next reign, ſpeaks with becoming caution. "Natû "grandior incertum quâ cauſâ, patris judicio "occidiſſet." If we conſult the ſucceeding writers, Eutropius, the younger Victor, Oroſius, Jerom, Zoſimus, Philoſtorgius, and Gregory of Tours; their knowledge will appear gradually to encreaſe, as their means of information muſt have diminiſhed; a circumſtance which frequently occurs in hiſtorical diſquiſition.

[17] Ammianus (l. xiv. c. 11.) uſes the general expreſſion of *peremptum*. Codinus (p. 34.) beheads the young prince; but Sidonius Apollinaris (Epiſtol. v. 8.) for the ſake perhaps of an antitheſis to Fauſta's *warm* bath, chuſes to adminiſter a draught of *cold* poiſon.

[18] Sororis filium, commodæ indolis juvenem. Eutropius, x. 6. May I not be permitted to conjecture, that Criſpus had married Helena, the daughter of the emperor Licinius, and that on the happy delivery of the princeſs, in the year 322, a general pardon was granted by Conſtantine? See Ducange Fam. Byzant. p. 47. and the law (l. ix. tit. xxxvii.) of the Theodoſian Code, which has ſo much embarraſſed the interpreters. Godefroy, tom. iii. p. 267.

[19] See the life of Conſtantine, particularly l. ii. c. 19, 20. Two hundred and fifty years afterwards Evagrius (l. iii. c. 41.) deduced from the ſilence of Euſebius a vain argument againſt the reality of the fact.

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age. The Czar Peter, in the full poſſeſſion of deſpotic power, ſubmitted to the judgment of Ruſſia, of Europe, and of poſterity, the reaſons which had compelled him to ſubſcribe the condemnation of a criminal, or at leaſt of a degenerate, ſon[20].

The empreſs Fauſta.

The innocence of Criſpus was ſo univerſally acknowledged, that the modern Greeks, who adore the memory of their founder, are reduced to palliate the guilt of a parricide, which the common feelings of human nature forbade them to juſtify. They pretend, that as ſoon as the afflicted father diſcovered the falſehood of the accuſation by which his credulity had been ſo fatally miſled, he publiſhed to the world his repentance and remorſe; that he mourned forty days, during which he abſtained from the uſe of the bath, and all the ordinary comforts of life; and that, for the laſting inſtruction of poſterity, he erected a golden ſtatue of Criſpus, with this memorable inſcription: TO MY SON, WHOM I UNJUSTLY CONDEMNED[21]. A tale ſo moral and ſo intereſting would deſerve to be ſupported by leſs exceptionable authority: but if we conſult the more ancient and authentic writers, they will inform us, that the repentance of Conſtantine was manifeſted only in acts of blood and revenge; and that he atoned for the murder of an innocent ſon, by the execution, perhaps, of a guilty wife. They aſcribe the misfortunes of Criſpus to the arts of his ſtepmother Fauſta, whoſe implacable hatred, or whoſe diſappointed love, renewed in the palace of Conſtantine the ancient tragedy of Hippolitus and of Phædra[22]. Like the daughter of Minos, the daughter of Maximian accuſed her ſon-in-law of an inceſtuous attempt on the chaſtity of his father's

[20] Hiſtoire de Pierre le Grand, par Voltaire, part ii. c. x.

[21] In order to prove that the ſtatue was erected by Conſtantine, and afterwards concealed by the malice of the Arians, Codinus very readily creates (p. 34.) two witneſſes, Hippolitus, and the younger Herodotus, to whoſe imaginary hiſtories he appeals with unbluſhing confidence.

[22] Zoſimus (l. ii. p. 103.) may be conſidered as our original. The ingenuity of the moderns, aſſiſted by a few hints from the ancients, has illuſtrated and improved his obſcure and imperfect narrative.

wife;

wife; and eaſily obtained, from the jealouſy of the emperor, a ſentence of death againſt a young prince, whom ſhe conſidered with reaſon as the moſt formidable rival of her own children. But Helena, the aged mother of Conſtantine, lamented and revenged the untimely fate of her grandſon Criſpus: nor was it long before a real or pretended diſcovery was made, that Fauſta herſelf entertained a criminal connection with a ſlave belonging to the Imperial ſtables [23]. Her condemnation and puniſhment were the inſtant conſequences of the charge; and the adultereſs was ſuffocated by the ſteam of a bath, which, for that purpoſe, had been heated to an extraordinary degree [24]. By ſome it will perhaps be thought, that the remembrance of a conjugal union of twenty years, and the honour of their common offſpring, the deſtined heirs of the throne, might have ſoftened the obdurate heart of Conſtantine; and perſuaded him to ſuffer his wife, however guilty ſhe might appear, to expiate her offences in a ſolitary priſon. But it ſeems a ſuperfluous labour to weigh the propriety, unleſs we could aſcertain the truth, of this ſingular event; which is attended with ſome circumſtances of doubt and perplexity. Thoſe who have attacked, and thoſe who have defended, the character of Conſtantine, have alike diſregarded two very remarkable paſſages of two orations pronounced under the ſucceeding reign. The former celebrates the virtues, the beauty, and the fortune of the empreſs Fauſta, the daughter, wife, ſiſter, and mother of ſo many princes [25]. The latter aſſerts, in explicit terms,

[23] Philoſtorgius, l. ii. c. 4. Zoſimus (l. ii. p. 104. 116.) imputes to Conſtantine the death of two wives, of the innocent Fauſta, and of an adultereſs who was the mother of his three ſucceſſors. According to Jerom, three or four years elapſed between the death of Criſpus and that of Fauſta. The elder Victor is prudently ſilent.

[24] If Fauſta was put to death, it is reaſonable to believe that the private apartments of the palace were the ſcene of her execution. The orator Chryſoſtom indulges his fancy by expoſing the naked empreſs on a deſert mountain, to be devoured by wild beaſts.

[25] Julian. Orat. i. He ſeems to call her the mother of Criſpus. She might aſſume that

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terms, that the mother of the younger Conſtantine, who was ſlain three years after his father's death, ſurvived to weep over the fate of her ſon[26]. Notwithſtanding the poſitive teſtimony of ſeveral writers of the Pagan as well as of the Chriſtian religion, there may ſtill remain ſome reaſon to believe, or at leaſt to ſuſpect, that Fauſta eſcaped the blind and ſuſpicious cruelty of her huſband. The deaths of a ſon, and of a nephew, with the execution of a great number of reſpectable, and perhaps innocent friends[27], who were involved in their fall, may be ſufficient, however, to juſtify the diſcontent of the Roman people, and to explain the ſatirical verſes affixed to the palace-gate, comparing the ſplendid and bloody reigns of Conſtantine and Nero[28].

The ſons and nephews of Conſtantine.

By the death of Criſpus, the inheritance of the empire ſeemed to devolve on the three ſons of Fauſta, who have been already mentioned under the names of Conſtantine, of Conſtantius, and of Conſtans. Theſe young princes were ſucceſſively inveſted with the title of Cæſar; and the dates of their promotion may be referred to the tenth, the twentieth, and the thirtieth years of the reign of their father[29]. This conduct, though it tended to multiply the future maſters of the Roman world, might be excuſed by the partiality of paternal affection; but it is not eaſy to underſtand the

that title by adoption. At leaſt, ſhe was not conſidered as his mortal enemy. Julian compares the fortune of Fauſta with that of Paryſatis, the Perſian queen. A Roman would have more naturally recollected the ſecond Agrippina:

Et moi, qui ſur le trone ai ſuivi mes ancêtres;
Moi, fille, femme, ſœur et mere de vos maitres.

[26] Monod. in Conſtantin. Jun. c. 4. ad calcem Eutrop. edit. Havercamp. The orator ſtyles her the moſt divine and pious of queens.

[27] Interfecit numeroſos amicos. Eutrop. xx. 6.

[28] Saturni aurea ſæcula quis requirat?
Sunt hæc gemmea, ſed Neroniana.
Sidon. Apollinar. v. 8.

It is ſomewhat ſingular, that theſe ſatirical lines ſhould be attributed, not to an obſcure libeller, or a diſappointed patriot, but to Ablavius, prime miniſter and favourite of the emperor. We may now perceive that the imprecations of the Roman people were dictated by humanity, as well as by ſuperſtition. Zoſim. l. ii. p. 105.

[29] Euſeb. Orat. in Conſtantin. c. 3. Theſe dates are ſufficiently correct to juſtify the orator.

motives

motives of the emperor, when he endangered the ſafety both of his family and of his people, by the unneceſſary elevation of his two nephews, Dalmatius and Hannibalianus. The former was raiſed, by the title of Cæſar, to an equality with his couſins. In favour of the latter, Conſtantine invented the new and ſingular appellation of *Nobiliſſimus* [30]; to which he annexed the flattering diſtinction of a robe of purple and gold. But of the whole ſeries of Roman princes in any age of the empire, Hannibalianus alone was diſtinguiſhed by the title of KING; a name which the ſubjects of Tiberius would have deteſted, as the profane and cruel inſult of capricious tyranny. The uſe of ſuch a title, even as it appears under the reign of Conſtantine, is a ſtrange and unconnected fact, which can ſcarcely be admitted on the joint authority of Imperial medals and contemporary writers [31].

Their education.

The whole empire was deeply intereſted in the education of theſe five youths, the acknowledged ſucceſſors of Conſtantine. The exerciſes of the body prepared them for the fatigues of war, and the duties of active life. Thoſe who occaſionally mention the education or talents of Conſtantius, allow that he excelled in the gymnaſtic arts of leaping and running; that he was a dextrous archer, a ſkilful horſeman, and a maſter of all the different weapons uſed in the ſervice either of the cavalry or of the infantry [32]. The ſame aſſiduous cultivation was beſtowed, though not perhaps with equal ſucceſs, to improve the minds of the ſons and nephews of Conſtantine [33]. The

[30] Zoſim. l. ii. p. 117. Under the predeceſſors of Conſtantine, *Nobiliſſimus* was a vague epithet, rather than a legal and determined title.

[31] Adſtruunt nummi veteres ac ſingulares. Spanheim de Uſu Numiſmat. Diſſertat. xii. vol. ii. p. 357. Ammianus ſpeaks of this Roman king (l. xiv. c. 1. and Valeſius ad loc.). The Valeſian fragment ſtyles him King of kings; and the Paſchal Chronicle (p. 286.), by employing the word Ρηγα, acquires the weight of Latin evidence.

[32] His dexterity in martial exerciſes is celebrated by Julian (Orat. i. p. 11. Orat. ii. p. 53.), and allowed by Ammianus (l. xxi. c. 16.).

[33] Euſeb. in Vit. Conſtantin. l. iv. c. 51. Julian. Orat. i. p. 11—16. with Spanheim's elaborate Commentary. Libanius, Orat. iii. p. 109. Conſtantius ſtudied with laudable diligence; but the dulneſs of his fancy prevented him from ſucceeding in the art of poetry, or even of rhetoric.

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moſt celebrated profeſſors of the Chriſtian faith, of the Grecian philoſophy, and of the Roman juriſprudence, were invited by the liberality of the emperor, who reſerved for himſelf the important taſk of inſtructing the royal youths in the ſcience of government, and the knowledge of mankind. But the genius of Conſtantine himſelf had been formed by adverſity and experience. In the free intercourſe of private life, and amidſt the dangers of the court of Galerius, he had learned to command his own paſſions, to encounter thoſe of his equals, and to depend for his preſent ſafety and future greatneſs on the prudence and firmneſs of his perſonal conduct. His deſtined ſucceſſors had the misfortune of being born and educated in the Imperial purple. Inceſſantly ſurrounded with a train of flatterers, they paſſed their youth in the enjoyment of luxury and the expectation of a throne; nor would the dignity of their rank permit them to deſcend from that elevated ſtation from whence the various characters of human nature appear to wear a ſmooth and uniform aſpect. The indulgence of Conſtantine admitted them, at a very tender age, to ſhare the adminiſtration of the empire; and they ſtudied the art of reigning at the expence of the people entruſted to their care. The younger Conſtantine was appointed to hold his court in Gaul; and his brother Conſtantius exchanged that department, the ancient patrimony of their father, for the more opulent, but leſs martial countries of the Eaſt. Italy, the Weſtern Illyricum, and Africa, were accuſtomed to revere Conſtans, the third of his ſons, as the repreſentative of the great Conſtantine. He fixed Dalmatius on the Gothic frontier, to which he annexed the government of Thrace, Macedonia, and Greece. The city of Cæſarea was choſen for the reſidence of Hannibalianus; and the provinces of Pontus, Cappadocia, and the Leſſer Armenia, were deſtined to form the extent of his new kingdom. For each of theſe princes a ſuitable eſtabliſhment was provided. A juſt proportion of guards, of legions, and of auxiliaries, was allotted for their reſpective dignity and defence.

The

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The miniſters and generals, who were placed about their perſons, were ſuch as Conſtantine could truſt to aſſiſt, and even to control, theſe youthful ſovereigns in the exercise of their delegated power. As they advanced in years and experience, the limits of their authority were inſenſibly enlarged: but the emperor always reſerved for himſelf the title of Auguſtus; and while he ſhewed the *Cæſars* to the armies and provinces, he maintained every part of the empire in equal obedience to its ſupreme head [34]. The tranquillity of the laſt fourteen years of his reign was ſcarcely interrupted by the contemptible inſurrection of a camel-driver in the iſland of Cyprus [35], or by the active part which the policy of Conſtantine engaged him to aſſume in the wars of the Goths and Sarmatians.

Manners of the Sarmatians.

Among the different branches of the human race, the Sarmatians form a very remarkable ſhade; as they ſeem to unite the manners of the Aſiatic barbarians with the figure and complexion of the ancient inhabitants of Europe. According to the various accidents of peace and war, of alliance or conqueſt, the Sarmatians were ſometimes confined to the banks of the Tanais; and they ſometimes ſpread themſelves over the immenſe plains which lie between the Viſtula and the Volga [36]. The care of their numerous flocks and herds, the purſuit of game, and the exerciſe of war, or rather of rapine, directed the vagrant motions of the Sarmatians. The moveable camps or cities, the ordinary reſidence

[34] Euſebius (l. iv. c. 51, 52.), with a deſign of exalting the authority and glory of Conſtantine, affirms, that he divided the Roman empire as a private citizen might have divided his patrimony. His diſtribution of the provinces may be collected from Eutropius, the two Victors, and the Valeſian fragment.

[35] Calocerus, the obſcure leader of this rebellion, or rather tumult, was apprehended and burnt alive in the market-place of Tarſus, by the vigilance of Dalmatius. See the elder Victor, the Chronicle of Jerom, and the doubtful traditions of Theophanes and Cedrenus.

[36] Cellarius has collected the opinions of the ancients concerning the European and Aſiatic Sarmatia; and M. d'Anville has applied them to modern geography with the ſkill and accuracy which always diſtinguiſhes that excellent writer.

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of their wives and children, conſiſted only of large waggons drawn by oxen, and covered in the form of tents. The military ſtrength of the nation was compoſed of cavalry; and the cuſtom of their warriors, to lead in their hand one or two ſpare horſes, enabled them to advance and to retreat with a rapid diligence, which ſurpriſed the ſecurity, and eluded the purſuit, of a diſtant enemy[37]. Their poverty of iron prompted their rude induſtry to invent a ſort of cuiraſs, which was capable of reſiſting a ſword or javelin, though it was formed only of horſes hoofs, cut into thin and poliſhed ſlices, carefully laid over each other in the manner of ſcales or feathers, and ſtrongly ſewed upon an under-garment of coarſe linen[38]. The offenſive arms of the Sarmatians were ſhort daggers, long lances, and a weighty bow with a quiver of arrows. They were reduced to the neceſſity of employing fiſh-bones for the points of their weapons; but the cuſtom of dipping them in a venomous liquor, that poiſoned the wounds which they inflicted, is alone ſufficient to prove the moſt ſavage manners; ſince a people impreſſed with a ſenſe of humanity would have abhorred ſo cruel a practice, and a nation ſkilled in the arts of war would have diſdained ſo impotent a reſource[39]. Whenever theſe Barbarians iſſued from their deſerts in queſt of prey, their ſhaggy beards, uncombed locks, the furs with which they were covered from head to foot, and their fierce countenances, which ſeemed to expreſs the innate cruelty of their minds, inſpired the more civilized provincials of Rome with horror and diſmay.

[37] Ammian. l. xvii. c. 12. The Sarmatian horſes were caſtrated, to prevent the miſchievous accidents which might happen from the noiſy and ungovernable paſſions of the males.

[38] Pauſanias, l. i. p. 50. edit. Kuhn. That inquiſitive traveller had carefully examined a Sarmatian cuiraſs, which was preſerved in the temple of Æſculapius at Athens.

[39] Aſpicis et mitti ſub adunco toxica ferro,
Et telum cauſas mortis habere duas.
Ovid. ex Ponto, l. iv. ep. 7. ver. 7.
See in the Recherches ſur les Americains, tom. ii. p. 236—271. a very curious diſſertation on poiſoned darts. The venom was commonly extracted from the vegetable reign; but that employed by the Scythians appears to have been drawn from the viper, and a mixture of human blood. The uſe of poiſoned arms, which has been ſpread over both worlds, never preſerved a ſavage tribe from the arms of a diſciplined enemy.

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Their ſettlement near the Danube.

The tender Ovid, after a youth ſpent in the enjoyment of fame and luxury, was condemned to an hopeleſs exile on the frozen banks of the Danube, where he was expoſed, almoſt without defence, to the fury of theſe monſters of the deſert, with whoſe ſtern ſpirits he feared that his gentle ſhade might hereafter be confounded. In his pathetic, but ſometimes unmanly lamentations[40], he deſcribes in the moſt lively colours, the dreſs and manners, the arms and inroads of the Getæ and Sarmatians, who were aſſociated for the purpoſes of deſtruction; and from the accounts of hiſtory, there is ſome reaſon to believe that theſe Sarmatians were the Jazygæ, one of the moſt numerous and warlike tribes of the nation. The allurements of plenty engaged them to ſeek a permanent eſtabliſhment on the frontiers of the empire. Soon after the reign of Auguſtus, they obliged the Dacians, who ſubſiſted by fiſhing on the banks of the river Teyſs or Tibiſcus, to retire into the hilly country, and to abandon to the victorious Sarmatians the fertile plains of the Upper Hungary, which are bounded by the courſe of the Danube and the ſemi-circular incloſure of the Carpathian mountains[41]. In this advantageous poſition, they watched or ſuſpended the moment of attack, as they were provoked by injuries or appeaſed by preſents; they gradually acquired the ſkill of uſing more dangerous weapons; and although the Sarmatians did not illuſtrate their name by any memorable exploits, they occaſionally aſſiſted their eaſtern and

[40] The nine books of Poetical Epiſtles, which Ovid compoſed during the ſeven firſt years of his melancholy exile, poſſeſs, beſides the merit of elegance, a double value. They exhibit a picture of the human mind under very ſingular circumſtances; and they contain many curious obſervations, which no Roman, except Ovid, could have an opportunity of making. Every circumſtance which tends to illuſtrate the hiſtory of the Barbarians, has been drawn together by the very accurate Count de Buat, Hiſt. Ancienne des Peuples de l'Europe, tom. iv. c. xvi. p. 286—317.

[41] The Sarmatians Jazygæ were ſettled on the banks of the Pathiſſus or Tibiſcus, when Pliny, in the year 79, publiſhed his Natural Hiſtory. See l. iv. c. 25. In the time of Strabo and Ovid, ſixty or ſeventy years before, they appear to have inhabited beyond the Getæ, along the coaſt of the Euxine.

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weſtern neighbours, the Goths and the Germans, with a formidable body of cavalry. They lived under the irregular ariſtocracy of their chieftains [42]; but after they had received into their boſom the fugitive Vandals, who yielded to the preſſure of the Gothic power, they ſeem to have choſen a king from that nation, and from the illuſtrious race of the Aſtingi, who had formerly dwelt on the ſhores of the Northern ocean [43].

The Gothic war, A. D. 331.

This motive of enmity muſt have inflamed the ſubjects of contention, which perpetually ariſe on the confines of warlike and independent nations. The Vandal princes were ſtimulated by fear and revenge, the Gothic kings aſpired to extend their dominion from the Euxine to the frontiers of Germany; and the waters of the Maros, a ſmall river which falls into the Teyſs, were ſtained with the blood of the contending Barbarians. After ſome experience of the ſuperior ſtrength and numbers of their adverſaries, the Sarmatians implored the protection of the Roman monarch, who beheld with pleaſure the diſcord of the nations, but who was juſtly alarmed by the progreſs of the Gothic arms. As ſoon as Conſtantine had declared himſelf in favour of the weaker party, the haughty Araric, king of the Goths, inſtead of expecting the attack of the legions, boldly paſſed the Danube, and ſpread terror and devaſtation through the province of Mæſia. To oppoſe the inroad of this deſtroying hoſt, the aged emperor took the field in perſon; but on this occaſion either his conduct or his fortune betrayed the glory which he had acquired in ſo many foreign and domeſtic wars. He had the morti-

[42] Principes Sarmatarum Jazygum penes quos civitatis regimen . . . plebem quoque et vim equitum quâ ſolâ valent offerebant. Tacit. Hiſt. iii. 5. This offer was made in the civil war between Vitellius and Veſpaſian.

[43] This hypotheſis of a Vandal king reigning over Sarmatian ſubjects, ſeems neceſſary to reconcile the Goth Jornandes with the Greek and Latin hiſtorians of Conſtantine. It may be obſerved that Iſidore, who lived in Spain under the dominion of the Goths, gives them for enemies, not the Vandals, but the Sarmatians. See his Chronicle in Grotius, p. 709.

fication

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fication of ſeeing his troops fly before an inconſiderable detachment of the Barbarians, who purſued them to the edge of their fortified camp, and obliged him to conſult his ſafety by a precipitate and ignominious retreat. The event of a ſecond and more ſucceſsful action retrieved the honour of the Roman name; and the powers of art and diſcipline prevailed, after an obſtinate conteſt, over the efforts of irregular valour. The broken army of the Goths abandoned the field of battle, the waſted province, and the paſſage of the Danube: and although the eldeſt of the ſons of Conſtantine was permitted to ſupply the place of his father, the merit of the victory, which diffuſed univerſal joy, was aſcribed to the auſpicious counſels of the emperor himſelf. A. D. 332, April 20.

He contributed, at leaſt, to improve this advantage, by his negociations with the free and warlike people of Cherſoneſus[44], whoſe capital, ſituate on the weſtern coaſt of the Tauric or Crimæan peninſula, ſtill retained ſome veſtiges of a Grecian colony, and was governed by a perpetual magiſtrate, aſſiſted by a council of ſenators, emphatically ſtyled the Fathers of the City. The Cherſonites were animated againſt the Goths, by the memory of the wars which, in the preceding century, they had maintained with unequal forces againſt the invaders of their country. They were connected with the Romans by the mutual benefits of commerce; as they were ſupplied from the provinces of Aſia with corn and manufactures, which they purchaſed with their only productions, ſalt, wax, and hides. Obedient to the requiſition of Conſtantine, they prepared, under the

[44] I may ſtand in need of ſome apology for having uſed, without ſcruple, the authority of Conſtantine Porphyrogenitus, in all that relates to the wars and negociations of the Cherſonites. I am aware that he was a Greek of the tenth century, and that his accounts of ancient hiſtory are frequently confuſed and fabulous. But on this occaſion his narrative is, for the moſt part, conſiſtent and probable; nor is there much difficulty in conceiving that an emperor might have acceſs to ſome ſecret archives, which had eſcaped the diligence of meaner hiſtorians. For the ſituation and hiſtory of Cherſone, ſee Peyſſonel des Peuples barbares qui ont habité les Bords du Danube, c. xvi. p. 84–90.

conduct

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conduct of their magiſtrate Diogenes, a conſiderable army, of which the principal ſtrength conſiſted in croſs-bows and military chariots. The ſpeedy march and intrepid attack of the Cherſonites, by diverting the attention of the Goths, aſſiſted the operations of the Imperial generals. The Goths, vanquiſhed on every ſide, were driven into the mountains, where, in the courſe of a ſevere campaign, above an hundred thouſand were computed to have periſhed by cold and hunger. Peace was at length granted to their humble ſupplications; the eldeſt ſon of Araric was accepted as the moſt valuable hoſtage; and Conſtantine endeavoured to convince their chiefs, by a liberal diſtribution of honours and rewards, how far the friendſhip of the Romans was preferable to their enmity. In the expreſſions of his gratitude towards the faithful Cherſonites, the emperor was ſtill more magnificent. The pride of the nation was gratified by the ſplendid and almoſt royal decorations beſtowed on their magiſtrate and his ſucceſſors. A perpetual exemption from all duties was ſtipulated for their veſſels which traded to the ports of the Black Sea. A regular ſubſidy was promiſed, of iron, corn, oil, and of every ſupply which could be uſeful either in peace or war. But it was thought that the Sarmatians were ſufficiently rewarded by their deliverance from impending ruin; and the emperor, perhaps with too ſtrict an œconomy, deducted ſome part of the expences of the war from the cuſtomary gratifications which were allowed to that turbulent nation.

Expulſion of the Sarmatians, A. D. 334.

Exaſperated by this apparent neglect, the Sarmatians ſoon forgot, with the levity of Barbarians, the ſervices which they had ſo lately received, and the dangers which ſtill threatened their ſafety. Their inroads on the territory of the empire provoked the indignation of Conſtantine to leave them to their fate; and he no longer oppoſed the ambition of Geberic, a renowned warrior, who had recently aſcended the Gothic throne. Wiſumar, the Vandal king, whilſt alone

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alone and unaſſiſted, he defended his dominions with undaunted courage, was vanquiſhed and ſlain in a deciſive battle which ſwept away the flower of the Sarmatian youth. The remainder of the nation embraced the deſperate expedient of arming their ſlaves, a hardy race of hunters and herdſmen, by whoſe tumultuary aid they revenged their defeat, and expelled the invader from their confines. But they ſoon diſcovered that they had exchanged a foreign for a domeſtic enemy, more dangerous and more implacable. Enraged by their former ſervitude, elated by their preſent glory, the ſlaves, under the name of Limigantes, claimed and uſurped the poſſeſſion of the country which they had ſaved. Their maſters, unable to withſtand the ungoverned fury of the populace, preferred the hardſhips of exile, to the tyranny of their ſervants. Some of the fugitive Sarmatians ſolicited a leſs ignominious dependence, under the hoſtile ſtandard of the Goths. A more numerous band retired beyond the Carpathian mountains, among the Quadi, their German allies, and were eaſily admitted to ſhare a ſuperfluous waſte of uncultivated land. But the far greater part of the diſtreſſed nation turned their eyes towards the fruitful provinces of Rome. Imploring the protection and forgiveneſs of the emperor, they ſolemnly promiſed, as ſubjects in peace, and as ſoldiers in war, the moſt inviolable fidelity to the empire which ſhould graciouſly receive them into its boſom. According to the maxims adopted by Probus and his ſucceſſors, the offers of this Barbarian colony were eagerly accepted; and a competent portion of lands in the provinces of Pannonia, Thrace, Macedonia, and Italy, were immediately aſſigned for the habitation and ſubſiſtence of three hundred thouſand Sarmatians [45].

By

[45] The Gothic and Sarmatian wars are related in ſo broken and imperfect a manner, that I have been obliged to compare the following writers, who mutually ſupply, correct, and illuſtrate each other. Thoſe who will take the ſame trouble, may acquire a right of criticiſing my narrative. Ammianus, l. xvii. c. 12. Anonym. Valeſian. p. 715.

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Death and funeral of Conſtantine, A. D. 335, July 25.

By chaſtiſing the pride of the Goths, and by accepting the homage of a ſuppliant nation, Conſtantine aſſerted the majeſty of the Roman empire; and the ambaſſadors of Æthiopia, Perſia, and the moſt remote countries of India, congratulated the peace and proſperity of his government[46]. If he reckoned, among the favours of fortune, the death of his eldeſt ſon, of his nephew, and perhaps of his wife, he enjoyed an uninterrupted flow of private as well as public felicity, till the thirtieth year of his reign; a period which none of his predeceſſors, ſince Auguſtus, had been permitted to celebrate. Conſtantine ſurvived that ſolemn feſtival about ten months; and, at the mature age of ſixty-four, after a ſhort illneſs, he ended his memorable life at the palace of Aquyrion, in the ſuburbs of Nicomedia, whither he had retired for the benefit of the air, and with the hope of recruiting his exhauſted ſtrength by the uſe of the warm baths. The exceſſive demonſtrations of grief, or at leaſt of mourning, ſurpaſſed whatever had been practiſed on any former occaſion. Notwithſtanding the claims of the ſenate and people of ancient Rome, the corpſe of the deceaſed emperor, according to his laſt requeſt, was tranſported to the city, which was deſtined to preſerve the name and memory of its founder. The body of Conſtantine, adorned with the vain ſymbols of greatneſs, the purple and diadem, was depoſited on a golden bed in one of the apartments of the palace, which for that purpoſe had been ſplendidly furniſhed and

A. D. 337, May 22.

715. Eutropius, x. 7. Sextus Rufus de Provinciis, c. 26. Julian. Orat. i. p. 9. and Spanheim Comment. p. 94. Hieronym. in Chron. Euſeb. in Vit. Conſtantin. l. iv. c. 6. Socrates, l. i. c. 18. Sozomen, l. i. c. 8. Zoſimus, l. ii. p. 108. Jornandes de Reb. Geticis, c. 22. Iſidorus in Chron. p. 709; in Hiſt. Gothorum Grotii. Conſtantin. Porphyrogenitus de Adminiſtrat. Imperii, c. 53. p. 208. edit. Meurſii.

[46] Euſebius (in Vit. Conſt. l. iv. c. 50.) remarks three circumſtances relative to theſe Indians. 1. They came from the ſhores of the eaſtern ocean; a deſcription which might be applied to the coaſt of China or Coromandel. 2. They preſented ſhining gems, and unknown animals. 3. They proteſted their kings had erected ſtatues to repreſent the ſupreme majeſty of Conſtantine.

illuminated

illuminated. The forms of the court were ſtrictly maintained. Every day, at the appointed hours, the principal officers of the ſtate, the army, and the houſehold, approaching the perſon of their ſovereign with bended knees and a compoſed countenance, offered their reſpectful homage as ſeriouſly as if he had been ſtill alive. From motives of policy, this theatrical repreſentation was for ſome time continued; nor could flattery neglect the opportunity of remarking that Conſtantine alone, by the peculiar indulgence of heaven, had reigned after his death [47].

Factions of the court.

But this reign could ſubſiſt only in empty pageantry; and it was ſoon diſcovered that the will of the moſt abſolute monarch is ſeldom obeyed, when his ſubjects have no longer any thing to hope from his favour, or to dread from his reſentment. The ſame miniſters and generals who bowed with ſuch reverential awe before the inanimate corpſe of their deceaſed ſovereign, were engaged in ſecret conſultations to exclude his two nephews, Dalmatius and Hannibalianus, from the ſhare which he had aſſigned them in the ſucceſſion of the empire. We are too imperfectly acquainted with the court of Conſtantine to form any judgment of the real motives which influenced the leaders of the conſpiracy; unleſs we ſhould ſuppoſe that they were actuated by a ſpirit of jealouſy and revenge againſt the præfect Ablavius, a proud favourite, who had long directed the counſels and abuſed the confidence of the late emperor. The arguments, by which they ſolicited the concurrence of the ſoldiers and people, are of a more obvious nature: and they might with decency, as well as truth, inſiſt on the ſuperior rank of the children of Conſtantine, the danger of multiplying the number of ſovereigns, and the impending

[47] Funus relatum in urbem ſui nominis, quod ſane P. R. ægerrime tulit. Aurelius Victor. Conſtantine had prepared for himſelf a ſtately tomb in the church of the Holy Apoſtles. Euſeb. l. iv. c. 60. The beſt, and indeed almoſt the only account of the ſickneſs, death, and funeral of Conſtantine, is contained in the fourth book of his life, by Euſebius.

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miſchiefs which threatened the republic, from the diſcord of ſo many rival princes, who were not connected by the tender ſympathy of fraternal affection. The intrigue was conducted with zeal and ſecrecy, till a loud and unanimous declaration was procured from the troops, that they would ſuffer none, except the ſons of their lamented monarch, to reign over the Roman empire[48]. The younger Dalmatius, who was united with his collateral relations by the ties of friendſhip and intereſt, is allowed to have inherited a conſiderable ſhare of the abilities of the great Conſtantine: but, on this occaſion, he does not appear to have concerted any meaſures for ſupporting, by arms, the juſt claims which himſelf and his royal brother derived from the liberality of their uncle. Aſtoniſhed and overwhelmed by the tide of popular fury, they ſeem to have remained without the power of flight or of reſiſtance, in the hands of their implacable enemies. Their fate was ſuſpended till the arrival of Conſtantius, the ſecond[49], and perhaps the moſt favoured, of the ſons of Conſtantine.

Maſſacre of the princes.

The voice of the dying emperor had recommended the care of his funeral to the piety of Conſtantius; and that prince, by the vicinity of his eaſtern ſtation, could eaſily prevent the diligence of his brothers, who reſided in their diſtant government of Italy and Gaul. As ſoon as he had taken poſſeſſion of the palace of Conſtantinople his firſt care was to remove the apprehenſions of his kinſmen, by a ſolemn oath, which he pledged for their ſecurity. His next employment was, to find ſome ſpecious pretence which might releaſe his

[48] Euſebius (l. iv. c. 6.) terminates his narrative by this loyal declaration of the troops, and avoids all the invidious circumſtances of the ſubſequent maſſacre.

[49] The character of Dalmatius is advantageouſly, though conciſely, drawn by Eutropius (x. 9.). Dalmatius Cæſar proſperrimâ indole, neque patruo abſimilis, *haud multo* poſt, oppreſſus eſt factione militari. As both Jerom and the Alexandrian Chronicle mention the third year of the Cæſar, which did not commence till the 18th or 24th of September, A. D. 337, it is certain that theſe military factions continued above four months.

conſcience

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conſcience from the obligation of an imprudent promiſe. The arts of fraud were made ſubſervient to the deſigns of cruelty; and a manifeſt forgery was atteſted by a perſon of the moſt ſacred character. From the hands of the biſhop of Nicomedia, Conſtantius received a fatal ſcroll, affirmed to be the genuine teſtament of his father; in which the emperor expreſſed his ſuſpicions that he had been poiſoned by his brothers; and conjured his ſons to revenge his death, and to conſult their own ſafety by the puniſhment of the guilty[50]. Whatever reaſons might have been alleged by theſe unfortunate princes to defend their life and honour againſt ſo incredible an accuſation, they were ſilenced by the furious clamours of the ſoldiers, who declared themſelves, at once, their enemies, their judges, and their executioners. The ſpirit, and even the forms of legal proceedings were repeatedly violated in a promiſcuous maſſacre; which involved the two uncles of Conſtantius, ſeven of his couſins, of whom Dalmatius and Hannibalianus were the moſt illuſtrious, the patrician Optatus, who had married a ſiſter of the late emperor, and the præfect Ablavius, whoſe power and riches had inſpired him with ſome hopes of obtaining the purple. If it were neceſſary to aggravate the horrors of this bloody ſcene, we might add, that Conſtantius himſelf had eſpouſed the daughter of his uncle Julius, and that he had beſtowed his ſiſter in marriage on his couſin Hannibalianus. Theſe alliances, which the policy of Conſtantine, regardleſs of the public prejudice[51], had formed between the ſeveral branches of the

[50] I have related this ſingular anecdote on the authority of Philoſtorgius, l. ii. c. 16. But if ſuch a pretext was ever uſed by Conſtantine and his adherents, it was laid aſide with contempt, as ſoon as it had ſerved their immediate purpoſe. Athanaſius (tom. i. p. 856.) mentions the oath which Conſtantius had taken for the ſecurity of his kinſmen.

[51] Conjugia ſobrinarum diu ignorata, tempore addito percrebuiſſe. Tacit. Annal. xii. 6. and Lipſius ad loc. The repeal of the ancient law, and the practice of five hundred years, were inſufficient to eradicate the prejudices of the Romans; who ſtill conſidered the marriages of couſins-german, as a ſpecies of imperfect inceſt (Auguſtin de Civitate Dei, xv. 6.); and Julian, whoſe mind

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the Imperial houſe, ſerved only to convince mankind, that theſe princes were as cold to the endearments of conjugal affection, as they were inſenſible to the ties of conſanguinity, and the moving entreaties of youth and innocence. Of ſo numerous a family, Gallus and Julian alone, the two youngeſt children of Julius Conſtantius, were ſaved from the hands of the aſſaſſins, till their rage, ſatiated with ſlaughter, had in ſome meaſure ſubſided. The emperor Conſtantius, who, in the abſence of his brothers, was the moſt obnoxious to guilt and reproach, diſcovered, on ſome future occaſions, a faint and tranſient remorſe for thoſe cruelties which the perfidious counſels of his miniſters, and the irreſiſtible violence of the troops, had extorted from his unexperienced youth [52].

Diviſion of the empire, A. D. 337, Sept. 11.

The maſſacre of the Flavian race was ſucceeded by a new diviſion of the provinces; which was ratified in a perſonal interview of the three brothers. Conſtantine, the eldeſt of the Cæſars, obtained, with a certain pre-eminence of rank, the poſſeſſion of the new capital, which bore his own name and that of his father. Thrace, and the countries of the Eaſt, were allotted for the patrimony of Conſtantius; and Conſtans was acknowledged as the lawful ſovereign of Italy, Africa, and the weſtern Illyricum. The armies ſubmitted to their hereditary right; and they condeſcended, after ſome delay,

mind was biaſſed by ſuperſtition and reſentment, ſtigmatizes theſe unnatural alliances between his own couſins with the opprobrious epithet of γαμων τε ου γαμων (Orat. vii. p. 228.). The juriſprudence of the canons has ſince revived and enforced this prohibition, without being able to introduce it either into the civil or the common law of Europe. See on the ſubject of theſe marriages, Taylor's Civil Law, p. 331. Brouer de Jure Connub. l. ii. c. 12. Hericourt des Loix Eccleſiaſtiques, part iii. c. 5. Fleury Inſtitutions du Droit Canonique, tom. i. p. 331. Paris, 1767, and Fra-Paolo Iſtoria del Concilio Trident. l. viii.

[52] Julian (ad S. P. Q. Athen. p. 270.) charges his couſin Conſtantius with the whole guilt of a maſſacre, from which he himſelf ſo narrowly eſcaped. His aſſertion is confirmed by Athanaſius, who, for reaſons of a very different nature, was not leſs an enemy of Conſtantius (tom. i. p. 856.). Zoſimus joins in the ſame accuſation. But the three abbreviators, Eutropius and the Victors, uſe very qualifying expreſſions; "ſinente potius quam jubente;" "incertum quo ſuaſore;" "vi militum."

to

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to accept from the Roman ſenate, the title of *Auguſtus*. When they firſt aſſumed the reins of government, the eldeſt of theſe princes was twenty-one, the ſecond twenty, and the third only ſeventeen, years of age [53].

Sapor king of Perſia, A. D. 310.

While the martial nations of Europe followed the ſtandards of his brothers, Conſtantius, at the head of the effeminate troops of Aſia, was left to ſuſtain the weight of the Perſian war. At the deceaſe of Conſtantine, the throne of the Eaſt was filled by Sapor, ſon of Hormouz, or Hormiſdas, and grandſon of Narſes, who, after the victory of Galerius, had humbly confeſſed the ſuperiority of the Roman power. Although Sapor was in the thirtieth year of his long reign, he was ſtill in the vigour of youth, as the date of his acceſſion, by a very ſtrange fatality, had preceded that of his birth. The wife of Hormouz remained pregnant at the time of her huſband's death; and the uncertainty of the ſex, as well as of the event, excited the ambitious hopes of the princes of the houſe of Saſſan. The apprehenſions of civil war were at length removed, by the poſitive aſſurance of the Magi, that the widow of Hormouz had conceived, and would ſafely produce, a ſon. Obedient to the voice of ſuperſtition, the Perſians prepared, without delay, the ceremony of his coronation. A royal bed, on which the queen lay in ſtate, was exhibited in the midſt of the palace; the diadem was placed on the ſpot, which might be ſuppoſed to conceal the future heir of Artaxerxes, and the proſtrate Satraps adored the majeſty of their inviſible and inſenſible ſovereign [54]. If any credit can be given to this marvellous

[53] Euſeb. in Vit. Conſtantin. l. iv. c. 69. Zoſimus, l. ii. p. 117. Idat. in Chron. See two notes of Tillemont, Hiſt. des Empereurs, tom. iv. p. 1086—1091. The reign of the eldeſt brother at Conſtantinople is noticed only in the Alexandrian Chronicle.

[54] Agathias, who lived in the ſixth century, is the author of this ſtory (l. iv. p. 135. edit. Louvre). He derived his information from ſome extracts of the Perſian Chronicles, obtained and tranſlated by the interpreter Sergius, during his embaſſy at that court. The coronation of the mother of Sapor is likewiſe mentioned by Schikard (Tarikh, p. 116.) and d'Herbelot (Bibliotheque Orientale, p. 763.).

tale,

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tale, which ſeems however to be countenanced by the manners of the people, and by the extraordinary duration of his reign, we muſt admire, not only the fortune, but the genius, of Sapor. In the ſoft ſequeſtered education of a Perſian haram, the royal youth could diſcover the importance of exerciſing the vigour of his mind and body; and, by his perſonal merit, deſerved a throne, on which he had been ſeated, while he was yet unconſcious of the duties and temptations of abſolute power. His minority was expoſed to the almoſt inevitable calamities of domeſtic diſcord; his capital was ſurpriſed and plundered by Thair, a powerful king of Yemen, or Arabia; and the majeſty of the royal family was degraded by the captivity of a princeſs, the ſiſter of the deceaſed king. But as ſoon as Sapor attained the age of manhood, the preſumptuous Thair, his nation, and his country, fell beneath the firſt effort of the young warrior; who uſed his victory with ſo judicious a mixture of rigour and clemency, that he obtained from the fears and gratitude of the Arabs, the title of *Dhoulacnaf*, or protector of the nation [55].

State of Meſopotamia and Armenia.

The ambition of the Perſian, to whom his enemies aſcribe the virtues of a ſoldier and a ſtateſman, was animated by the deſire of revenging the diſgrace of his fathers, and of wreſting from the hands of the Romans the five provinces beyond the Tigris. The military fame of Conſtantine, and the real or apparent ſtrength of his government, ſuſpended the attack; and while the hoſtile conduct of Sapor provoked the reſentment, his artful negociations amuſed the patience, of the Imperial court. The death of Conſtantine was the ſignal of war [56], and the actual condition of the Syrian and Armenian frontier, ſeemed to encourage the Perſians by the proſpect of a

[55] D'Herbelōt, Bibliotheque Orientale, p. 764.

[56] Sextus Rufus (c. 26.), who on this occaſion is no contemptible authority, affirms, that the Perſians ſued in vain for peace, and that Conſtantine was preparing to march againſt them: yet the ſuperior weight of the teſtimony of Euſebius, obliges us to admit the preliminaries, if not the ratification, of the treaty. See Tillemont, Hiſt. des Empereurs, tom. iv. p. 420.

rich ſpoil, and an eaſy conqueſt. The example of the maſſacres of the palace, diffuſed a ſpirit of licentiouſneſs and ſedition among the troops of the Eaſt, who were no longer reſtrained by their habits of obedience to a veteran commander. By the prudence of Conſtantius, who, from the interview with his brothers in Pannonia, immediately haſtened to the banks of the Euphrates, the legions were gradually reſtored to a ſenſe of duty and diſcipline; but the ſeaſon of anarchy had permitted Sapor to form the ſiege of Niſibis, and to occupy ſeveral of the moſt important fortreſſes of Meſopotamia [57]. In Armenia, the renowned Tiridates had long enjoyed the peace and glory which he deſerved by his valour and fidelity to the cauſe of Rome. The firm alliance which he maintained with Conſtantine, was productive of ſpiritual as well as of temporal benefits: by the converſion of Tiridates, the character of a ſaint was applied to that of a hero, the Chriſtian faith was preached and eſtabliſhed from the Euphrates to the ſhores of the Caſpian, and Armenia was attached to the empire by the double ties of policy and of religion. But as many of the Armenian nobles ſtill refuſed to abandon the plurality of their gods and of their wives, the public tranquillity was diſturbed by a diſcontented faction, which inſulted the feeble age of their ſovereign, and impatiently expected the hour of his death. He died at length after a reign of fifty-ſix years, and the fortune of the Armenian monarchy expired with Tiridates. His lawful heir was driven into exile, the Chriſtian prieſts were either murdered or expelled from their churches, the barbarous tribes of Albania were ſolicited to deſcend from their mountains; and two of the moſt powerful governors, uſurping the enſigns or the powers of royalty, implored the aſſiſtance of Sapor, and opened the gates of their cities to the Perſian garriſons. The Chriſtian party, under the guidance of the archbiſhop

A. D. 342.

[57] Julian. Orat. i. p. 20.

of

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of Artaxata, the immediate ſucceſſor of St. Gregory the Illuminator, had recourſe to the piety of Conſtantius. After the troubles had continued about three years, Antiochus, one of the officers of the houſehold, executed with ſucceſs the Imperial commiſſion of reſtoring Choſroes, the ſon of Tiridates, to the throne of his fathers, of diſtributing honours and rewards among the faithful ſervants of the houſe of Arſaces, and of proclaiming a general amneſty, which was accepted by the greater part of the rebellious Satraps. But the Romans derived more honour than advantage from this revolution. Choſroes was a prince of a puny ſtature, and a puſillanimous ſpirit. Unequal to the fatigues of war, averſe to the ſociety of mankind, he withdrew from his capital to a retired palace, which he built on the banks of the river Eleutherus, and in the centre of a ſhady grove; where he conſumed his vacant hours in the rural ſports of hunting and hawking. To ſecure this inglorious eaſe, he ſubmitted to the conditions of peace which Sapor condeſcended to impoſe; the payment of an annual tribute, and the reſtitution of the fertile province of Atropatene, which the courage of Tiridates, and the victorious arms of Galerius, had annexed to the Armenian monarchy [58].

The Perſian war, A. D. 337—360.

During the long period of the reign of Conſtantius, the provinces of the Eaſt were afflicted by the calamities of the Perſian war. The irregular incurſions of the light troops alternately ſpread terror and devaſtation beyond the Tigris, and beyond the Euphrates, from the gates of Cteſiphon to thoſe of Antioch; and this active ſervice was performed by the Arabs of the deſert, who were divided in their intereſt and affections; ſome of their independent chiefs being enliſted in the party of Sapor, whilſt others had engaged their doubt-

[58] Julian. Orat. i. p. 20, 21. Moſes of Chorene, l. ii. c. 89. l. iii. c. 1—9. p. 226—240. The perfect agreement between the vague hints of the contemporary orator, and the circumſtantial narrative of the national hiſtorian, gives light to the former, and weight to the latter. For the credit of Moſes it may be likewiſe obſerved, that the name of Antiochus is found a few years before in a civil office of inferior dignity. See Godefroy, Cod. Theod. tom. vi. p. 350.

ful

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ful fidelity to the emperor[59]. The more grave and important operations of the war were conducted with equal vigour; and the armies of Rome and Perſia encountered each other in nine bloody fields, in two of which Conſtantius himſelf commanded in perſon[60]. The event of the day was moſt commonly adverſe to the Romans, but in the battle of Singara, their imprudent valour had almoſt atchieved a ſignal and deciſive victory. The ſtationary troops of Singara retired on the approach of Sapor, who paſſed the Tigris over three bridges, and occupied near the village of Hilleh an advantageous camp, which, by the labour of his numerous pioneers, he ſurrounded in one day with a deep ditch and a lofty rampart. His formidable hoſt, when it was drawn out in order of battle, covered the banks of the river, the adjacent heights, and the whole extent of a plain of above twelve miles, which ſeparated the two armies. Both were alike impatient to engage; but the barbarians, after a ſlight reſiſtance, fled in diſorder; unable to reſiſt, or deſirous to weary, the ſtrength of the heavy legions, who, fainting with heat and thirſt, purſued them acroſs the plain, and cut in pieces a line of cavalry, clothed in complete armour, which had been poſted before the gates of the camp to protect their retreat. Conſtantius, who was hurried along in the purſuit, attempted, without effect, to reſtrain the ardour of his

Battle of Singara, A. D. 348.

[59] Ammianus (xiv. 4.) gives a lively deſcription of the wandering and prædatory life of the Saracens, who ſtretched from the confines of Aſſyria to the cataracts of the Nile. It appears from the adventures of Malchus, which Jerom has related in ſo entertaining a manner, that the high road between Beræa and Edeſſa was infeſted by theſe robbers. See Hieronym. tom. i. p. 256.

[60] We ſhall take from Eutropius the general idea of the war (x. 10.). A Perſis enim multa et gravia perpeſſus, ſæpe captis oppidis, obſeſſis urbibus, cæſis exercitibus, nullumque ei contra Saporem proſperum prælium fuit, niſi quod apud Singaram, &c. This honeſt account is confirmed by the hints of Ammianus, Rufus, and Jerom. The two firſt orations of Julian, and the third oration of Libanius, exhibit a more flattering picture; but the recantation of both thoſe orators, after the death of Conſtantius, while it reſtores us to the poſſeſſion of the truth, degrades their own character, and that of the emperor. The commentary of Spanheim on the firſt oration of Julian is profuſely learned. See likewiſe the judicious obſervations of Tillemont, Hiſt. des Empereurs, tom. iv. p. 656.

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troops, by repreſenting to them the dangers of the approaching night, and the certainty of completing their ſucceſs with the return of day. As they depended much more on their own valour, than on the experience or the abilities of their chief, they ſilenced by their clamours his timid remonſtrances; and ruſhing with fury to the charge, filled up the ditch, broke down the rampart, and diſperſed themſelves through the tents, to recruit their exhauſted ſtrength, and to enjoy the rich harveſt of their labours. But the prudent Sapor had watched the moment of victory. His army, of which the greater part, ſecurely poſted on the heights, had been ſpectators of the action, advanced in ſilence, and under the ſhadow of the night; and his Perſian archers, guided by the illumination of the camp, poured a ſhower of arrows on a diſarmed and licentious crowd. The ſincerity of hiſtory [61] declares, that the Romans were vanquiſhed with a dreadful ſlaughter, and that the flying remnant of the legions was expoſed to the moſt intolerable hardſhips. Even the tenderneſs of panegyric, confeſſing that the glory of the emperor was ſullied by the diſobedience of his ſoldiers, chuſes to draw a veil over the circumſtances of this melancholy retreat. Yet one of thoſe venal orators, ſo jealous of the fame of Conſtantius, relates with amazing coolneſs, an act of ſuch incredible cruelty, as, in the judgment of poſterity, muſt imprint a far deeper ſtain on the honour of the Imperial name. The ſon of Sapor, the heir of his crown, had been made a captive in the Perſian camp. The unhappy youth, who might have excited the compaſſion of the moſt ſavage enemy, was ſcourged, tortured, and publicly executed by the inhuman Romans [62].

[61] Acerrimâ nocturnâ concertatione pugnatum eſt, noſtrorum copiis ingenti ſtrage confoſſis. Ammian. xviii. 5. See likewiſe Eutropius, x. 10. and S. Rufus, c. 27.

[62] Libanius, Orat. iii. p. 133. with Julian. Orat. i. p. 24. and Spanheim's Commentary, p. 179.

Whatever

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Siege of Niſibis.

Whatever advantages might attend the arms of Sapor in the field, though nine repeated victories diffuſed among the nations the fame of his valour and conduct, he could not hope to ſucceed in the execution of his deſigns, while the fortified towns of Meſopotamia, and above all, the ſtrong and ancient city of Niſibis, remained in the poſſeſſion of the Romans. In the ſpace of twelve years, Niſibis, which, ſince the time of Lucullus, had been deſervedly eſteemed the bulwark of the Eaſt, ſuſtained three memorable ſieges againſt the power of Sapor; and the diſappointed monarch, after urging his attacks above ſixty, eighty, and an hundred days, was thrice repulſed with loſs and ignominy[63]. This large and populous city was ſituate about two days journey from the Tigris, in the midſt of a pleaſant and fertile plain at the foot of mount Maſius. A treble incloſure of brick walls was defended by a deep ditch[64]; and the intrepid reſiſtance of Count Lucilianus, and his garriſon, was ſeconded by the deſperate courage of the people. The citizens of Niſibis were animated by the exhortations of their biſhop[65], inured to arms by the preſence of danger, and convinced of the intentions of Sapor to plant a Perſian colony in their room, and to lead them away into diſtant and barbarous captivity. The event of the two former ſieges elated their confidence; and exaſperated the haughty ſpirit of the Great King, who advanced a third time towards Niſibis,

A. D. 338. 346. 350.

[63] See Julian. Orat. i. p. 27. Orat. ii. p. 62, &c. with the Commentary of Spanheim (p. 188—202.), who illuſtrates the circumſtances, and aſcertains the time, of the three ſieges of Niſibis. Their dates are likewiſe examined by Tillemont (Hiſt. des Empereurs, tom. iv. p. 668. 671. 674.). Something is added from Zoſimus, l. iii. p. 151. and the Alexandrian Chronicle, p. 290.

[64] Salluſt. Fragment. lxxxiv. edit. Broſſes, and Plutarch in Lucull. tom. iii. p. 184. Niſibis is now reduced to one hundred and fifty houſes; the marſhy lands produce rice, and the fertile meadows, as far as Moſul and the Tigris, are covered with the ruins of towns and villages. See Niebuhr, Voyages, tom. ii. p. 300—309.

[65] The miracles which Theodoret (l. ii. c. 30.) aſcribes to St. James, biſhop of Edeſſa, were at leaſt performed in a worthy cauſe, the defence of his country. He appeared on the walls under the figure of the Roman emperor, and ſent an army of gnats to ſting the trunks of the elephants, and to diſcomfit the hoſt of the new Senacherib.

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at the head of the united forces of Perſia and India. The ordinary machines, invented to batter or undermine the walls, were rendered ineffectual by the ſuperior ſkill of the Romans; and many days had vainly elapſed, when Sapor embraced a reſolution worthy of an eaſtern monarch, who believed that the elements themſelves were ſubject to his power. At the ſtated ſeaſon of the melting of the ſnows in Armenia, the river Mygdonius, which divides the plain and the city of Niſibis, forms, like the Nile[66], an inundation over the adjacent country. By the labour of the Perſians, the courſe of the river was ſtopped below the town, and the waters were confined on every ſide by ſolid mounds of earth. On this artificial lake, a fleet of armed veſſels, filled with ſoldiers, and with engines which diſcharged ſtones of five hundred pounds weight, advanced in order of battle, and engaged, almoſt upon a level, the troops which defended the ramparts. The irreſiſtible force of the waters was alternately fatal to the contending parties, till at length a portion of the walls, unable to ſuſtain the accumulated preſſure, gave way at once, and expoſed an ample breach of one hundred and fifty feet. The Perſians were inſtantly driven to the aſſault, and the fate of Niſibis depended on the event of the day. The heavy-armed cavalry, who led the van of a deep column, were embarraſſed in the mud, and great numbers were drowned in the unſeen holes which had been filled by the ruſhing waters. The elephants, made furious by their wounds, increaſed the diſorder, and trampled down thouſands of the Perſian archers. The Great King, who from an exalted throne beheld the misfortunes of his arms, ſounded, with reluctant indignation, the ſignal of the retreat, and ſuſpended for ſome hours the proſecution

[66] Julian. Orat. i. p. 27. Though Niebuhr (tom. ii. p. 307.) allows a very conſiderable ſwell to the Mygdonius, over which he ſaw a bridge of *twelve* arches; it is difficult, however, to underſtand this parallel of a trifling rivulet with a mighty river. There are many circumſtances obſcure, and almoſt unintelligible, in the deſcription of theſe ſtupendous water-works.

of

of the attack. But the vigilant citizens improved the opportunity of the night; and the return of day diſcovered a new wall of ſix feet in height, riſing every moment to fill up the interval of the breach. Notwithſtanding the diſappointment of his hopes, and the loſs of more than twenty thouſand men, Sapor ſtill preſſed the reduction of Niſibis with an obſtinate firmneſs, which could have yielded only to the neceſſity of defending the eaſtern provinces of Perſia againſt a formidable invaſion of the Maſſagetæ [67]. Alarmed by this intelligence, he haſtily relinquiſhed the ſiege, and marched with rapid diligence from the banks of the Tigris to thoſe of the Oxus. The danger and difficulties of the Scythian war engaged him ſoon afterwards to conclude, or at leaſt to obſerve, a truce with the Roman emperor, which was equally grateful to both princes; as Conſtantius himſelf, after the deaths of his two brothers, was involved, by the revolutions of the Weſt, in a civil conteſt, which required and ſeemed to exceed the moſt vigorous exertion of his undivided ſtrength.

Civil war, and death of Conſtantine, A. D. 340, March.

After the partition of the empire, three years had ſcarcely elapſed, before the ſons of Conſtantine ſeemed impatient to convince mankind that they were incapable of contenting themſelves with the dominions which they were unqualified to govern. The eldeſt of thoſe princes ſoon complained, that he was defrauded of his juſt proportion of the ſpoils of their murdered kinſmen; and though he might yield to the ſuperior guilt and merit of Conſtantius, he exacted from Conſtans the ceſſion of the African provinces, as an equivalent for the rich countries of Macedonia and Greece, which his brother had acquired by the death of Dalmatius. The want of ſincerity, which Conſtantine experienced in a tedious and fruitleſs negociation, exaſperated the fierceneſs of his temper; and he eagerly liſtened to

[67] We are obliged to Zonaras (tom. ii. l. xiii. p. 11.) for this invaſion of the Maſſagetæ, which is perfectly conſiſtent with the general ſeries of events, to which we are darkly led by the broken hiſtory of Ammianus.

thoſe

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those favourites, who suggested to him that his honour, as well as his interest, was concerned in the prosecution of the quarrel. At the head of a tumultuary band, suited for rapine rather than for conquest, he suddenly broke into the dominions of Constans, by the way of the Julian Alps, and the country round Aquileia felt the first effects of his resentment. The measures of Constans, who then resided in Dacia, were directed with more prudence and ability. On the news of his brother's invasion, he detached a select and disciplined body of his Illyrian troops, proposing to follow them in person with the remainder of his forces. But the conduct of his lieutenants soon terminated the unnatural contest. By the artful appearances of flight, Constantine was betrayed into an ambuscade, which had been concealed in a wood, where the rash youth, with a few attendants, was surprised, surrounded, and slain. His body, after it had been found in the obscure stream of the Alsa, obtained the honours of an Imperial sepulchre; but his provinces transferred their allegiance to the conqueror, who, refusing to admit his elder brother Constantius to any share in these new acquisitions, maintained the undisputed possession of more than two-thirds of the Roman empire[68].

Murder of Constans, A. D. 350, February.

The fate of Constans himself was delayed about ten years longer, and the revenge of his brother's death was reserved for the more ignoble hand of a domestic traitor. The pernicious tendency of the system introduced by Constantine, was displayed in the feeble administration of his sons; who, by their vices and weakness, soon lost the esteem and affections of their people. The pride assumed by Constans, from the unmerited success of his arms, was rendered more contemptible by his want of abilities and application. His fond partiality towards some German captives, distinguished only by

[68] The causes and the events of this civil war are related with much perplexity and contradiction. I have chiefly followed Zonaras, and the younger Victor. The monody (ad calcem Eutrop. edit. Havercamp) pronounced on the death of Constantine, might have been very instructive; but prudence and false taste engaged the orator to involve himself in vague declamation.

the charms of youth, was an object of scandal to the people [69]; and Magnentius, an ambitious soldier, who was himself of Barbarian extraction, was encouraged by the public discontent, to assert the honour of the Roman name [70]. The chosen bands of Jovians and Herculians, who acknowledged Magnentius as their leader, maintained the most respectable and important station in the Imperial camp. The friendship of Marcellinus, count of the sacred largesses, supplied with a liberal hand the means of seduction. The soldiers were convinced by the most specious arguments, that the republic summoned them to break the bonds of hereditary servitude; and, by the choice of an active and vigilant prince, to reward the same virtues which had raised the ancestors of the degenerate Constans from a private condition to the throne of the world. As soon as the conspiracy was ripe for execution, Marcellinus, under the pretence of celebrating his son's birth-day, gave a splendid entertainment to the *illustrious* and *honourable* persons of the court of Gaul, which then resided in the city of Autun. The intemperance of the feast was artfully protracted till a very late hour of the night; and the unsuspecting guests were tempted to indulge themselves in a dangerous and guilty freedom of conversation. On a sudden the doors were thrown open, and Magnentius, who had retired for a few moments, returned into the apartment, invested with the diadem and purple. The conspirators instantly saluted him with the titles of Augustus and Emperor. The surprise, the terror, the intoxication, the ambitious

[69] Quarum *(gentium)* obsides pretio quæsitos pueros venustiores, quod cultius habuerat, libidine hujusmodi arsisse *pro certo* habetur. Had not the depraved taste of Constans been publicly avowed, the elder Victor, who held a considerable office in his brother's reign, would not have asserted it in such positive terms.

[70] Julian. Orat. i. and ii. Zosim. l. ii. p. 134. Victor in Epitome. There is reason to believe, that Magnentius was born in one of those Barbarian colonies which Constantius Chlorus had established in Gaul (See this History, vol. i. p. 438.). His behaviour may remind us of the patriot earl of Leicester, the famous Simon de Montfort, who could persuade the good people of England, that he, a Frenchman by birth, had taken arms to deliver them from foreign favourites.

hopes,

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hopes, and the mutual ignorance of the reſt of the aſſembly, prompted them to join their voices to the general acclamation. The guards haſtened to take the oath of fidelity; the gates of the town were ſhut; and before the dawn of day, Magnentius became maſter of the troops and treaſure of the palace and city of Autun. By his ſecrecy and diligence he entertained ſome hopes of ſurpriſing the perſon of Conſtans, who was purſuing in the adjacent foreſt his favourite amuſement of hunting, or perhaps ſome pleaſures of a more private and criminal nature. The rapid progreſs of fame allowed him, however, an inſtant for flight, though the deſertion of his ſoldiers and ſubjects deprived him of the power of reſiſtance. Before he could reach a ſea-port in Spain, where he intended to embark, he was overtaken near Helena[71], at the foot of the Pyrenees, by a party of light cavalry, whoſe chief, regardleſs of the ſanctity of a temple, executed his commiſſion by the murder of the ſon of Conſtantine[72].

Magnentius and Vetranio aſſume the purple, A. D. 350, March 1.

As ſoon as the death of Conſtans had decided this eaſy but important revolution, the example of the court of Autun was imitated by the provinces of the Weſt. The authority of Magnentius was acknowledged through the whole extent of the two great præfectures of Gaul and Italy; and the uſurper prepared, by every act of oppreſſion, to collect a treaſure, which might diſcharge the obligation of an immenſe donative, and ſupply the expences of a civil war. The martial countries of Illyricum, from the Danube to the extremity of Greece, had long obeyed the government of Vetranio, an aged general, beloved for the ſimplicity of his manners, and who had

[71] This ancient city had once flouriſhed under the name of Illiberis (Pomponius Mela, ii. 5.). The munificence of Conſtantine gave it new ſplendour, and his mother's name. Helena (it is ſtill called Elne) became the ſeat of a biſhop, who long afterwards transferred his reſidence to Perpignan, the capital of modern Rouſſillon. See d'Anville Notice de l'Ancienne Gaule, p. 380. Longuerue Deſcription de la France, p. 223. and the Marca Hiſpanica, l. i. c. 2.

[72] Zoſimus, l. ii. p. 119, 120. Zonaras, tom. ii. l. xiii. p. 13. and the Abbreviators.

acquired

acquired ſome reputation by his experience and ſervices in war [73]. Attached by habit, by duty, and by gratitude, to the houſe of Conſtantine, he immediately gave the ſtrongeſt aſſurances to the only ſurviving ſon of his late maſter, that he would expoſe, with unſhaken fidelity, his perſon and his troops, to inflict a juſt revenge on the traitors of Gaul. But the legions of Vetranio were ſeduced, rather than provoked, by the example of rebellion; their leader ſoon betrayed a want of firmneſs, or a want of ſincerity; and his ambition derived a ſpecious pretence from the approbation of the princeſs Conſtantina. That cruel and aſpiring woman, who had obtained from the great Conſtantine her father the rank of *Auguſta*, placed the diadem with her own hands on the head of the Illyrian general; and ſeemed to expect from his victory, the accompliſhment of thoſe unbounded hopes, of which ſhe had been diſappointed by the death of her huſband Hannibalianus. Perhaps it was without the conſent of Conſtantina, that the new emperor formed a neceſſary, though diſhonourable, alliance with the uſurper of the Weſt, whoſe purple was ſo recently ſtained with her brother's blood [74].

Conſtantius refuſes to treat. A. D. 350.

The intelligence of theſe important events, which ſo deeply affected the honour and ſafety of the Imperial houſe, recalled the arms of Conſtantius from the inglorious proſecution of the Perſian war. He recommended the care of the Eaſt to his lieutenants, and afterwards to his couſin Gallus, whom he raiſed from a priſon to a throne; and marched towards Europe, with a mind agitated by the conflict of hope and fear, of grief and indignation. On his arrival at Heraclea in Thrace, the emperor gave audience to the ambaſſadors of Mag-

[73] Eutropius (x. 10.) deſcribes Vetranio with more temper, and probably with more truth, than either of the two Victors. Vetranio was born of obſcure parents in the wildeſt parts of Mæſia; and ſo much had his education been neglected, that, after his elevation, he ſtudied the alphabet.

[74] The doubtful, fluctuating conduct of Vetranio is deſcribed by Julian in his firſt oration, and accurately explained by Spanheim, who diſcuſſes the ſituation and behaviour of Conſtantina.

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nentius and Vetranio. The firſt author of the conſpiracy, Marcellinus, who in ſome meaſure had beſtowed the purple on his new maſter, boldly accepted this dangerous commiſſion; and his three colleagues were ſelected from the illuſtrious perſonages of the ſtate and army. Theſe deputies were inſtructed to ſoothe the reſentment, and to alarm the fears, of Conſtantius. They were empowered to offer him the friendſhip and alliance of the weſtern princes, to cement their union by a double marriage; of Conſtantius with the daughter of Magnentius, and of Magnentius himſelf with the ambitious Conſtantina; and to acknowledge in the treaty the pre-eminence of rank, which might juſtly be claimed by the emperor of the Eaſt. Should pride and miſtaken piety urge him to refuſe theſe equitable conditions, the ambaſſadors were ordered to expatiate on the inevitable ruin which muſt attend his raſhneſs, if he ventured to provoke the ſovereigns of the Weſt to exert their ſuperior ſtrength; and to employ againſt him that valour, thoſe abilities, and thoſe legions, to which the houſe of Conſtantine had been indebted for ſo many triumphs. Such propoſitions and ſuch arguments appeared to deſerve the moſt ſerious attention; the anſwer of Conſtantius was deferred till the next day; and as he had reflected on the importance of juſtifying a civil war in the opinion of the people, he thus addreſſed his council, who liſtened with real or affected credulity: "Laſt "night," ſaid he, "after I retired to reſt, the ſhade of the great Con- "ſtantine, embracing the corpſe of my murdered brother, roſe "before my eyes; his well-known voice awakened me to revenge, "forbade me to deſpair of the republic, and aſſured me of the ſuc- "ceſs and immortal glory which would crown the juſtice of my "arms." The authority of ſuch a viſion, or rather of the prince who alleged it, ſilenced every doubt, and excluded all negociation. The ignominious terms of peace were rejected with diſdain. One of the ambaſſadors of the tyrant was diſmiſſed with the haughty anſwer

answer of Constantius; his colleagues, as unworthy of the privileges of the law of nations, were put in irons; and the contending powers prepared to wage an implacable war[75].

Deposes Vetranio, A. D. 350, Dec. 25.

Such was the conduct, and such perhaps was the duty, of the brother of Constans towards the perfidious usurper of Gaul. The situation and character of Vetranio admitted of milder measures; and the policy of the Eastern emperor was directed to disunite his antagonists, and to separate the forces of Illyricum from the cause of rebellion. It was an easy task to deceive the frankness and simplicity of Vetranio, who, fluctuating some time between the opposite views of honour and interest, displayed to the world the insincerity of his temper, and was insensibly engaged in the snares of an artful negociation. Constantius acknowledged him as a legitimate and equal colleague in the empire, on condition that he would renounce his disgraceful alliance with Magnentius, and appoint a place of interview on the frontiers of their respective provinces; where they might pledge their friendship by mutual vows of fidelity, and regulate by common consent the future operations of the civil war. In consequence of this agreement, Vetranio advanced to the city of Sardica[76], at the head of twenty thousand horse, and of a more numerous body of infantry; a power so far superior to the forces of Constantius, that the Illyrian emperor appeared to command the life and fortunes of his rival, who, depending on the success of his private negociations, had seduced the troops, and undermined the throne, of Vetranio. The chiefs, who had secretly embraced the party of Constantius, prepared in his favour a public spectacle, calculated to dis-

[75] See Peter the Patrician, in the Excerpta Legationum, p. 27.

[76] Zonaras, tom. ii. l. xiii. p. 16. The position of Sardica, near the modern city of Sophia, appears better suited to this interview than the situation of either Naissus or Sirmium, where it is placed by Jerom, Socrates, and Sozomen.

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cover and inflame the paſſions of the multitude[77]. The united armies were commanded to aſſemble in a large plain near the city. In the centre, according to the rules of ancient diſcipline, a military tribunal, or rather ſcaffold, was erected, from whence the emperors were accuſtomed, on ſolemn and important occaſions, to harangue the troops. The well-ordered ranks of Romans and Barbarians, with drawn ſwords, or with erected ſpears, the ſquadrons of cavalry, and the cohorts of infantry, diſtinguiſhed by the variety of their arms and enſigns, formed an immenſe circle round the tribunal; and the attentive ſilence which they preſerved was ſometimes interrupted by loud burſts of clamour or of applauſe. In the preſence of this formidable aſſembly, the two emperors were called upon to explain the ſituation of public affairs: the precedency of rank was yielded to the royal birth of Conſtantius; and though he was indifferently ſkilled in the arts of rhetoric, he acquitted himſelf, under theſe difficult circumſtances, with firmneſs, dexterity, and eloquence. The firſt part of his oration ſeemed to be pointed only againſt the tyrant of Gaul; but while he tragically lamented the cruel murder of Conſtans, he inſinuated, that none, except a brother, could claim a right to the ſucceſſion of his brother. He diſplayed, with ſome complacency, the glories of his Imperial race; and recalled to the memory of the troops, the valour, the triumphs, the liberality of the great Conſtantine, to whoſe ſons they had engaged their allegiance by an oath of fidelity, which the ingratitude of his moſt favoured ſervants had tempted them to violate. The officers, who ſurrounded the tribunal, and were inſtructed to act their parts in this extraordinary ſcene, confeſſed the irreſiſtible power of reaſon and eloquence, by ſaluting the emperor Conſtantius as their lawful

[77] See the two firſt orations of Julian, particularly p. 31.; and Zoſimus, l. ii. p. 122. The diſtinct narrative of the hiſtorian ſerves to illuſtrate the diffuſe, but vague, deſcriptions of the orator.

ſovereign.

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ſovereign. The contagion of loyalty and repentance was communicated from rank to rank; till the plain of Sardica reſounded with the univerſal acclamation of "Away with theſe upſtart uſurpers! "Long life and victory to the ſon of Conſtantine! Under his ban-"ners alone we will fight and conquer." The ſhout of thouſands, their menacing geſtures, the fierce claſhing of their arms, aſtoniſhed and ſubdued the courage of Vetranio, who ſtood, amidſt the defection of his followers, in anxious and ſilent ſuſpenſe. Inſtead of embracing the laſt refuge of generous deſpair, he tamely ſubmitted to his fate; and taking the diadem from his head, in the view of both armies, fell proſtrate at the feet of his conqueror. Conſtantius uſed his victory with prudence and moderation; and raiſing from the ground the aged ſuppliant, whom he affected to ſtyle by the endearing name of Father, he gave him his hand to deſcend from the throne. The city of Pruſa was aſſigned for the exile or retirement of the abdicated monarch, who lived ſix years in the enjoyment of eaſe and affluence. He often expreſſed his grateful ſenſe of the goodneſs of Conſtantius, and, with a very amiable ſimplicity, adviſed his benefactor to reſign the ſceptre of the world, and to ſeek for content (where alone it could be found) in the peaceful obſcurity of a private condition [78].

Makes war againſt Magnentius, A. D. 351.

The behaviour of Conſtantius on this memorable occaſion was celebrated with ſome appearance of juſtice; and his courtiers compared the ſtudied orations which a Pericles or a Demoſthenes addreſſed to the populace of Athens, with the victorious eloquence which had perſuaded an armed multitude to deſert and depoſe the object of their partial choice [79]. The approaching conteſt with Magnentius

[78] The younger Victor aſſigns to his exile the emphatical appellation of "Voluptarium "otium." Socrates (l. ii. c. 28.) is the voucher for the correſpondence with the emperor, which would ſeem to prove, that Vetranio was, indeed, prope ad ſtultitiam ſimpliciſſimus.

[79] Eum Conſtantius . . . . . facundiæ vi dejectum Imperio in privatum otium removit. Quæ gloria poſt natum Imperium ſoli proceſſit

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Magnentius was of a more ſerious and bloody kind. The tyrant advanced by rapid marches to encounter Conſtantius, at the head of a numerous army, compoſed of Gauls and Spaniards, of Franks and Saxons; of thoſe provincials who ſupplied the ſtrength of the legions, and of thoſe barbarians who were dreaded as the moſt formidable enemies of the republic. The fertile plains [80] of the Lower Pannonia, between the Drave, the Save, and the Danube, preſented a ſpacious theatre; and the operations of the civil war were protracted during the ſummer months by the ſkill or timidity of the combatants [81]. Conſtantius had declared his intention of deciding the quarrel in the fields of Cibalis, a name that would animate his troops by the remembrance of the victory which, on the ſame auſpicious ground, had been obtained by the arms of his father Conſtantine. Yet, by the impregnable fortifications with which the emperor encompaſſed his camp, he appeared to decline, rather than to invite, a general engagement. It was the object of Magnentius to tempt or to compel his adverſary to relinquiſh this advantageous poſition; and he employed, with that view, the various marches, evolutions, and ſtratagems, which the knowledge of the art of war could ſuggeſt to an experienced officer. He carried by aſſault the important town of Siſcia; made an attack on the city of Sirmium, which lay in the rear of the Imperial camp; attempted to force a paſſage over the Save into the eaſtern provinces of Illyricum; and cut in pieces a numerous detachment, which he had allured into the narrow paſſes of Adarne.

ceſſit eloquio clementiâque, &c. Aurelius Victor. Julian, and Themiſtius (Orat. iii. and iv.), adorn this exploit with all the artificial and gaudy colouring of their rhetoric.

[80] Buſbequius (p. 112.) traverſed the Lower Hungary and Sclavonia at a time when they were reduced almoſt to a deſert, by the reciprocal hoſtilities of the Turks and Chriſtians. Yet he mentions with admiration the unconquerable fertility of the ſoil; and obſerves, that the height of the graſs was ſufficient to conceal a loaded waggon from his ſight. See likewiſe Browne's Travels, in Harris's Collection, vol. ii. p. 762, &c.

[81] Zoſimus gives a very large account of the war, and the negociation (l. ii. p. 123—130.). But as he neither ſhews himſelf a ſoldier nor a politician, his narrative muſt be weighed with attention, and received with caution.

During

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During the greater part of the ſummer, the tyrant of Gaul ſhewed himſelf maſter of the field. The troops of Conſtantius were haraſſed and diſpirited; his reputation declined in the eye of the world; and his pride condeſcended to ſolicit a treaty of peace, which would have reſigned to the aſſaſſin of Conſtans the ſovereignty of the provinces beyond the Alps. Theſe offers were enforced by the eloquence of Philip, the Imperial ambaſſador; and the council as well as the army of Magnentius were diſpoſed to accept them. But the haughty uſurper, careleſs of the remonſtrances of his friends, gave orders that Philip ſhould be detained as a captive, or at leaſt as a hoſtage; while he diſpatched an officer to reproach Conſtantius with the weakneſs of his reign, and to inſult him by the promiſe of a pardon, if he would inſtantly abdicate the purple. "That he ſhould confide in "the juſtice of his cauſe, and the protection of an avenging Deity," was the only anſwer which honour permitted the emperor to return. But he was ſo ſenſible of the difficulties of his ſituation, that he no longer dared to retaliate the indignity which had been offered to his repreſentative. The negociation of Philip was not, however, ineffectual; ſince he determined Sylvanus the Frank, a general of merit and reputation, to deſert with a conſiderable body of cavalry, a few days before the battle of Murſa.

Battle of Murſa, A. D. 351, Sept. 28.

The city of Murſa, or Eſſek, celebrated in modern times for a bridge of boats five miles in length, over the river Drave, and the adjacent moraſſes [82], has been always conſidered as a place of importance in the wars of Hungary. Magnentius directing his march towards Murſa, ſet fire to the gates, and, by a ſudden aſſault, had almoſt ſcaled the walls of the town. The vigilance of the garriſon

[82] This remarkable bridge, which is flanked with towers, and ſupported on large wooden piles, was conſtructed, A. D. 1566, by Sultan Soliman, to facilitate the march of his armies into Hungary. See Browne's Travels, and Buſching's Syſtem of Geography, vol. ii. p. 90.

extinguiſhed

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extinguiſhed the flames; the approach of Conſtantius left him no time to continue the operations of the ſiege; and the emperor ſoon removed the only obſtacle that could embarraſs his motions, by forcing a body of troops which had taken poſt in an adjoining amphitheatre. The field of battle round Murſa was a naked and level plain: on this ground the army of Conſtantius formed, with the Drave on their right; while their left, either from the nature of their diſpoſition, or from the ſuperiority of their cavalry, extended far beyond the right flank of Magnentius[83]. The troops on both ſides remained under arms in anxious expectation during the greateſt part of the morning; and the ſon of Conſtantine, after animating his ſoldiers by an eloquent ſpeech, retired into a church at ſome diſtance from the field of battle, and committed to his generals the conduct of this deciſive day[84]. They deſerved his confidence by the valour and military ſkill which they exerted. They wiſely began the action upon the left; and advancing their whole wing of cavalry in an oblique line, they ſuddenly wheeled it on the right flank of the enemy, which was unprepared to reſiſt the impetuoſity of their charge. But the Romans of the Weſt ſoon rallied, by the habits of diſcipline; and the Barbarians of Germany ſupported the renown of their national bravery. The engagement ſoon became general; was maintained with various and ſingular turns of fortune; and ſcarcely ended with the darkneſs of the night. The ſignal victory which Conſtantius obtained is attributed to the arms of his cavalry. His cuiraſſiers are deſcribed as ſo many maſſy ſtatues of ſteel, glittering with their ſcaly

[83] This poſitiсn, and the ſubſequent evolutions, are clearly, though conciſely, deſcribed by Julian, Orat. i. p. 36.

[84] Sulpicius Severus, l. ii. p. 405. The emperor paſſed the day in prayer with Valens, the Arian biſhop of Murſa, who gained his confidence by announcing the ſucceſs of the battle. M. de Tillemont (Hiſt. des Empereurs, tom. iv. p. 1110.) very properly remarks the ſilence of Julian with regard to the perſonal proweſs of Conſtantius in the battle of Murſa. The ſilence of flattery is ſometimes equal to the moſt poſitive and authentic evidence.

armour,

armour, and breaking with their ponderous lances the firm array of the Gallic legions. As ſoon as the legions gave way, the lighter and more active ſquadrons of the ſecond line rode ſword in hand into the intervals, and completed the diſorder. In the mean while the huge bodies of the Germans were expoſed almoſt naked to the dexterity of the Oriental archers; and whole troops of thoſe barbarians were urged by anguiſh and deſpair to precipitate themſelves into the broad and rapid ſtream of the Drave [85]. The number of the ſlain was computed at fifty-four thouſand men, and the ſlaughter of the conquerors was more conſiderable than that of the vanquiſhed [86]; a circumſtance which proves the obſtinacy of the conteſt, and juſtifies the obſervation of an ancient writer, that the forces of the empire were conſumed in the fatal battle of Murſa, by the loſs of a veteran army, ſufficient to defend the frontiers, or to add new triumphs to the glory of Rome [87]. Notwithſtanding the invectives of a ſervile orator, there is not the leaſt reaſon to believe that the tyrant deſerted his own ſtandard in the beginning of the engagement. He ſeems to have diſplayed the virtues of a general and of a ſoldier till the day was irrecoverably loſt, and his camp in the poſſeſſion of the enemy. Magnentius then conſulted his ſafety, and throwing away the Imperial ornaments, eſcaped with ſome difficulty from the purſuit of

[85] Julian. Orat. i. p. 36, 37.; and Orat. ii. p. 59, 60. Zonaras, tom. ii. l. xiii. p. 17. Zoſimus, l. ii. p. 130—133. The laſt of theſe celebrates the dexterity of the archer Menelaus, who could diſcharge three arrows at the ſame time; an advantage which, according to his apprehenſion of military affairs, materially contributed to the victory of Conſtantius.

[86] According to Zonaras, Conſtantius, out of 80,000 men, loſt 30,000; and Magnentius loſt 24,000 out of 36,000. The other articles of this account ſeem probable and authentic; but the numbers of the tyrant's army muſt have been miſtaken, either by the author or his tranſcribers. Magnentius had collected the whole force of the Weſt, Romans and Barbarians, into one formidable body, which cannot fairly be eſtimated at leſs than 100,000 men. Julian. Orat. i. p. 34, 35.

[87] Ingentes R. I. vires eâ dimicatione conſumptæ ſunt, ad quælibet bella externa idoneæ, quæ multum triumphorum poſſent ſecuritatiſque conferre. Eutropius, x. 13. The younger Victor expreſſes himſelf to the ſame effect.

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the light horſe, who inceſſantly followed his rapid flight from the banks of the Drave to the foot of the Julian Alps [88].

Conqueſt of Italy, A. D. 352.

The approach of winter ſupplied the indolence of Conſtantius with ſpecious reaſons for deferring the proſecution of the war till the enſuing ſpring. Magnentius had fixed his reſidence in the city of Aquileia, and ſhewed a ſeeming reſolution to diſpute the paſſage of the mountains and moraſſes which fortified the confines of the Venetian province. The ſurpriſal of a caſtle in the Alps by the ſecret march of the Imperialiſts, could ſcarcely have determined him to relinquiſh the poſſeſſion of Italy, if the inclinations of the people had ſupported the cauſe of their tyrant [89]. But the memory of the cruelties exerciſed by his miniſters, after the unſucceſsful revolt of Nepotian, had left a deep impreſſion of horror and reſentment on the minds of the Romans. That raſh youth, the ſon of the princeſs Eutropia, and the nephew of Conſtantine, had ſeen with indignation the ſceptre of the Weſt uſurped by a perfidious barbarian. Arming a deſperate troop of ſlaves and gladiators, he overpowered the feeble guard of the domeſtic tranquillity of Rome, received the homage of the ſenate, and aſſuming the title of Auguſtus, precarioufly reigned during a tumult of twenty-eight days. The march of ſome regular forces put an end to his ambitious hopes: the rebellion was extinguiſhed in the blood of Nepotian, of his mother Eutropia, and of his adherents; and the proſcription was extended to all who had contracted a fatal alliance with the name and family of Conſtantine [90]. But as ſoon as Conſtantius,

[88] On this occaſion, we muſt prefer the unſuſpected teſtimony of Zoſimus and Zonaras to the flattering aſſertions of Julian. The younger Victor paints the character of Magnentius in a ſingular light: "Sermonis acer, animi tumidi, et immodice timidus; artifex tamen ad occultandam audaciæ ſpecie formidinem." Is it moſt likely that in the battle of Murſa his behaviour was governed by nature or by art? I ſhould incline for the latter.

[89] Julian. Orat. i. p. 38, 39. In that place, however, as well as in Oration ii. p. 97, he inſinuates the general diſpoſition of the ſenate, the people, and the ſoldiers of Italy, towards the party of the emperor.

[90] The elder Victor deſcribes in a pathetic manner the miſerable condition of Rome: "Cujus

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ſtantius, after the battle of Murſa, became maſter of the ſea-coaſt of Dalmatia; a band of noble exiles, who had ventured to equip a fleet in ſome harbour of the Hadriatic, ſought protection and revenge in his victorious camp. By their ſecret intelligence with their countrymen, Rome and the Italian cities were perſuaded to diſplay the banners of Conſtantius on their walls. The grateful veterans, enriched by the liberality of the father, ſignalized their gratitude and loyalty to the ſon. The cavalry, the legions, and the auxiliaries of Italy, renewed their oath of allegiance to Conſtantius; and the uſurper, alarmed by the general deſertion, was compelled, with the remains of his faithful troops, to retire beyond the Alps into the provinces of Gaul. The detachments, however, which were ordered either to preſs or to intercept the flight of Magnentius, conducted themſelves with the uſual imprudence of ſucceſs; and allowed him, in the plains of Pavia, an opportunity of turning on his purſuers, and of gratifying his deſpair by the carnage of a uſeleſs victory [91].

Laſt defeat and death of Magnentius, A. D. 353. Auguſt 10.

The pride of Magnentius was reduced, by repeated misfortunes, to ſue, and to ſue in vain, for peace. He firſt diſpatched a ſenator, in whoſe abilities he confided, and afterwards ſeveral biſhops, whoſe holy character might obtain a more favourable audience, with the offer of reſigning the purple, and the promiſe of devoting the remainder of his life to the ſervice of the emperor. But Conſtantius, though he granted fair terms of pardon and reconciliation to all who abandoned the ſtandard of rebellion [92], avowed his inflexible reſolu-

[91] "Cujus ſtolidum ingenium adeo P. R. patribuſque exitio fuit, uti paſſim domus, fora, viæ, templaque, cruore, cadaveribuſque opplerentur buſtorum modo." Athanaſius (tom. i. p. 677.) deplores the fate of ſeveral illuſtrious victims, and Julian (Orat. ii. p. 58.) execrates the cruelty of Marcellinus, the implacable enemy of the houſe of Conſtantine.

[92] Zoſim. l. ii. p. 133. Victor in Epitome. The panegyriſts of Conſtantius, with their uſual candour, forget to mention this accidental defeat.

[92] Zonaras, tom. ii. l. xiii. p. 17. Julian, in ſeveral places of the two orations, expatiates on the clemency of Conſtantius to the rebels.

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tion to inflict a juſt puniſhment on the crimes of an aſſaſſin, whom he prepared to overwhelm on every ſide by the effort of his victorious arms. An Imperial fleet acquired the eaſy poſſeſſion of Africa and Spain, confirmed the wavering faith of the Mooriſh nations, and landed a conſiderable force, which paſſed the Pyrenees, and advanced towards Lyons, the laſt and fatal ſtation of Magnentius[93]. The temper of the tyrant, which was never inclined to clemency, was urged by diſtreſs to exerciſe every act of oppreſſion which could extort an immediate ſupply from the cities of Gaul[94]. Their patience was at length exhauſted; and Treves, the ſeat of Prætorian government, gave the ſignal of revolt, by ſhutting her gates againſt Decentius, who had been raiſed by his brother to the rank either of Cæſar or of Auguſtus[95]. From Treves, Decentius was obliged to retire to Sens, where he was ſoon ſurrounded by an army of Germans, whom the pernicious arts of Conſtantius had introduced into the civil diſſenſions of Rome[96]. In the mean time the Imperial troops forced the paſſages of the Cottian Alps, and in the bloody combat of Mount Seleucus irrevocably fixed the title of Rebels on the party of Magnentius[97]. He was unable to bring another army into the field; the fidelity of his guards was corrupted; and when he appeared in public to animate them by his exhortations, he was

[93] Zoſim. l. ii. p. 133. Julian. Orat. i. p. 40. ii. p. 74.

[94] Ammian. xv. 6. Zoſim. l. ii. p. 133. Julian, who (Orat. i. p. 40.) inveighs againſt the cruel effects of the tyrant's deſpair, mentions (Orat. i. p. 34.) the oppreſſive edicts which were dictated by his neceſſities, or by his avarice. His ſubjects were compelled to purchaſe the Imperial demeſnes; a doubtful and dangerous ſpecies of property, which, in caſe of a revolution, might be imputed to them as a treaſonable uſurpation.

[95] The medals of Magnentius celebrate the victories of the *two* Auguſti, and of the Cæſar. The Cæſar was another brother, named Deſiderius. See Tillemont, Hiſt. des Empereurs, tom. iv. p. 757.

[96] Julian. Orat. i. p. 40. ii. p. 74. with Spanheim, p. 263. His Commentary illuſtrates the tranſactions of this civil war. Mons Seleuci was a ſmall place in the Cottian Alps, a few miles diſtant from Vapincum, or Gap, an epiſcopal city of Dauphiné. See d'Anville Notice de la Gaule, p. 464.; and Longuerue Deſcription de la France, p. 327.

[97] Zoſimus, l. ii. p. 134. Liban. Orat. x. p. 268, 269. The latter moſt vehemently arraigns this cruel and ſelfiſh policy of Conſtantius.

ſaluted

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saluted with an unanimous shout of "Long live the emperor Constantius!" The tyrant, who perceived that they were preparing to deserve pardon and rewards by the sacrifice of the most obnoxious criminal, prevented their design by falling on his sword[98]; a death more easy and more honourable than he could hope to obtain from the hands of an enemy, whose revenge would have been coloured with the specious pretence of justice and fraternal piety. The example of suicide was imitated by Decentius, who strangled himself on the news of his brother's death. The author of the conspiracy, Marcellinus, had long since disappeared in the battle of Mursa[99], and the public tranquillity was confirmed by the execution of the surviving leaders of a guilty and unsuccessful faction. A severe inquisition was extended over all who, either from choice or from compulsion, had been involved in the cause of rebellion. Paul, surnamed Catena from his superior skill in the judicial exercise of tyranny, was sent to explore the latent remains of the conspiracy in the remote province of Britain. The honest indignation expressed by Martin, vice-præfect of the island, was interpreted as an evidence of his own guilt; and the governor was urged to the necessity of turning against his breast the sword with which he had been provoked to wound the Imperial minister. The most innocent subjects of the West were exposed to exile and confiscation, to death and torture; and as the timid are always cruel, the mind of Constantius was inaccessible to mercy[100].

[98] Julian. Orat. i. p. 40. Zosimus, l. ii. p. 134. Socrates, l. ii. c. 32. Sozomen, l. iv. c. 7. The younger Victor describes his death with some horrid circumstances: Transfosso latere, ut erat vasti corporis, vulnere naribusque et ore cruorem effundens, exspiravit. If we can give credit to Zonaras, the tyrant, before he expired, had the pleasure of murdering with his own hands his mother and his brother Desiderius.

[99] Julian (Orat. i. p. 58, 59.) seems at a loss to determine, whether he inflicted on himself the punishment of his crimes, whether he was drowned in the Drave, or whether he was carried by the avenging dæmons from the field of battle to his destined place of eternal tortures.

[100] Ammian. xiv. 5. xxi. 16.

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Conſtantius ſole Emperor.—Elevation and Death of Gallus.—Danger and Elevation of Julian.—Sarmatian and Perſian Wars.—Victories of Julian in Gaul.

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Power of the eunuchs.

THE divided provinces of the empire were again united by the victory of Conſtantius; but as that feeble prince was deſtitute of perſonal merit, either in peace or war; as he feared his generals, and diſtruſted his miniſters; the triumph of his arms ſerved only to eſtabliſh the reign of the *eunuchs* over the Roman world. Thoſe unhappy beings, the ancient production of Oriental jealouſy and deſpotiſm [1], were introduced into Greece and Rome by the contagion of Aſiatic luxury [2]. Their progreſs was rapid; and the eunuchs, who, in the time of Auguſtus, had been abhorred, as the monſtrous retinue of an Egyptian queen [3], were gradually admitted into the families of matrons, of ſenators, and of the emperors themſelves.

[1] Ammianus (l. xiv. c. 6.) imputes the firſt practice of caſtration to the cruel ingenuity of Semiramis, who is ſuppoſed to have reigned above nineteen hundred years before Chriſt. The uſe of eunuchs is of high antiquity, both in Aſia and Egypt. They are mentioned in the law of Moſes, Deuteron. xxiii. 1. See Goguet, Origines des Loix, &c. Part i. l. i. c. 3.

[2] Eunuchum dixti velle te;
Quia ſolæ utuntur his reginæ ——
Terent. Eunuch. act i. ſcene 2.
This play is tranſlated from Menander, and the original muſt have appeared ſoon after the eaſtern conqueſts of Alexander.

[3] Miles . . ſpadonibus
Servire rugoſis poteſt.
Horat. Carm. v. 9. and Dacier ad loc.
By the word *ſpado*, the Romans very forcibly expreſſed their abhorrence of this mutilated condition. The Greek appellation of eunuchs, which inſenſibly prevailed, had a milder ſound, and a more ambiguous ſenſe.

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ſelves [4]. Reſtrained by the ſevere edicts of Domitian and Nerva [5], cheriſhed by the pride of Diocletian, reduced to an humble ſtation by the prudence of Conſtantine [6], they multiplied in the palaces of his degenerate ſons, and inſenſibly acquired the knowledge, and at length the direction, of the ſecret councils of Conſtantius. The averſion and contempt which mankind has ſo uniformly entertained for that imperfect ſpecies, appears to have degraded their character, and to have rendered them almoſt as incapable as they were ſuppoſed to be, of conceiving any generous ſentiment, or of performing any worthy action [7]. But the eunuchs were ſkilled in the arts of flattery and intrigue; and they alternately governed the mind of Conſtantius by his fears, his indolence, and his vanity [8]. Whilſt he viewed in a deceitful mirror the fair appearance of public proſperity, he ſupinely permitted them to intercept the complaints of the injured

[4] We need only mention Poſides, a freedman and eunuch of Claudius, in whoſe favour the emperor proſtituted ſome of the moſt honourable rewards of military valour. See Sueton. in Claudio, c. 28. Poſides employed a great part of his wealth in building.

Ut *Spado* vincebat Capitolia noſtra
Poſides. Juvenal. Sat. xiv.

[5] Caſtrari mares vetuit. Sueton. in Domitian. c. 7. See Dion Caſſius, l. lxvii. p. 1107. l. lxviii. p. 1119.

[6] There is a paſſage in the Auguſtan hiſtory, p. 137, in which Lampridius, whilſt he praiſes Alexander Severus and Conſtantine for reſtraining the tyranny of the eunuchs, deplores the miſchiefs which they occaſioned in other reigns. Huc accedit quod eunuchos nec in conſiliis nec in miniſteriis habuit; qui ſoli principes perdunt, dum eos more gentium aut regum Perſarum volunt vivere; qui a populo etiam amiciſſimum ſemovent; qui internuntii ſunt, aliud quàm reſpondetur referentes; claudentes principem ſuum, et agentes ante omnia ne quid ſciat.

[7] Xenophon (Cyropædia, l. viii. p. 540.) has ſtated the ſpecious reaſons which engaged Cyrus to entruſt his perſon to the guard of eunuchs. He had obſerved in animals, that although the practice of caſtration might tame their ungovernable fierceneſs, it did not diminiſh their ſtrength or ſpirit; and he perſuaded himſelf, that thoſe who were ſeparated from the reſt of humankind, would be more firmly attached to the perſon of their benefactor. But a long experience has contradicted the judgment of Cyrus. Some particular inſtances may occur of eunuchs diſtinguiſhed by their fidelity, their valour, and their abilities; but if we examine the general hiſtory of Perſia, India, and China, we ſhall find that the power of the eunuchs has uniformly marked the decline and fall of every dynaſty.

[8] See Ammianus Marcellinus, l. xxi. c. 16. l. xxii. c. 4. The whole tenor of his impartial hiſtory ſerves to juſtify the invectives of Mamertinus, of Libanius, and of Julian himſelf, who have inſulted the vices of the court of Conſtantius.

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provinces, to accumulate immenſe treaſures by the ſale of juſtice and of honours; to diſgrace the moſt important dignities, by the promotion of thoſe who had purchaſed at their hands the powers of oppreſſion[9], and to gratify their reſentment againſt the few independent ſpirits, who arrogantly refuſed to ſolicit the protection of ſlaves. Of theſe ſlaves the moſt diſtinguiſhed was the chamberlain Euſebius, who ruled the monarch and the palace with ſuch abſolute ſway, that Conſtantius, according to the ſarcaſm of an impartial hiſtorian, poſſeſſed ſome credit with this haughty favourite[10]. By his artful ſuggeſtions, the emperor was perſuaded to ſubſcribe the condemnation of the unfortunate Gallus, and to add a new crime to the long liſt of unnatural murders which pollute the honour of the houſe of Conſtantine.

Education of Gallus and Julian.

When the two nephews of Conſtantine, Gallus and Julian, were ſaved from the fury of the ſoldiers, the former was about twelve, and the latter about ſix, years of age; and, as the eldeſt was thought to be of a ſickly conſtitution, they obtained with the leſs difficulty a precarious and dependent life, from the affected pity of Conſtantius, who was ſenſible that the execution of theſe helpleſs orphans would have been eſteemed, by all mankind, an act of the moſt deliberate cruelty[11]. Different cities of Ionia and Bithynia were aſſigned for the places of their exile and education; but, as ſoon as their growing years excited the jealouſy of the emperor, he judged it more prudent to ſecure thoſe unhappy youths in the ſtrong caſtle of Macellum, near

[9] Aurelius Victor cenſures the negligence of his ſovereign in chuſing the governors of the provinces, and the generals of the army, and concludes his hiſtory with a very bold obſervation, as it is much more dangerous under a feeble reign to attack the miniſters than the maſter himſelf. "Uti verum abſolvam brevi, ut Imperatore ipſo clarius ita apparitorum pleriſque magis atrox nihil."

[10] Apud quem (ſi vere dici debeat) multum Conſtantius potuit. Ammian. l. xviii. c. 4.

[11] Gregory Nazianzen (Orat. iii. p. 90.) reproaches the apoſtate with his ingratitude towards Mark, biſhop of Arethuſa, who had contributed to ſave his life; and we learn, though from a leſs reſpectable authority (Tillemont, Hiſt. des Empereurs, tom. iv. p. 916.), that Julian was concealed in the ſanctuary of a church.

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Cæſarea. The treatment which they experienced during a ſix years confinement, was partly ſuch as they could hope from a careful guardian, and partly ſuch as they might dread from a ſuſpicious tyrant [12]. Their priſon was an ancient palace, the reſidence of the kings of Cappadocia; the ſituation was pleaſant, the buildings ſtately, the incloſure ſpacious. They purſued their ſtudies, and practiſed their exerciſes, under the tuition of the moſt ſkilful maſters; and the numerous houſehold appointed to attend, or rather to guard, the nephews of Conſtantine, was not unworthy of the dignity of their birth. But they could not diſguiſe to themſelves that they were deprived of fortune, of freedom, and of ſafety; ſecluded from the ſociety of all whom they could truſt or eſteem, and condemned to paſs their melancholy hours in the company of ſlaves, devoted to the commands of a tyrant, who had already injured them beyond the hope of reconciliation. At length, however, the emergencies of the ſtate compelled the emperor, or rather his eunuchs, to inveſt Gallus, in the twenty-fifth year of his age, with the title of Cæſar, and to cement this political connection by his marriage with the princeſs Conſtantina. After a formal interview, in which the two princes mutually engaged their faith never to undertake any thing to the prejudice of each other, they repaired without delay to their reſpective ſtations. Conſtantius continued his march towards the Weſt, and Gallus fixed his reſidence at Antioch; from whence, with a delegated authority, he adminiſtered the five great dioceſes of the eaſtern præfecture [13]. In this fortunate change, the new Cæſar

Gallus declared Cæſar, A. D. 351, March 5.

[12] The moſt authentic account of the education and adventures of Julian, is contained in the epiſtle or manifeſto which he himſelf addreſſed to the ſenate and people of Athens. Libanius (Orat. Parentalis), on the ſide of the Pagans, and Socrates (l. iii. c. 1.), on that of the Chriſtians, have preſerved ſeveral intereſting circumſtances.

[13] For the promotion of Gallus, ſee Idatius, Zoſimus, and the two Victors. According to Philoſtorgius (l. iv. c. 1.), Theophilus, an Arian biſhop, was the witneſs, and, as it were, the guarantee, of this ſolemn engagement. He ſupported that character with generous firmneſs; but M. de Tillemont (Hiſt. des Empereurs, tom. iv. p. 1120.) thinks it very improbable that an heretic ſhould have poſſeſſed ſuch virtue.

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was not unmindful of his brother Julian, who obtained the honours of his rank, the appearances of liberty, and the reſtitution of an ample patrimony [14].

Cruelty and imprudence of Gallus.

The writers the moſt indulgent to the memory of Gallus, and even Julian himſelf, though he wiſhed to caſt a veil over the frailties of his brother, are obliged to confeſs that the Cæſar was incapable of reigning. Tranſported from a priſon to a throne, he poſſeſſed neither genius, nor application, nor docility to compenſate for the want of knowledge and experience. A temper naturally moroſe and violent, inſtead of being corrected, was ſoured by ſolitude and adverſity; the remembrance of what he had endured, diſpoſed him to retaliation rather than to ſympathy; and the ungoverned ſallies of his rage were often fatal to thoſe who approached his perſon, or were ſubject to his power [15]. Conſtantina, his wife, is deſcribed, not as a woman, but as one of the infernal furies tormented with an inſatiate thirſt of human blood [16]. Inſtead of employing her influence to inſinuate the mild counſels of prudence and humanity, ſhe exaſperated the fierce paſſions of her huſband; and as ſhe retained the vanity, though ſhe had renounced the gentleneſs of her ſex, a pearl necklace was eſteemed an equivalent price for the murder of an innocent and virtuous nobleman [17]. The cruelty of Gallus was ſome-

[14] Julian was at firſt permitted to purſue his ſtudies at Conſtantinople, but the reputation which he acquired ſoon excited the jealouſy of Conſtantius; and the young prince was adviſed to withdraw himſelf to the leſs conſpicuous ſcenes of Bithynia and Ionia.

[15] See Julian ad S. P. Q. A. p. 271. Jerom. in Chron. Aurelius Victor, Eutropius, x. 14. I ſhall copy the words of Eutropius, who wrote his abridgment about fifteen years after the death of Gallus, when there was no longer any motive either to flatter or to depreciate his character. "Multis incivilibus "geſtis Gallus Cæſar . . . vir naturâ ferox, "et ad tyrannidem pronior, ſi ſuo jure im-"perare licuiſſet."

[16] Megæra quidem mortalis, inflammatrix ſævientis aſſidua, humani cruoris avida, &c. Ammian. Marcellin. l. xiv. c. 1. The ſincerity of Ammianus would not ſuffer him to miſrepreſent facts or characters, but his love of *ambitious* ornaments frequently betrayed him into an unnatural vehemence of expreſſion.

[17] His name was Clematius of Alexandria, and his only crime was a refuſal to gratify the deſires of his mother-in-law; who ſolicited his death, becauſe ſhe had been diſappointed of his love. Ammian. l. xiv. c. 1.

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times displayed in the undissembled violence of popular or military executions; and was sometimes disguised by the abuse of law, and the forms of judicial proceedings. The private houses of Antioch, and the places of public resort, were besieged by spies and informers; and the Cæsar himself, concealed in a plebeian habit, very frequently condescended to assume that odious character. Every apartment of the palace was adorned with the instruments of death and torture, and a general consternation was diffused through the capital of Syria. The prince of the East, as if he had been conscious how much he had to fear, and how little he deserved to reign, selected for the objects of his resentment, the provincials accused of some imaginary treason, and his own courtiers, whom with more reason he suspected of incensing, by their secret correspondence, the timid and suspicious mind of Constantius. But he forgot that he was depriving himself of his only support, the affection of the people; whilst he furnished the malice of his enemies with the arms of truth, and afforded the emperor the fairest pretence of exacting the forfeit of his purple, and of his life [18].

Massacre of the Imperial ministers, A. D. 354.

As long as the civil war suspended the fate of the Roman world, Constantius dissembled his knowledge of the weak and cruel administration to which his choice had subjected the East; and the discovery of some assassins, secretly dispatched to Antioch by the tyrant of Gaul, was employed to convince the public, that the emperor and the Cæsar were united by the same interest, and pursued by the same enemies [19]. But when the victory was decided in favour of Con-

[18] See in Ammianus (l. xiv. c. 1. 7.) a very ample detail of the cruelties of Gallus. His brother Julian (p. 272.) insinuates, that a secret conspiracy had been formed against him; and Zosimus names (l. ii. p. 135.) the persons engaged in it; a minister of considerable rank, and two obscure agents, who were resolved to make their fortune.

[19] Zonaras, l. xiii. tom. ii. p. 17, 18. The assassins had seduced a great number of legionaries; but their designs were discovered and revealed by an old woman in whose cottage they lodged.

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ſtantius, his dependent colleague became leſs uſeful and leſs formidable. Every circumſtance of his conduct was ſeverely and ſuſpiciouſly examined, and it was privately reſolved, either to deprive Gallus of the purple, or at leaſt to remove him from the indolent luxury of Aſia to the hardſhips and dangers of a German war. The death of Theophilus, conſular of the province of Syria, who in a time of ſcarcity had been maſſacred by the people of Antioch, with the connivance, and almoſt at the inſtigation, of Gallus, was juſtly reſented, not only as an act of wanton cruelty, but as a dangerous inſult on the ſupreme majeſty of Conſtantius. Two miniſters of illuſtrious rank, Domitian the Oriental præfect, and Montius quæſtor of the palace, were empowered by a ſpecial commiſſion to viſit and reform the ſtate of the Eaſt. They were inſtructed to behave towards Gallus with moderation and reſpect, and, by the gentleſt arts of perſuaſion, to engage him to comply with the invitation of his brother and colleague. The raſhneſs of the præfect diſappointed theſe prudent meaſures, and haſtened his own ruin, as well as that of his enemy. On his arrival at Antioch, Domitian paſſed diſdainfully before the gates of the palace, and alleging a ſlight pretence of indiſpoſition, continued ſeveral days in ſullen retirement, to prepare an inflammatory memorial, which he tranſmitted to the Imperial court. Yielding at length to the preſſing ſolicitations of Gallus, the præfect condeſcended to take his ſeat in council; but his firſt ſtep was to ſignify a conciſe and haughty mandate, importing that the Cæſar ſhould immediately repair to Italy, and threatening that he himſelf would puniſh his delay or heſitation, by ſuſpending the uſual allowance of his houſehold. The nephew and daughter of Conſtantine, who could ill brook the inſolence of a ſubject, expreſſed their reſentment by inſtantly delivering Domitian to the cuſtody of a guard. The quarrel ſtill admitted of ſome terms of accommodation. They were rendered impracticable by the imprudent behaviour of Montius, a ſtate-

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a ſtateſman, whoſe art and experience were frequently betrayed by the levity of his diſpoſition[20]. The quæſtor reproached Gallus in haughty language, that a prince, who was ſcarcely authoriſed to remove a municipal magiſtrate, ſhould preſume to impriſon a Prætorian præfect; convoked a meeting of the civil and military officers; and required them, in the name of their ſovereign, to defend the perſon and dignity of his repreſentatives. By this raſh declaration of war, the impatient temper of Gallus was provoked to embrace the moſt deſperate counſels. He ordered his guards to ſtand to their arms, aſſembled the populace of Antioch, and recommended to their zeal the care of his ſafety and revenge. His commands were too fatally obeyed. They rudely ſeized the præfect and the quæſtor, and tying their legs together with ropes, they dragged them through the ſtreets of the city, inflicted a thouſand inſults and a thouſand wounds on theſe unhappy victims, and at laſt precipitated their mangled and lifeleſs bodies into the ſtream of the Orontes[21].

Dangerous ſituation of Gallus.

After ſuch a deed, whatever might have been the deſigns of Gallus, it was only in a field of battle that he could aſſert his innocence with any hope of ſucceſs. But the mind of that prince was formed of an equal mixture of violence and weakneſs. Inſtead of aſſuming the title of Auguſtus, inſtead of employing in his defence the troops and treaſures of the Eaſt, he ſuffered himſelf to be deceived by the affected tranquillity of Conſtantius, who, leaving him the vain pageantry of a court, imperceptibly recalled the veteran legions from

[20] In the preſent text of Ammianus, we read *Aſper*, quidem, ſed ad *lenitatem* propenſior; which forms a ſentence of contradictory nonſenſe. With the aid of an old manuſcript, Valeſius has rectified the firſt of theſe corruptions, and we perceive a ray of light in the ſubſtitution of the word *vaſer*. If we venture to change *lenitatem* into *levitatem*, this alteration of a ſingle letter will render the whole paſſage clear and conſiſtent.

[21] Inſtead of being obliged to collect ſcattered and imperfect hints from various ſources, we now enter into the full ſtream of the hiſtory of Ammianus, and need only refer to the ſeventh and ninth chapters of his fourteenth book. Philoſtorgius, however (l. iii. c. 28.), though partial to Gallus, ſhould not be entirely overlooked.

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the provinces of Aſia. But as it ſtill appeared dangerous to arreſt Gallus in his capital, the ſlow and ſafer arts of diſſimulation were practiſed with ſucceſs. The frequent and preſſing epiſtles of Conſtantius were filled with profeſſions of confidence and friendſhip; exhorting the Cæſar to diſcharge the duties of his high ſtation, to relieve his colleague from a part of the public cares, and to aſſiſt the Weſt by his preſence, his counſels, and his arms. After ſo many reciprocal injuries, Gallus had reaſon to fear and to diſtruſt. But he had neglected the opportunities of flight and of reſiſtance; he was ſeduced by the flattering aſſurances of the tribune Scudilo, who, under the ſemblance of a rough ſoldier, diſguiſed the moſt artful inſinuation; and he depended on the credit of his wife Conſtantina, till the unſeaſonable death of that princeſs completed the ruin in which he had been involved by her impetuous paſſions [22].

His diſgrace and death, A. D. 354, December.

After a long delay, the reluctant Cæſar ſet forwards on his journey to the Imperial court. From Antioch to Hadrianople, he traverſed the wide extent of his dominions with a numerous and ſtately train; and as he laboured to conceal his apprehenſions from the world, and perhaps from himſelf, he entertained the people of Conſtantinople with an exhibition of the games of the circus. The progreſs of the journey might, however, have warned him of the impending danger. In all the principal cities he was met by miniſters of confidence, commiſſioned to ſeize the offices of government, to obſerve his motions, and to prevent the haſty ſallies of his deſpair. The perſons diſpatched to ſecure the provinces which he left behind, paſſed him with cold ſalutations, or affected diſdain; and the troops, whoſe ſtation lay along the public road, were ſtudiouſly removed on his approach, leſt they might be tempted to offer their ſwords for the

[22] She had preceded her huſband; but died of a fever on the road, at a little place in Bithynia, called Cœnum Gallicanum.

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ſervice of a civil war [23]. After Gallus had been permitted to repoſe himſelf a few days at Hadrianople, he received a mandate, expreſſed in the moſt haughty and abſolute ſtyle, that his ſplendid retinue ſhould halt in that city, while the Cæſar himſelf, with only ten poſt-carriages, ſhould haſten to the Imperial reſidence at Milan. In this rapid journey, the profound reſpect which was due to the brother and colleague of Conſtantius, was inſenſibly changed into rude familiarity; and Gallus, who diſcovered in the countenances of the attendants that they already conſidered themſelves as his guards, and might ſoon be employed as his executioners, began to accuſe his fatal raſhneſs, and to recollect with terror and remorſe the conduct by which he had provoked his fate. The diſſimulation which had hitherto been preſerved, was laid aſide at Petovio in Pannonia. He was conducted to a palace in the ſuburbs, where the general Barbatio, with a ſelect band of ſoldiers, who could neither be moved by pity, nor corrupted by rewards, expected the arrival of his illuſtrious victim. In the cloſe of the evening he was arreſted, ignominiouſly ſtripped of the enſigns of Cæſar, and hurried away to Pola in Iſtria, a ſequeſtered priſon, which had been ſo recently polluted with royal blood. The horror which he felt, was ſoon increaſed by the appearance of his implacable enemy the eunuch Euſebius, who, with the aſſiſtance of a notary and a tribune, proceeded to interrogate him concerning the adminiſtration of the Eaſt. The Cæſar ſunk under the weight of ſhame and guilt, confeſſed all the criminal actions, and all the treaſonable deſigns with which he was charged; and by imputing them to the advice of his wife, exaſperated the

[23] The Thebæan legions, which were then quartered at Hadrianople, ſent a deputation to Gallus, with a tender of their ſervices. Ammian. l. xiv. c. 11. The Notitia (ſ. 6. 20. 38. edit. Labb.) mentions three ſeveral legions which bore the name of Thebæan. The zeal of M. de Voltaire, to deſtroy a deſpicable though celebrated legend, has tempted him on the ſlighteſt grounds to deny the exiſtence of a Thebæan legion in the Roman armies. See Oeuvres de Voltaire, tom. xv. p. 414. quarto edition.

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indignation of Conſtantius, who reviewed with partial prejudice the minutes of the examination. The emperor was eaſily convinced, that his own ſafety was incompatible with the life of his couſin: the ſentence of death was ſigned, diſpatched, and executed; and the nephew of Conſtantine, with his hands tied behind his back, was beheaded in priſon like the vileſt malefactor[24]. Thoſe who are inclined to palliate the cruelties of Conſtantius, aſſert that he ſoon relented, and endeavoured to recal the bloody mandate; but that the ſecond meſſenger entruſted with the reprieve was detained by the eunuchs, who dreaded the unforgiving temper of Gallus, and were deſirous of reuniting to *their* empire the wealthy provinces of the Eaſt[25].

The danger and eſcape of Julian.

Beſides the reigning emperor, Julian alone ſurvived, of all the numerous poſterity of Conſtantius Chlorus. The misfortune of his royal birth involved him in the diſgrace of Gallus. From his retirement in the happy country of Ionia, he was conveyed under a ſtrong guard to the court of Milan; where he languiſhed above ſeven months, in the continual apprehenſion of ſuffering the ſame ignominious death, which was daily inflicted, almoſt before his eyes, on the friends and adherents of his perſecuted family. His looks, his geſtures, his ſilence, were ſcrutinized with malignant curioſity, and he was perpetually aſſaulted by enemies whom he had never offended, and by arts to which he was a ſtranger[26]. But in the ſchool

[24] See the complete narrative of the journey and death of Gallus in Ammianus, l. xiv. c. 11. Julian complains that his brother was put to death without a trial; attempts to juſtify, or at leaſt to excuſe, the cruel revenge which he had inflicted on his enemies; but ſeems at laſt to acknowledge that he might juſtly have been deprived of the purple.

[25] Philoſtorgius, l. iv. c. 1. Zonaras, l. xiii. tom. ii. p. 19. But the former was partial towards an Arian monarch, and the latter tranſcribed, without choice or criticiſm, whatever he found in the writings of the ancients.

[26] See Ammianus Marcellin. l. xv. c. 1. 3. 8. Julian himſelf, in his epiſtle to the Athenians, draws a very lively and juſt picture of his own danger, and of his ſentiments. He ſhews, however, a tendency to exaggerate his ſufferings, by inſinuating, though in obſcure terms, that they laſted above a year; a period which cannot be reconciled with the truth of chronology.

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of adverſity, Julian inſenſibly acquired the virtues of firmneſs and diſcretion. He defended his honour, as well as his life, againſt the enſnaring ſubtleties of the eunuchs, who endeavoured to extort ſome declaration of his ſentiments: and whilſt he cautiouſly ſuppreſſed his grief and reſentment, he nobly diſdained to flatter the tyrant, by any ſeeming approbation of his brother's murder. Julian moſt devoutly aſcribes his miraculous deliverance to the protection of the Gods, who had exempted his innocence from the ſentence of deſtruction pronounced by their juſtice againſt the impious houſe of Conſtantine [27]. As the moſt effectual inſtrument of their providence, he gratefully acknowledges the ſteady and generous friendſhip of the empreſs Euſebia [28], a woman of beauty and merit, who, by the aſcendant which ſhe had gained over the mind of her huſband, counterbalanced, in ſome meaſure, the powerful conſpiracy of the eunuchs. By the interceſſion of his patroneſs, Julian was admitted into the Imperial preſence: he pleaded his cauſe with a decent freedom, he was heard with favour; and, notwithſtanding the efforts of his enemies, who urged the danger of ſparing an avenger of the blood of Gallus, the milder ſentiment of Euſebia prevailed in the council. But the effects of a ſecond interview were dreaded by the eunuchs; and Julian was adviſed to withdraw for a while into the neighbourhood of Milan, till the emperor thought proper to aſſign the city of Athens for the place of his honourable exile. As he had diſcovered, from his earlieſt youth, a propenſity, or rather paſſion, for the language, the manners, the learning, and

He is ſent to Athens, A. D. 355, May.

[27] Julian has worked the crimes and misfortunes of the family of Conſtantine into an allegorical fable, which is happily conceived and agreeably related. It forms the concluſion of the ſeventh Oration, from whence it has been detached and tranſlated by the Abbé de la Bleterie, Vie de Jovien, tom. ii. p. 385—408.

[28] She was a native of Theſſalonica in Macedonia, of a noble family, and the daughter as well as ſiſter of conſuls. Her marriage with the emperor may be placed in the year 352. In a divided age, the hiſtorians of all parties agree in her praiſes. See their teſtimonies collected by Tillemont, Hiſt. des Empereurs, tom. iv. p. 750—754.

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the religion of the Greeks, he obeyed with pleaſure an order ſo agreeable to his wiſhes. Far from the tumult of arms, and the treachery of courts, he ſpent ſix months amidſt the groves of the academy, in a free intercourſe with the philoſophers of the age, who ſtudied to cultivate the genius, to encourage the vanity, and to inflame the devotion of their royal pupil. Their labours were not unſucceſsful; and Julian inviolably preſerved for Athens that tender regard, which ſeldom fails to ariſe in a liberal mind, from the recollection of the place where it has diſcovered and exerciſed its growing powers. The gentleneſs and affability of manners, which his temper ſuggeſted and his ſituation impoſed, inſenſibly engaged the affections of the ſtrangers, as well as citizens, with whom he converſed. Some of his fellow-ſtudents might perhaps examine his behaviour with an eye of prejudice and averſion; but Julian eſtabliſhed, in the ſchools of Athens, a general prepoſſeſſion in favour of his virtues and talents, which was ſoon diffuſed over the Roman world [29].

Recalled to Milan,

Whilſt his hours were paſſed in ſtudious retirement, the empreſs, reſolute to atchieve the generous deſign which ſhe had undertaken, was not unmindful of the care of his fortune. The death of the late Cæſar had left Conſtantius inveſted with the ſole command, and oppreſſed by the accumulated weight of a mighty empire. Before the wounds of civil diſcord could be healed, the provinces of Gaul were overwhelmed by a deluge of Barbarians. The Sarmatians no longer reſpected the barrier of the Danube. The impunity of rapine had increaſed the boldneſs and numbers of the wild Iſaurians:

[29] Libanius and Gregory Nazianzen have exhauſted the arts as well as the powers of their eloquence, to repreſent Julian as the firſt of heroes, or the worſt of tyrants. Gregory was his fellow-ſtudent at Athens; and the ſymptoms, which he ſo tragically deſcribes, of the future wickedneſs of the apoſtate, amount only to ſome bodily imperfections, and to ſome peculiarities in his ſpeech and manner. He proteſts, however, than he *then* foreſaw and foretold the calamities of the church and ſtate (Greg. Nazianzen, Orat. iv. p. 121, 122.).

thoſe

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thoſe robbers deſcended from their craggy mountains to ravage the adjacent country, and had even preſumed, though without ſucceſs, to beſiege the important city of Seleucia, which was defended by a garriſon of three Roman legions. Above all, the Perſian monarch, elated by victory, again threatened the peace of Aſia, and the preſence of the emperor was indiſpenſably required, both in the Weſt, and in the Eaſt. For the firſt time, Conſtantius ſincerely acknowledged, that his ſingle ſtrength was unequal to ſuch an extent of care and of dominion [30]. Inſenſible to the voice of flattery, which aſſured him that his all-powerful virtue, and celeſtial fortune, would ſtill continue to triumph over every obſtacle, he liſtened with complacency to the advice of Euſebia, which gratified his indolence, without offending his ſuſpicious pride. As ſhe perceived that the remembrance of Gallus dwelt on the emperor's mind, ſhe artfully turned his attention to the oppoſite characters of the two brothers, which from their infancy had been compared to thoſe of Domitian and of Titus [31]. She accuſtomed her huſband to conſider Julian as a youth of a mild unambitious diſpoſition, whoſe allegiance and gratitude might be ſecured by the gift of the purple, and who was qualified to fill, with honour, a ſubordinate ſtation, without aſpiring to diſpute the commands, or to ſhade the glories, of his ſovereign and benefactor. After an obſtinate, though ſecret ſtruggle, the oppoſition of the favourite eunuchs ſubmitted to the aſcendancy of the empreſs; and it was reſolved that Julian, after celebrating his nuptials with Helena, ſiſter of Conſtantius, ſhould be appointed, with the title of Cæſar, to reign over the countries beyond the Alps [32].

[30] Succumbere tot neceſſitatibus tamque crebris unum ſe quod nunquam fecerat aperte demonſtrans. Ammian. l. xv. c. 8. He then expreſſes, in their own words, the flattering aſſurances of the courtiers.

[31] Tantum a temperatis moribus Juliani differens fratris quantum inter Veſpaſiani filios fuit, Domitianum et Titum. Ammian. l. xiv. c. 11. The circumſtances and education of the two brothers were ſo nearly the ſame, as to afford a ſtrong example of the innate difference of characters.

[32] Ammianus, l. xv. c. 8. Zoſimus, l. iii. p. 137, 138.

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Although the order which recalled him to court was probably accompanied by ſome intimation of his approaching greatneſs, he appeals to the people of Athens to witneſs his tears of undiſſembled ſorrow, when he was reluctantly torn away from his beloved retirement[33]. He trembled for his life, for his fame, and even for his virtue; and his ſole confidence was derived from the perſuaſion, that Minerva inſpired all his actions, and that he was protected by an inviſible guard of angels, whom for that purpoſe ſhe had borrowed from the Sun and Moon. He approached, with horror, the palace of Milan; nor could the ingenuous youth conceal his indignation, when he found himſelf accoſted with falſe and ſervile reſpect by the aſſaſſins of his family. Euſebia, rejoicing in the ſucceſs of her benevolent ſchemes, embraced him with the tenderneſs of a ſiſter; and endeavoured, by the moſt ſoothing careſſes, to diſpel his terrors, and reconcile him to his fortune. But the ceremony of ſhaving his beard, and his awkward demeanour, when he firſt exchanged the cloak of a Greek philoſopher for the military habit of a Roman prince, amuſed, during a few days, the levity of the Imperial court[34].

The emperors of the age of Conſtantine no longer deigned to conſult with the ſenate in the choice of a colleague; but they were anxious that their nomination ſhould be ratified by the conſent of the army. On this ſolemn occaſion, the guards, with the other troops whoſe ſtations were in the neighbourhood of Milan, appeared under arms; and Conſtantius aſcended his lofty tribunal, holding by the hand his couſin Julian, who entered the ſame day into the twenty-

[33] Julian ad S. P. Q. A. p. 275, 276. Libanius, Orat. x. p. 268. Julian did not yield till the Gods had ſignified their will by repeated viſions and omens. His piety then forbade him to reſiſt.

[34] Julian himſelf relates (p. 274.), with ſome humour, the circumſtances of his own metamorphoſis, his downcaſt looks, and his perplexity at being thus ſuddenly tranſported into a new world, where every object appeared ſtrange and hoſtile.

fifth

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fifth year of his age [35]. In a ſtudied ſpeech, conceived and delivered with dignity, the emperor repreſented the various dangers which threatened the proſperity of the republic, the neceſſity of naming a Cæſar for the adminiſtration of the Weſt, and his own intention, if it was agreeable to their wiſhes, of rewarding with the honours of the purple, the promiſing virtues of the nephew of Conſtantine. The approbation of the ſoldiers was teſtified by a reſpectful murmur: they gazed on the manly countenance of Julian, and obſerved with pleaſure, that the fire which ſparkled in his eyes was tempered by a modeſt bluſh, on being thus expoſed, for the firſt time, to the public view of mankind. As ſoon as the ceremony of his inveſtiture had been performed, Conſtantius addreſſed him with the tone of authority which his ſuperior age and ſtation permitted him to aſſume; and exhorting the new Cæſar to deſerve, by heroic deeds, that ſacred and immortal name, the emperor gave his colleague the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of a friendſhip which ſhould never be impaired by time, nor interrupted by their ſeparation into the moſt diſtant climates. As ſoon as the ſpeech was ended, the troops, as a token of applauſe, claſhed their ſhields againſt their knees [36]; while the officers who ſurrounded the tribunal expreſſed, with decent reſerve, their ſenſe of the merits of the repreſentative of Conſtantius.

The two princes returned to the palace in the ſame chariot; and during the ſlow proceſſion, Julian repeated to himſelf a verſe of his favourite Homer, which he might equally apply to his fortune and to his fears [37]. The four and twenty days which the Cæſar ſpent at

and declared Cæſar, A. D. 355, Nov. 6.

[35] See Ammian. Marcellin. l. xv. c. 8. Zoſimus, l. iii. p. 139. Aurelius Victor. Victor Junior in Epitom. Eutrop. x. 14.

[36] Militares omnes horrendo fragore ſcuta genibus illidentes; quod eſt proſperitatis indicium plenum; nam contra cum haſtis clypei feriuntur, iræ documentum eſt et doloris. . . . . Ammianus adds, with a nice diſtinction, Eumque ut potiori reverentia ſervaretur, nec ſupra modum laudabant neo infra quam decebat.

[37] Ελλαδι πορφυρεος θανατος, και μοιρα κραταιη. The word *purple*, which Homer had uſed as a vague but common epithet for death, was applied by Julian to expreſs, very aptly, the nature and object of his own apprehenſions.

Milan

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Milan after his inveſtiture, and the firſt months of his Gallic reign, were devoted to a ſplendid, but ſevere captivity; nor could the acquiſition of honour compenſate for the loſs of freedom [38]. His ſteps were watched, his correſpondence was intercepted; and he was obliged, by prudence, to decline the viſits of his moſt intimate friends. Of his former domeſtics, four only were permitted to attend him; two pages, his phyſician, and his librarian; the laſt of whom was employed in the care of a valuable collection of books, the gift of the empreſs, who ſtudied the inclinations as well as the intereſt of her friend. In the room of theſe faithful ſervants, an houſehold was formed, ſuch indeed as became the dignity of a Cæſar: but it was filled with a crowd of ſlaves, deſtitute, and perhaps incapable of any attachment for their new maſter, to whom, for the moſt part, they were either unknown or ſuſpected. His want of experience might require the aſſiſtance of a wiſe council; but the minute inſtructions which regulated the ſervice of his table, and the diſtribution of his hours, were adapted to a youth ſtill under the diſcipline of his præceptors, rather than to the ſituation of a prince entruſted with the conduct of an important war. If he aſpired to deſerve the eſteem of his ſubjects, he was checked by the fear of diſpleaſing his ſovereign; and even the fruits of his marriage-bed were blaſted by the jealous artifices of Euſebia [39] herſelf, who, on this

[38] He repreſents, in the moſt pathetic terms (p. 277.), the diſtreſs of his new ſituation. The proviſion for his table was however ſo elegant and ſumptuous, that the young philoſopher rejected it with diſdain. Quum legeret libellum aſſidue, quem Conſtantius ut privignum ad ſtudia mittens manû ſuâ conſcripſerat, prælicenter diſponens quid in convivio Cæſaris impendi deberet, Phaſianum, et vulvam et ſumen exigi vetuit et inferri. Ammian. Marcellin. l. xvi. c. 5.

[39] If we recollect that Conſtantine, the father of Helena, died above eighteen years before, in a mature old age, it will appear probable, that the daughter, though a virgin, could not be very young at the time of her marriage. She was ſoon afterwards delivered of a ſon, who died immediately, quòd obſtetrix corrupta mercede, mox natum præfecto

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this occaſion alone, ſeems to have been unmindful of the tenderneſs of her ſex, and the generoſity of her character. The memory of his father and of his brothers reminded Julian of his own danger, and his apprehenſions were increaſed by the recent and unworthy fate of Sylvanus. In the ſummer which preceded his own elevation, that general had been choſen to deliver Gaul from the tyranny of the Barbarians; but Sylvanus ſoon diſcovered that he had left his moſt dangerous enemies in the Imperial court. A dexterous informer, countenanced by ſeveral of the principal miniſters, procured from him ſome recommendatory letters; and erazing the whole of the contents, except the ſignature, filled up the vacant parchment with matters of high and treaſonable import. By the induſtry and courage of his friends, the fraud was however detected, and in a great council of the civil and military officers, held in the preſence of the emperor himſelf, the innocence of Sylvanus was publicly acknowledged. But the diſcovery came too late; the report of the calumny, and the haſty ſeizure of his eſtate, had already provoked the indignant chief to the rebellion of which he was ſo unjuſtly accuſed. He aſſumed the purple at his head-quarters of Cologne, and his active powers appeared to menace Italy with an invaſion, and Milan with a ſiege. In this emergency, Urſicinus, a general of equal rank, regained, by an act of treachery, the favour which he had loſt by his eminent ſervices in the Eaſt. Exaſperated, as he might ſpeciouſly allege, by injuries of a ſimilar nature, he haſtened with a few followers to join the ſtandard, and to betray the confidence, of his too credulous friend. After a reign of only twenty-eight days, Sylva-

Fatal end of Sylvanus, A. D. 355. September.

præfecto pluſquam convenerat umbilico necavit. She accompanied the emperor and empreſs in their journey to Rome, and the latter, quæſitum venenum bibere per fraudem illexit, ut quotieſcunque concepiſſet, immaturum abjiceret partum. Ammian. l. xvi. c. 10. Our phyſicians will determine whether there exiſts ſuch a poiſon. For my own part, I am inclined to hope that the public malignity imputed the effects of accident as the guilt of Euſebia.

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nus was aſſaſſinated: the ſoldiers who, without any criminal intention, had blindly followed the example of their leader, immediately returned to their allegiance: and the flatterers of Conſtantius celebrated the wiſdom and felicity of the monarch who had extinguiſhed a civil war without the hazard of a battle [40].

Conſtantius viſits Rome, A. D. 357, April 28.

The protection of the Rhætian frontier, and the perſecution of the Catholic church, detained Conſtantius in Italy above eighteen months after the departure of Julian. Before the emperor returned into the Eaſt, he indulged his pride and curioſity in a viſit to the ancient capital [41]. He proceeded from Milan to Rome along the Æmilian and Flaminian ways; and as ſoon as he approached within forty miles of the city, the march of a prince who had never vanquiſhed a foreign enemy, aſſumed the appearance of a triumphal proceſſion. His ſplendid train was compoſed of all the miniſters of luxury; but in a time of profound peace, he was encompaſſed by the glittering arms of the numerous ſquadrons of his guards and cuiraſſiers. Their ſtreaming banners of ſilk, emboſſed with gold, and ſhaped in the form of dragons, waved round the perſon of the emperor. Conſtantius ſat alone in a lofty car reſplendent with gold and precious gems; and, except when he bowed his head to paſs under the gates of the cities, he affected a ſtately demeanour of inflexible, and, as it might ſeem, of inſenſible gravity. The ſevere diſcipline of the Perſian youth had been introduced by the eunuchs into the Imperial palace; and ſuch were the habits of patience which they had inculcated, that, during a ſlow and ſultry march, he was never ſeen to move his hand towards his face, or to turn his eyes either to the right or to the left. He was received by the magiſtrates and

[40] Ammianus (xv. 5.) was perfectly well informed of the conduct and fate of Sylvanus. He himſelf was one of the few followers who attended Urſicinus in his dangerous enterpriſe.

[41] For the particulars of the viſit of Conſtantius to Rome, ſee Ammianus, l. xvi. c. 10. We have only to add, that Themiſtius was appointed deputy from Conſtantinople, and that he compoſed his fourth Oration for this ceremony.

ſenate

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ſenate of Rome; and the emperor ſurveyed, with attention, the civil honours of the republic, and the conſular images of the noble families. The ſtreets were lined with an innumerable multitude. Their repeated acclamations expreſſed their joy at beholding, after an abſence of thirty-two years, the ſacred perſon of their ſovereign; and Conſtantius himſelf expreſſed, with ſome pleaſantry, his affected ſurpriſe that the human race ſhould thus ſuddenly be collected on the ſame ſpot. The ſon of Conſtantine was lodged in the ancient palace of Auguſtus: he preſided in the ſenate, harangued the people from the tribunal which Cicero had ſo often aſcended, aſſiſted with unuſual courteſy at the games of the Circus, and accepted the crowns of gold, as well as the panegyrics which had been prepared for this ceremony by the deputies of the principal cities. His ſhort viſit of thirty days was employed in viewing the monuments of art and power, which were ſcattered over the ſeven hills and the interjacent vallies. He admired the awful majeſty of the capitol, the vaſt extent of the baths of Caracalla and Diocletian, the ſevere ſimplicity of the Pantheon, the maſſy greatneſs of the amphitheatre of Titus, the elegant architecture of the theatre of Pompey and the Temple of Peace, and, above all, the ſtately ſtructure of the Forum and column of Trajan; acknowledging, that the voice of fame, ſo prone to invent and to magnify, had made an inadequate report of the metropolis of the world. The traveller, who has contemplated the ruins of ancient Rome, may conceive ſome imperfect idea of the ſentiments which they muſt have inſpired when they reared their heads in the ſplendour of unſullied beauty.

A new obeliſk.

The ſatisfaction which Conſtantius had received from this journey excited him to the generous emulation of beſtowing on the Romans ſome memorial of his own gratitude and munificence. His firſt idea was to imitate the equeſtrian and coloſſal ſtatue which he had ſeen in the Forum of Trajan; but when he had maturely weighed

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the difficulties of the execution[42], he choſe rather to embelliſh the capital by the gift of an Egyptian obeliſk. In a remote but poliſhed age, which ſeems to have preceded the invention of alphabetical writing, a great number of theſe obeliſks had been erected, in the cities of Thebes and Heliopolis, by the ancient ſovereigns of Egypt, in a juſt confidence that the ſimplicity of their form, and the hardneſs of their ſubſtance, would reſiſt the injuries of time and violence[43]. Several of theſe extraordinary columns had been tranſported to Rome by Auguſtus and his ſucceſſors, as the moſt durable monuments of their power and victory[44]; but there remained one obeliſk, which, from its ſize or ſanctity, eſcaped for a long time the rapacious vanity of the conquerors. It was deſigned by Conſtantine to adorn his new city[45]; and, after being removed by his order from the pedeſtal where it ſtood before the Temple of the Sun at Heliopolis, was floated down the Nile to Alexandria. The death of Conſtantine ſuſpended the execution of his purpoſe, and this obeliſk was deſtined by his ſon to the ancient capital of the empire. A veſſel of uncommon ſtrength and capaciouſneſs was provided to convey this enormous weight of granite, at leaſt an hundred and fifteen feet in length, from the banks of the Nile to thoſe of the Tyber. The obeliſk of Conſtantius was landed about three miles from the city,

[42] Hormiſdas, a fugitive prince of Perſia, obſerved to the emperor, that if he made ſuch a horſe, he muſt think of preparing a ſimilar ſtable (the Forum of Trajan). Another ſaying of Hormiſdas is recorded, "that "one thing only had *diſpleaſed* him, to find "that men died at Rome as well as elſe-"where." If we adopt this reading of the text of Ammianus (*diſplicuiſſe* inſtead of *placuiſſe*), we may conſider it as a reproof of Roman vanity. The contrary ſenſe would be that of a miſanthrope.

[43] When Germanicus viſited the ancient monuments of Thebes, the eldeſt of the prieſts explained to him the meaning of theſe hieroglyphics. Tacit. Annal. ii. c. 60. But it ſeems probable, that before the uſeful invention of an alphabet, theſe natural or arbitrary ſigns were the common characters of the Egyptian nation. See Warburton's Divine Legation of Moſes, vol. iii. p. 69—243.

[44] See Plin. Hiſt. Natur. l. xxxvi. c. 14, 15.

[45] Ammian. Marcellin. l. xvii. c. 4. He gives us a Greek interpretation of the hieroglyphics, and his commentator Lindenbrogius adds a Latin inſcription, which, in twenty verſes of the age of Conſtantius, contain a ſhort hiſtory of the obeliſk.

and

and elevated, by the efforts of art and labour, in the great Circus of Rome [46].

The Quadian and Sarmatian war, A. D. 357, 358, 359.

The departure of Conſtantius from Rome was haſtened by the alarming intelligence of the diſtreſs and danger of the Illyrian provinces. The diſtractions of civil war, and the irreparable loſs which the Roman legions had ſuſtained in the battle of Murſa, expoſed thoſe countries, almoſt without defence, to the light cavalry of the Barbarians; and particularly to the inroads of the Quadi, a fierce and powerful nation, who ſeem to have exchanged the inſtitutions of Germany for the arms and military arts of their Sarmatian allies [47]. The garriſons of the frontier were inſufficient to check their progreſs; and the indolent monarch was at length compelled to aſſemble, from the extremities of his dominions, the flower of the Palatine troops, to take the field in perſon, and to employ a whole campaign, with the preceding autumn and the enſuing ſpring, in the ſerious proſecution of the war. The emperor paſſed the Danube on a bridge of boats, cut in pieces all that encountered his march, penetrated into the heart of the country of the Quadi, and ſeverely retaliated the calamities which they had inflicted on the Roman province. The diſmayed Barbarians were ſoon reduced to ſue for peace: they offered the reſtitution of his captive ſubjects, as an atonement for the paſt, and the nobleſt hoſtages as a pledge of their future conduct. The generous courteſy which was ſhewn to the firſt among their chieftains who implored the clemency of Conſtantius, encouraged the more timid, or the more obſtinate, to imitate their example; and the Imperial camp was crowded with the princes and ambaſſadors of the moſt diſtant tribes, who occupied the plains of the Leſſer Poland,

[46] See Donat. Roma Antiqua, l. iii. c. 14. l. iv. c. 12. and the learned, though confuſed, Diſſertation of Bargæus on Obeliſks, inſerted in the fourth volume of Grævius's Roman Antiquities, p. 1897—1936. This Diſſertation is dedicated to pope Sixtus V. who erected the obeliſk of Conſtantius in the ſquare before the patriarchal church of St. John Lateran.

[47] The events of this Quadian and Sarmatian war are related by Ammianus, xvi. 10. xvii. 12, 13. xix. 11.

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and who might have deemed themſelves ſecure behind the lofty ridge of the Carpathian mountains. While Conſtantius gave laws to the Barbarians beyond the Danube, he diſtinguiſhed with ſpecious compaſſion the Sarmatian exiles, who had been expelled from their native country by the rebellion of their ſlaves, and who formed a very conſiderable acceſſion to the power of the Quadi. The emperor, embracing a generous but artful ſyſtem of policy, releaſed the Sarmatians from the bands of this humiliating dependence, and reſtored them, by a ſeparate treaty, to the dignity of a nation united under the government of a king, the friend and ally of the republic. He declared his reſolution of aſſerting the juſtice of their cauſe, and of ſecuring the peace of the provinces by the extirpation, or at leaſt the baniſhment, of the Limigantes, whoſe manners were ſtill infected with the vices of their ſervile origin. The execution of this deſign was attended with more difficulty than glory. The territory of the Limigantes was protected againſt the Romans by the Danube, againſt the hoſtile Barbarians by the Teyſs. The marſhy lands which lay between thoſe rivers, and were often covered by their inundations, formed an intricate wilderneſs, pervious only to the inhabitants, who were acquainted with its ſecret paths and inacceſſible fortreſſes. On the approach of Conſtantius, the Limigantes tried the efficacy of prayers, of fraud, and of arms; but he ſternly rejected their ſupplications, defeated their rude ſtratagems, and repelled with ſkill and firmneſs the efforts of their irregular valour. One of their moſt warlike tribes, eſtabliſhed in a ſmall iſland towards the conflux of the Teyſs and the Danube, conſented to paſs the river with the intention of ſurpriſing the emperor during the ſecurity of an amicable conference. They ſoon became the victims of the perfidy which they meditated. Encompaſſed on every ſide, trampled down by the cavalry, ſlaughtered by the ſwords of the legions, they diſdained to aſk for mercy; and with an undaunted countenance ſtill graſped their weapons

weapons in the agonies of death. After this victory a conſiderable body of Romans was landed on the oppoſite banks of the Danube; the Taifalæ, a Gothic tribe engaged in the ſervice of the empire, invaded the Limigantes on the ſide of the Teyſs; and their former maſters, the free Sarmatians, animated by hope and revenge, penetrated through the hilly country into the heart of their ancient poſſeſſions. A general conflagration revealed the huts of the Barbarians, which were ſeated in the depth of the wilderneſs; and the ſoldier fought with confidence on marſhy ground, which it was dangerous for him to tread. In this extremity the braveſt of the Limigantes were reſolved to die in arms, rather than to yield: but the milder ſentiment, enforced by the authority of their elders, at length prevailed; and the ſuppliant crowd, followed by their wives and children, repaired to the Imperial camp, to learn their fate from the mouth of the conqueror. After celebrating his own clemency, which was ſtill inclined to pardon their repeated crimes, and to ſpare the remnant of a guilty nation, Conſtantius aſſigned for the place of their exile a remote country, where they might enjoy a ſafe and honourable repoſe. The Limigantes obeyed with reluctance; but before they could reach, at leaſt before they could occupy, their deſtined habitations, they returned to the banks of the Danube, exaggerating the hardſhips of their ſituation, and requeſting, with fervent profeſſions of fidelity, that the emperor would grant them an undiſturbed ſettlement within the limits of the Roman provinces. Inſtead of conſulting his own experience of their incurable perfidy, Conſtantius liſtened to his flatterers, who were ready to repreſent the honour and advantage of accepting a colony of ſoldiers, at a time when it was much eaſier to obtain the pecuniary contributions than the military ſervice of the ſubjects of the empire. The Limigantes were permitted to paſs the Danube; and the emperor gave audience to the multitude in a large plain near the modern city of Buda.

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They ſurrounded the tribunal, and ſeemed to hear with reſpect an oration full of mildneſs and dignity; when one of the Barbarians, caſting his ſhoe into the air, exclaimed with a loud voice, *Marha! Marha!* a word of defiance, which was received as the ſignal of the tumult. They ruſhed with fury to ſeize the perſon of the emperor; his royal throne and golden couch were pillaged by theſe rude hands; but the faithful defence of his guards, who died at his feet, allowed him a moment to mount a fleet horſe, and to eſcape from the confuſion. The diſgrace which had been incurred by a treacherous ſurpriſe was ſoon retrieved by the numbers and diſcipline of the Romans; and the combat was only terminated by the extinction of the name and nation of the Limigantes. The free Sarmatians were reinſtated in the poſſeſſion of their ancient ſeats; and although Conſtantius diſtruſted the levity of their character, he entertained ſome hopes that a ſenſe of gratitude might influence their future conduct. He had remarked the lofty ſtature and obſequious demeanour of Zizais, one of the nobleſt of their chiefs. He conferred on him the title of King; and Zizais proved that he was not unworthy to reign, by a ſincere and laſting attachment to the intereſt of his benefactor, who, after this ſplendid ſucceſs, received the name of *Sarmaticus* from the acclamations of his victorious army [48].

The Perſian negociation, A. D. 358.

While the Roman emperor and the Perſian monarch, at the diſtance of three thouſand miles, defended their extreme limits againſt the Barbarians of the Danube and of the Oxus, their intermediate frontier experienced the viciſſitudes of a languid war, and a precarious truce. Two of the eaſtern miniſters of Conſtantius, the Prætorian præfect Muſonian, whoſe abilities were diſgraced by the want

[48] Genti Sarmatarum magno decori confidens apud eos regem dedit. Aurelius Victor. In a pompous oration pronounced by Conſtantius himſelf, he expatiates on his own exploits with much vanity, and ſome truth.

of truth and integrity, and Caſſian duke of Meſopotamia, a hardy and veteran ſoldier, opened a ſecret negociation with the Satrap Tamſapor[49]. Theſe overtures of peace, tranſlated into the ſervile and flattering language of Aſia, were tranſmitted to the camp of the Great King; who reſolved to ſignify, by an ambaſſador, the terms which he was inclined to grant to the ſuppliant Romans. Narſes, whom he inveſted with that character, was honourably received in his paſſage through Antioch and Conſtantinople: he reached Sirmium after a long journey, and, at his firſt audience, reſpectfully unfolded the ſilken veil which covered the haughty epiſtle of his ſovereign. Sapor, King of Kings, and Brother of the Sun and Moon (ſuch were the lofty titles affected by Oriental vanity), expreſſed his ſatisfaction that his brother, Conſtantius Cæſar, had been taught wiſdom by adverſity. As the lawful ſucceſſor of Darius Hyſtaſpes, Sapor aſſerted, that the river Strymon in Macedonia was the true and ancient boundary of his empire; declaring, however, that as an evidence of his moderation, he would content himſelf with the provinces of Armenia and Meſopotamia, which had been fraudulently extorted from his anceſtors. He alleged, that, without the reſtitution of theſe diſputed countries, it was impoſſible to eſtabliſh any treaty on a ſolid and permanent baſis; and he arrogantly threatened, that if his ambaſſador returned in vain, he was prepared to take the field in the ſpring, and to ſupport the juſtice of his cauſe by the ſtrength of his invincible arms. Narſes, who was endowed with the moſt polite and amiable manners, endeavoured, as far as was conſiſtent with his duty, to ſoften the harſhneſs of the meſſage[50]. Both the ſtyle and ſubſtance were maturely weighed

[49] Ammian. xvi. 9.

[50] Ammianus (xvii. 5.) tranſcribes the haughty letter. Themiſtius (Orat. iv. p. 57. edit. Petav.) takes notice of the ſilk covering. Idatius and Zonaras mention the journey of the ambaſſador; and Peter the Patrician (in Excerpt. Legat. p. 28.) has informed us of his conciliating behaviour.

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in the Imperial council, and he was dismissed with the following answer: "Constantius had a right to disclaim the officiousness of "his ministers, who had acted without any specific orders from "the throne: he was not, however, averse to an equal and ho-"nourable treaty; but it was highly indecent, as well as absurd, to "propose to the sole and victorious emperor of the Roman world, "the same conditions of peace which he had indignantly rejected at "the time when his power was contracted within the narrow limits "of the East: the chance of arms was uncertain; and Sapor should "recollect, that if the Romans had sometimes been vanquished in "battle, they had almost always been successful in the event of the "war." A few days after the departure of Narses, three ambassadors were sent to the court of Sapor, who was already returned from the Scythian expedition to his ordinary residence of Ctesiphon. A count, a notary, and a sophist, had been selected for this important commission; and Constantius, who was secretly anxious for the conclusion of the peace, entertained some hopes that the dignity of the first of these ministers, the dexterity of the second, and the rhetoric of the third [51], would persuade the Persian monarch to abate of the rigour of his demands. But the progress of their negociation was opposed and defeated by the hostile arts of Antoninus [52], a Roman subject of Syria, who had fled from oppression, and was admitted into the councils of Sapor, and even to the royal table, where, according to the custom of the Persians, the most important business

[51] Ammianus, xvii. 5. and Valesius ad loc. The sophist, or philosopher (in that age these words were almost synonymous), was Eustathius the Cappadocian, the disciple of Jamblichus, and the friend of St. Basil. Eunapius (in Vit. Ædesii, p. 44—47.) fondly attributes to this philosophic ambassador the glory of enchanting the Barbarian king by the persuasive charms of reason and eloquence. See Tillemont, Hist. des Empereurs, tom. iv. p. 828. 1132.

[52] Ammian. xviii. 5, 6. 8. The decent and respectful behaviour of Antoninus towards the Roman general sets him in a very interesting light; and Ammianus himself speaks of the traitor with some compassion and esteem.

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was frequently diſcuſſed [53]. The dexterous fugitive promoted his intereſt by the ſame conduct which gratified his revenge. He inceſſantly urged the ambition of his new maſter, to embrace the favourable opportunity when the braveſt of the Palatine troops were employed with the emperor in a diſtant war on the Danube. He preſſed Sapor to invade the exhauſted and defenceleſs provinces of the Eaſt, with the numerous armies of Perſia, now fortified by the alliance and acceſſion of the fierceſt Barbarians. The ambaſſadors of Rome retired without ſucceſs, and a ſecond embaſſy, of a ſtill more honourable rank, was detained in ſtrict confinement, and threatened either with death or exile.

Invaſion of Meſopotamia by Sapor, A. D. 359.

The military hiſtorian [54], who was himſelf diſpatched to obſerve the army of the Perſians, as they were preparing to conſtruct a bridge of boats over the Tigris, beheld from an eminence the plain of Aſſyria, as far as the edge of the horizon, covered with men, with horſes, and with arms. Sapor appeared in the front, conſpicuous by the ſplendour of his purple. On his left hand, the place of honour among the Orientals, Grumbates, king of the Chionites, diſplayed the ſtern countenance of an aged and renowned warrior. The monarch had reſerved a ſimilar place on his right hand for the king of the Albanians, who led his independent tribes from the ſhores of the Caſpian. The ſatraps and generals were diſtributed according to their ſeveral ranks, and the whole army, beſides the numerous train of Oriental luxury, conſiſted of more than one hundred thouſand effective men, inured to fatigue, and ſelected from the braveſt nations of Aſia. The Roman deſerter, who in ſome meaſure guided the councils of Sapor, had prudently adviſed, that,

[53] This circumſtance, as it is noticed by Ammianus, ſerves to prove the veracity of Herodotus (l. i. c. 133.), and the permanency of the Perſian manners. In every age the Perſians have been addicted to intemperance, and the wines of Shiraz have triumphed over the law of Mahomet. Briſſon de Regno Perſ. l. ii. p. 462—472. and Chardin, Voyages en Perſe, tom. iii. p. 90.

[54] Ammian. l. xviii. 6, 7, 8. 10.

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inſtead of waſting the ſummer in tedious and difficult ſieges, he ſhould march directly to the Euphrates, and preſs forwards without delay to ſeize the feeble and wealthy metropolis of Syria. But the Perſians were no ſooner advanced into the plains of Meſopotamia, than they diſcovered that every precaution had been uſed which could retard their progreſs, or defeat their deſign. The inhabitants, with their cattle, were ſecured in places of ſtrength; the green forage throughout the country was ſet on fire; the fords of the river were fortified by ſharp ſtakes; military engines were planted on the oppoſite banks, and a ſeaſonable ſwell of the waters of the Euphrates deterred the Barbarians from attempting the ordinary paſſage of the bridge of Thapſacus. Their ſkilful guide, changing his plan of operations, then conducted the army by a longer circuit, but through a fertile territory, towards the head of the Euphrates, where the infant river is reduced to a ſhallow and acceſſible ſtream. Sapor overlooked, with prudent diſdain, the ſtrength of Niſibis; but as he paſſed under the walls of Amida, he reſolved to try whether the majeſty of his preſence would not awe the garriſon into immediate ſubmiſſion. The ſacrilegious inſult of a random dart, which glanced againſt the royal tiara, convinced him of his error; and the indignant monarch liſtened with impatience to the advice of his miniſters, who conjured him not to ſacrifice the ſucceſs of his ambition to the gratification of his reſentment. The following day Grumbates advanced towards the gates with a ſelect body of troops, and required the inſtant ſurrender of the city, as the only atonement which could be accepted for ſuch an act of raſhneſs and inſolence. His propoſals were anſwered by a general diſcharge, and his only ſon, a beautiful and valiant youth, was pierced through the heart by a javelin, ſhot from one of the baliſtæ. The funeral of the prince of the Chionites was celebrated according to the rites of his country; and the grief of his aged father was alleviated by the ſolemn promiſe of

Sapor,

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Sapor, that the guilty city of Amida ſhould ſerve as a funeral pile to expiate the death, and to perpetuate the memory, of his ſon.

Siege of Amida.

The ancient city of Amid or Amida [55], which ſometimes aſſumes the provincial appellation of Diarbekir [56], is advantageouſly ſituate in a fertile plain, watered by the natural and artificial channels of the Tigris, of which the leaſt inconſiderable ſtream bends in a ſemicircular form round the eaſtern part of the city. The emperor Conſtantius had recently conferred on Amida the honour of his own name, and the additional fortifications of ſtrong walls and lofty towers. It was provided with an arſenal of military engines, and the ordinary garriſon had been reinforced to the amount of ſeven legions, when the place was inveſted by the arms of Sapor [57]. His firſt and moſt ſanguine hopes depended on the ſucceſs of a general aſſault. To the ſeveral nations which followed his ſtandard their reſpective poſts were aſſigned; the ſouth to the Vertæ, the north to the Albanians, the eaſt to the Chionites, inflamed with grief and indignation; the weſt to the Segeſtans, the braveſt of his warriors, who covered their front with a formidable line of Indian elephants [58]. The Perſians, on every ſide, ſupported their efforts, and animated

[55] For the deſcription of Amida, ſee d'Herbelot, Bibliotheque Orientale, p. 108. Hiſtoire de Timur Bec, par Chereſeddin Ali, l. iii. c. 41. Ahmed Arabſiades, tom. i. p. 331. c. 43. Voyages de Tavernier, tom. i. p. 301. Voyages d'Otter, tom. ii. p. 273. and Voyages de Niebuhr, tom. ii. p. 324—328. The laſt of theſe travellers, a learned and accurate Dane, has given a plan of Amida, which illuſtrates the operations of the ſiege.

[56] Diarbekir, which is ſtyled Amid, or Kara-Amid, in the public writings of the Turks, contains above 16,000 houſes, and is the reſidence of a paſha with three tails. The epithet of *Kara* is derived from the *blackneſs* of the ſtone which compoſes the ſtrong and ancient wall of Amida.

[57] The operations of the ſiege of Amida are very minutely deſcribed by Ammianus (xix. 1—9.), who acted an honourable part in the defence, and eſcaped with difficulty when the city was ſtormed by the Perſians.

[58] Of theſe four nations, the Albanians are too well known to require any deſcription. The Segeſtans inhabited a large and level country, which ſtill preſerves their name, to the ſouth of Khoraſan, and the weſt of Hindoſtan (See Geographia Nubienſis, p. 133. and d'Herbelot, Bibliotheque Orientale, p. 797.). Notwithſtanding the boaſted victory of Bahram (vol. i. p. 410.), the Segeſtans, above fourſcore years afterwards, appear as an independent nation, the ally of Perſia. We are ignorant of the ſituation of the Vertæ and Chionites, but I am inclined to place them (at leaſt the latter) towards the confines of India and Scythia. See Ammian. xvi. 9.

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their courage; and the monarch himſelf, careleſs of his rank and ſafety, diſplayed, in the proſecution of the ſiege, the ardour of a youthful ſoldier. After an obſtinate combat the Barbarians were repulſed; they inceſſantly returned to the charge; they were again driven back with a dreadful ſlaughter, and two rebel legions of Gauls, who had been baniſhed into the Eaſt, ſignalized their undiſciplined courage by a nocturnal ſally into the heart of the Perſian camp. In one of the fierceſt of theſe repeated aſſaults, Amida was betrayed by the treachery of a deſerter, who indicated to the Barbarians a ſecret and neglected ſtaircaſe, ſcooped out of the rock that hangs over the ſtream of the Tigris. Seventy choſen archers of the royal guard aſcended in ſilence to the third ſtory of a lofty tower which commanded the precipice; they elevated on high the Perſian banner, the ſignal of confidence to the aſſailants, and of diſmay to the beſieged; and if this devoted band could have maintained their poſt a few minutes longer, the reduction of the place might have been purchaſed by the ſacrifice of their lives. After Sapor had tried, without ſucceſs, the efficacy of force and of ſtratagem, he had recourſe to the ſlower but more certain operations of a regular ſiege, in the conduct of which he was inſtructed by the ſkill of the Roman deſerters. The trenches were opened at a convenient diſtance, and the troops deſtined for that ſervice advanced under the portable cover of ſtrong hurdles, to fill up the ditch, and undermine the foundations of the walls. Wooden towers were at the ſame time conſtructed, and moved forwards on wheels, till the ſoldiers, who were provided with every ſpecies of miſſile weapons, could engage almoſt on level ground with the troops who defended the rampart. Every mode of reſiſtance which art could ſuggeſt, or courage could execute, was employed in the defence of Amida, and the works of Sapor were more than once deſtroyed by the fire of the Romans. But the reſources of a beſieged city may be exhauſted. The Perſians repaired their loſſes, and puſhed

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puſhed their approaches; a large breach was made by the battering-ram, and the ſtrength of the garriſon, waſted by the ſword and by diſeaſe, yielded to the fury of the aſſault. The ſoldiers, the citizens, their wives, their children, all who had not time to eſcape through the oppoſite gate, were involved by the conquerors in a promiſcuous maſſacre.

Of Singara, &c. A. D. 360.

But the ruin of Amida was the ſafety of the Roman provinces. As ſoon as the firſt tranſports of victory had ſubſided, Sapor was at leiſure to reflect, that to chaſtiſe a diſobedient city, he had loſt the flower of his troops, and the moſt favourable ſeaſon for conqueſt [59]. Thirty thouſand of his veterans had fallen under the walls of Amida, during the continuance of a ſiege which laſted ſeventy-three days; and the diſappointed monarch returned to his capital with affected triumph and ſecret mortification. It is more than probable, that the inconſtancy of his Barbarian allies was tempted to relinquiſh a war in which they had encountered ſuch unexpected difficulties; and that the aged king of the Chionites, ſatiated with revenge, turned away with horror from a ſcene of action where he had been deprived of the hope of his family and nation. The ſtrength as well as ſpirit of the army with which Sapor took the field in the enſuing ſpring, was no longer equal to the unbounded views of his ambition. Inſtead of aſpiring to the conqueſt of the Eaſt, he was obliged to content himſelf with the reduction of two fortified cities of Meſopotamia,

[59] Ammianus has marked the chronology of this year by three ſigns, which do not perfectly coincide with each other, or with the ſeries of the hiſtory. 1. The corn was ripe when Sapor invaded Meſopotamia; "Cum "jam ſtipulâ flavente turgerent;" a circumſtance which, in the latitude of Aleppo, would naturally refer us to the month of April or May. See Harmer's Obſervations on Scripture, vol. i. p. 41. Shaw's Travels, p. 335. edit. 4to. 2. The progreſs of Sapor was checked by the overflowing of the Euphrates, which generally happens in July and Auguſt. Plin. Hiſt. Nat. v. 21. Viaggi di Pietro della Valle, tom. i. p. 696. 3. When Sapor had taken Amida, after a ſiege of ſeventy-three days, the autumn was far advanced: "Au-"tumno precipiti hædorumque improbo ſidere "exorto." To reconcile theſe apparent contradictions, we muſt allow for ſome delay in the Perſian king, ſome inaccuracy in the hiſtorian, and ſome diſorder in the ſeaſons.

Singara

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Singara and Bezabde[60]; the one ſituate in the midſt of a ſandy deſert, the other in a ſmall peninſula, ſurrounded almoſt on every ſide by the deep and rapid ſtream of the Tigris. Five Roman legions, of the diminutive ſize to which they had been reduced in the age of Conſtantine, were made priſoners, and ſent into remote captivity on the extreme confines of Perſia. After diſmantling the walls of Singara, the conqueror abandoned that ſolitary and ſequeſtered place; but he carefully reſtored the fortifications of Bezabde, and fixed in that important poſt a garriſon or colony of veterans; amply ſupplied with every means of defence, and animated by high ſentiments of honour and fidelity. Towards the cloſe of the campaign, the arms of Sapor incurred ſome diſgrace by an unſucceſsful enterpriſe againſt Virtha, or Tecrit, a ſtrong, or, as it was univerſally eſteemed till the age of Tamerlane, an impregnable fortreſs of the independent Arabs[61].

Conduct of the Romans.

The defence of the Eaſt againſt the arms of Sapor, required and would have exerciſed the abilities of the moſt conſummate general; and it ſeemed fortunate for the ſtate, that it was the actual province of the brave Urſicinus, who alone deſerved the confidence of the ſoldiers and people. In the hour of danger, Urſicinus[62] was removed from his ſtation by the intrigues of the eunuchs; and the military command of the Eaſt was beſtowed, by the ſame influence, on Sabinian, a wealthy and ſubtle veteran, who had attained the infirmities, without acquiring the experience, of age. By a ſecond order, which iſſued from the ſame jealous and inconſtant counſels, Urſicinus was

[60] The account of theſe ſieges is given by Ammianus, xx. 6, 7.

[61] For the identity of Virtha and Tecrit, ſee d'Anville, Geographie Ancienne, tom. ii. p. 201. For the ſiege of that caſtle by Timur Bec, or Tamerlane, ſee Cherefeddin, l. iii. c. 33. The Perſian biographer exaggerates the merit and difficulty of this exploit, which delivered the caravans of Bagdad from a formidable gang of robbers.

[62] Ammianus (xviii. 5, 6. xix. 3. xx. 2.) repreſents the merit and diſgrace of Urſicinus with that faithful attention which a ſoldier owed to his general. Some partiality may be ſuſpected, yet the whole account is conſiſtent and probable.

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again diſpatched to the frontier of Meſopotamia, and condemned to ſuſtain the labours of a war, the honours of which had been tranſferred to his unworthy rival. Sabinian fixed his indolent ſtation under the walls of Edeſſa, and while he amuſed himſelf with the idle parade of military exerciſe, and moved to the ſound of flutes in the Pyrrhic dance, the public defence was abandoned to the boldneſs and diligence of the former general of the Eaſt. But whenever Urſicinus recommended any vigorous plan of operations; when he propoſed, at the head of a light and active army, to wheel round the foot of the mountains, to intercept the convoys of the enemy, to haraſs the wide extent of the Perſian lines, and to relieve the diſtreſs of Amida; the timid and envious commander alleged, that he was reſtrained by his poſitive orders from endangering the ſafety of the troops. Amida was at length taken; its braveſt defenders, who had eſcaped the ſword of the Barbarians, died in the Roman camp by the hand of the executioner; and Urſicinus himſelf, after ſupporting the diſgrace of a partial enquiry, was puniſhed for the miſconduct of Sabinian by the loſs of his military rank. But Conſtantius ſoon experienced the truth of the prediction which honeſt indignation had extorted from his injured lieutenant, that as long as ſuch maxims of government were ſuffered to prevail, the emperor himſelf would find it no eaſy taſk to defend his Eaſtern dominions from the invaſion of a foreign enemy. When he had ſubdued or pacified the Barbarians of the Danube, Conſtantius proceeded by ſlow marches into the Eaſt; and after he had wept over the ſmoking ruins of Amida, he formed, with a powerful army, the ſiege of Bezabde. The walls were ſhaken by the reiterated efforts of the moſt enormous of the battering-rams; the town was reduced to the laſt extremity; but it was ſtill defended by the patient and intrepid valour of the garriſon, till the approach of the rainy ſeaſon obliged the emperor to raiſe the ſiege, and ingloriouſly to retreat into his winter-

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quarters at Antioch [63]. The pride of Conſtantius, and the ingenuity of his courtiers, were at a loſs to diſcover any materials for panegyric in the events of the Perſian war; while the glory of his couſin Julian, to whoſe military command he had entruſted the provinces of Gaul, was proclaimed to the world in the ſimple and conciſe narrative of his exploits.

Invaſion of Gaul by the Germans.

In the blind fury of civil diſcord, Conſtantius had abandoned to the Barbarians of Germany the countries of Gaul, which ſtill acknowledged the authority of his rival. A numerous ſwarm of Franks and Alemanni were invited to croſs the Rhine by preſents and promiſes, by the hopes of ſpoil, and by a perpetual grant of all the territories which they ſhould be able to ſubdue [64]. But the emperor, who for a temporary ſervice had thus imprudently provoked the rapacious ſpirit of the Barbarians, ſoon diſcovered and lamented the difficulty of diſmiſſing theſe formidable allies, after they had taſted the richneſs of the Roman ſoil. Regardleſs of the nice diſtinction of loyalty and rebellion, theſe undiſciplined robbers treated as their natural enemies all the ſubjects of the empire, who poſſeſſed any property which they were deſirous of acquiring. Forty-five flouriſhing cities, Tongres, Cologne, Treves, Worms, Spires, Straſburgh, &c. beſides a far greater number of towns and villages, were pillaged, and for the moſt part reduced to aſhes. The Barbarians of Germany, ſtill faithful to the maxims of their anceſtors, abhorred the confinement of walls, to which they applied the odious names of priſons and ſepulchres; and fixing their independent habitations on the banks of rivers, the Rhine, the Moſelle, and

[63] Ammian. xx. 11. Omiſſo vano incepto, hiematurus Antiochiæ redit in Syriam ærumnoſam, perpeſſus et ulcerum ſed et atrocia, diuque deflenda. It is *thus* that James Gronovius has reſtored an obſcure paſſage; and he thinks that this correction alone would have deſerved a new edition of his author; whoſe ſenſe may now be darkly perceived. I expected ſome additional light from the recent labours of the learned Erneſtus (Lipſiæ, 1773).

[64] The ravages of the Germans, and the diſtreſs of Gaul, may be collected from Julian himſelf. Orat. ad S. P. Q. Athen. p. 277. Ammian. xv. 11. Libanius, Orat. x. Zoſimus, l. iii. p. 140. Sozomen, l. iii. c. 1.

the

the Meuſe, they ſecured themſelves againſt the danger of a ſurpriſe, by a rude and haſty fortification of large trees, which were felled and thrown acroſs the roads. The Alemanni were eſtabliſhed in the modern countries of Alſace and Lorraine; the Franks occupied the iſland of the Batavians, together with an extenſive diſtrict of Brabant, which was then known by the appellation of Toxandria [65], and may deſerve to be conſidered as the original ſeat of their Gallic monarchy [66]. From the ſources, to the mouth, of the Rhine, the conqueſts of the Germans extended above forty miles to the weſt of that river, over a country peopled by colonies of their own name and nation; and the ſcene of their devaſtations was three times more extenſive than that of their conqueſts. At a ſtill greater diſtance the open towns of Gaul were deſerted, and the inhabitants of the fortified cities, who truſted to their ſtrength and vigilance, were obliged to content themſelves with ſuch ſupplies of corn as they could raiſe on the vacant land within the incloſure of their walls. The diminiſhed legions, deſtitute of pay and proviſions, of arms and diſcipline, trembled at the approach, and even at the name, of the Barbarians.

Conduct of Julian.

Under theſe melancholy circumſtances, an unexperienced youth was appointed to ſave and to govern the provinces of Gaul, or rather, as he expreſſes it himſelf, to exhibit the vain image of Imperial greatneſs. The retired ſcholaſtic education of Julian, in which he

[65] Ammianus, xvi. 8. This name ſeems to be derived from the Toxandri of Pliny, and very frequently occurs in the hiſtories of the middle age. Toxandria was a country of woods and moraſſes, which extended from the neighbourhood of Tongres to the conflux of the Vahal and the Rhine. See Valeſius, Notit. Galliar. p. 558.

[66] The paradox of P. Daniel, that the Franks never obtained any permanent ſettlement on this ſide of the Rhine before the time of Clovis, is refuted with much learning and good ſenſe by M. Biet, who has proved, by a chain of evidence, their uninterrupted poſſeſſion of Toxandria one hundred and thirty years before the acceſſion of Clovis. The Diſſertation of M. Biet was crowned by the Academy of Soiſſons, in the year 1736, and ſeems to have been juſtly preferred to the diſcourſe of his more celebrated competitor, the Abbé le Bœuf, an antiquarian whoſe name was happily expreſſive of his talents.

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had been more converſant with books than with arms, with the dead than with the living, left him in profound ignorance of the practical arts of war and government; and when he awkwardly repeated ſome military exerciſe which it was neceſſary for him to learn, he exclaimed with a ſigh, "O Plato, Plato, what a taſk for a philoſo-"pher!" Yet even this ſpeculative philoſophy, which men of buſineſs are too apt to deſpiſe, had filled the mind of Julian with the nobleſt precepts, and the moſt ſhining examples; had animated him with the love of virtue, the deſire of fame, and the contempt of death. The habits of temperance recommended in the ſchools, are ſtill more eſſential in the ſevere diſcipline of a camp. The ſimple wants of nature regulated the meaſure of his food and ſleep. Rejecting with diſdain the delicacies provided for his table, he ſatisfied his appetite with the coarſe and common fare which was allotted to the meaneſt ſoldiers. During the rigour of a Gallic winter, he never ſuffered a fire in his bed-chamber; and after a ſhort and interrupted ſlumber, he frequently roſe in the middle of the night from a carpet ſpread on the floor, to diſpatch any urgent buſineſs, to viſit his rounds, or to ſteal a few moments for the proſecution of his favourite ſtudies [67]. The precepts of eloquence, which he had hitherto practiſed on fancied topics of declamation, were more uſefully applied to excite or to aſſuage the paſſions of an armed multitude: and although Julian, from his early habits of converſation and literature, was more familiarly acquainted with the beauties of the Greek language, he had attained a competent knowledge of the Latin tongue [68]. Since Julian was not originally deſigned for the character of a legiſlator,

[67] The private life of Julian in Gaul, and the ſevere diſcipline which he embraced, are diſplayed by Ammianus (xvi. 5.), who profeſſes to praiſe, and by Julian himſelf, who affects to ridicule (Miſopogon, p. 340.), a conduct, which, in a prince of the houſe of Conſtantine, might juſtly excite the ſurpriſe of mankind.

[68] Aderat Latine quoque differenti ſufficiens ſermo. Ammianus, xvi. 5. But Julian, educated in the ſchools of Greece, always conſidered the language of the Romans as a foreign and popular dialect, which he might uſe on neceſſary occaſions.

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or a judge, it is probable that the civil juriſprudence of the Romans had not engaged any conſiderable ſhare of his attention: but he derived from his philoſophic ſtudies an inflexible regard for juſtice, tempered by a diſpoſition to clemency; the knowledge of the general principles of equity and evidence, and the faculty of patiently inveſtigating the moſt intricate and tedious queſtions which could be propoſed for his diſcuſſion. The meaſures of policy, and the operations of war, muſt ſubmit to the various accidents of circumſtance and character, and the unpractiſed ſtudent will often be perplexed in the application of the moſt perfect theory. But in the acquiſition of this important ſcience, Julian was aſſiſted by the active vigour of his own genius, as well as by the wiſdom and experience of Salluſt, an officer of rank, who ſoon conceived a ſincere attachment for a prince ſo worthy of his friendſhip; and whoſe incorruptible integrity was adorned by the talent of inſinuating the harſheſt truths, without wounding the delicacy of a royal ear [69].

His firſt campaign in Gaul, A. D. 356.

Immediately after Julian had received the purple at Milan, he was ſent into Gaul with a feeble retinue of three hundred and ſixty ſoldiers. At Vienna, where he paſſed a painful and anxious winter, in the hands of thoſe miniſters to whom Conſtantius had entruſted the direction of his conduct, the Cæſar was informed of the ſiege and deliverance of Autun. That large and ancient city, protected only by a ruined wall and puſillanimous garriſon, was ſaved by the generous reſolution of a few veterans, who reſumed their arms for the defence of their country. In his march from Autun, through the heart of the Gallic provinces, Julian embraced with ardour the earlieſt opportunity of ſignalizing his courage. At

[69] We are ignorant of the actual office of this excellent miniſter, whom Julian afterwards created præfect of Gaul. Salluſt was ſpeedily recalled by the jealouſy of the emperor; and we may ſtill read a ſenſible but pedantic diſcourſe (p. 240—252.), in which Julian deplores the loſs of ſo valuable a friend, to whom he acknowledges himſelf indebted for his reputation. See La Bleterie, Preface à la Vie de Jovien, p. 20.

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the head of a ſmall body of archers, and heavy cavalry, he preferred the ſhorter but the more dangerous of two roads; and ſometimes eluding, and ſometimes reſiſting, the attacks of the Barbarians, who were maſters of the field, he arrived with honour and ſafety at the camp near Rheims, where the Roman troops had been ordered to aſſemble. The aſpect of their young prince revived the drooping ſpirit of the ſoldiers, and they marched from Rheims in ſearch of the enemy, with a confidence which had almoſt proved fatal to them. The Alemanni, familiarized to the knowledge of the country, ſecretly collected their ſcattered forces, and ſeizing the opportunity of a dark and rainy day, poured with unexpected fury on the rear-guard of the Romans. Before the inevitable diſorder could be remedied, two legions were deſtroyed; and Julian was taught by experience, that caution and vigilance are the moſt important leſſons of the art of war. In a ſecond and more ſucceſsful action, he recovered and eſtabliſhed his military fame; but as the agility of the Barbarians ſaved them from the purſuit, his victory was neither bloody nor deciſive. He advanced, however, to the banks of the Rhine, ſurveyed the ruins of Cologne, convinced himſelf of the difficulties of the war, and retreated on the approach of winter, diſcontented with the court, with his army, and with his own ſucceſs[70]. The power of the enemy was yet unbroken; and the Cæſar had no ſooner ſeparated his troops, and fixed his own quarters at Sens, in the centre of Gaul, than he was ſurrounded and beſieged by a numerous hoſt of Germans. Reduced in this extremity to the reſources of his own mind, he diſplayed a prudent intrepidity which compenſated for all the deficiencies of the place and garriſon; and the Barbarians, at the end of thirty days, were obliged to retire with diſappointed rage.

[70] Ammianus (xvi. 2, 3.) appears much better ſatisfied with the ſucceſs of this firſt campaign than Julian himſelf; who very fairly owns that he did nothing of conſequence, and that he fled before the enemy.

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His ſecond campaign, A. D. 357.

The conſcious pride of Julian, who was indebted only to his ſword for this ſignal deliverance, was embittered by the reflection, that he was abandoned, betrayed, and perhaps devoted to deſtruction, by thoſe who were bound to aſſiſt him by every tie of honour and fidelity. Marcellus, maſter-general of the cavalry in Gaul, interpreting too ſtrictly the jealous orders of the court, beheld with ſupine indifference the diſtreſs of Julian, and reſtrained the troops under his command from marching to the relief of Sens. If the Cæſar had diſſembled in ſilence ſo dangerous an inſult, his perſon and authority would have been expoſed to the contempt of the world; and if an action ſo criminal had been ſuffered to paſs with impunity, the emperor would have confirmed the ſuſpicions, which received a very ſpecious colour from his paſt conduct towards the princes of the Flavian family. Marcellus was recalled, and gently diſmiſſed from his office[71]. In his room Severus was appointed general of the cavalry; an experienced ſoldier of approved courage and fidelity, who could adviſe with reſpect, and execute with zeal; and who ſubmitted, without reluctance, to the ſupreme command which Julian, by the intereſt of his patroneſs Euſebia, at length obtained over the armies of Gaul[72]. A very judicious plan of operations was adopted for the approaching campaign. Julian himſelf, at the head of the remains of the veteran bands, and of ſome new levies which he had been permitted to form, boldly penetrated into the centre of the German cantonments, and carefully re-eſtabliſhed the fortifications of Saverne, in an advantageous poſt, which would either check the incurſions, or intercept the retreat, of the enemy. At the ſame

[71] Ammian. xvi. 7. Libanius ſpeaks rather more advantageouſly of the military talents of Marcellus, Orat. x. p. 272. And Julian inſinuates, that he would not have been ſo eaſily recalled, unleſs he had given other reaſons of offence to the court, p. 278.

[72] Severus, non diſcors, non arrogans, ſed longa militiæ frugalitate compertus; et eum recta præeuntem ſecuturus, ut ductorem morigerus miles. Ammian. xvi. 11. Zoſimus, l. iii. p. 149.

time

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time Barbatio, general of the infantry, advanced from Milan with an army of thirty thouſand men, and paſſing the mountains, prepared to throw a bridge over the Rhine, in the neighbourhood of Baſil. It was reaſonable to expect that the Alemanni, preſſed on either ſide by the Roman arms, would ſoon be forced to evacuate the provinces of Gaul, and to haſten to the defence of their native country. But the hopes of the campaign were defeated by the incapacity, or the envy, or the ſecret inſtructions, of Barbatio; who acted as if he had been the enemy of the Cæſar, and the ſecret ally of the Barbarians. The negligence with which he permitted a troop of pillagers freely to paſs, and to return almoſt before the gates of his camp, may be imputed to his want of abilities; but the treaſonable act of burning a number of boats, and a ſuperfluous ſtock of proviſions, which would have been of the moſt eſſential ſervice to the army of Gaul, was an evidence of his hoſtile and criminal intentions. The Germans deſpiſed an enemy who appeared deſtitute either of power or of inclination to offend them; and the ignominious retreat of Barbatio deprived Julian of the expected ſupport; and left him to extricate himſelf from a hazardous ſituation, where he could neither remain with ſafety, nor retire with honour [73].

Battle of Straſburgh, A. D. 357, Auguſt.

As ſoon as they were delivered from the fears of invaſion, the Alemanni prepared to chaſtiſe the Roman youth, who preſumed to diſpute the poſſeſſion of that country, which they claimed as their own by the right of conqueſt and of treaties. They employed three days, and as many nights, in tranſporting over the Rhine their military powers. The fierce Chnodomar, ſhaking the ponderous javelin, which he had victoriouſly wielded againſt the brother of Magnentius, led the van of the Barbarians, and moderated by his

[73] On the deſign and failure of the co-operation between Julian and Barbatio, ſee Ammianus, xvi. 11; and Libanius, Orat. x. p. 273.

experience

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experience the martial ardour which his example inſpired[74]. He was followed by ſix other kings, by ten princes of regal extraction, by a long train of high-ſpirited nobles, and by thirty-five thouſand of the braveſt warriors of the tribes of Germany. The confidence derived from the view of their own ſtrength, was increaſed by the intelligence which they received from a deſerter, that the Cæſar, with a feeble army of thirteen thouſand men, occupied a poſt about one and twenty miles from their camp of Straſburgh. With this inadequate force, Julian, reſolved to ſeek and to encounter the Barbarian hoſt; and the chance of a general action was preferred to the tedious and uncertain operation of ſeparately engaging the diſperſed parties of the Alemanni. The Romans marched in cloſe order, and in two columns, the cavalry on the right, the infantry on the left; and the day was ſo far ſpent when they appeared in ſight of the enemy, that Julian was deſirous of deferring the battle till the next morning, and of allowing his troops to recruit their exhauſted ſtrength by the neceſſary refreſhments of ſleep and food. Yielding, however, with ſome reluctance, to the clamours of the ſoldiers, and even to the opinion of his council, he exhorted them to juſtify by their valour the eager impatience, which, in caſe of a defeat, would be univerſally branded with the epithets of raſhneſs and preſumption. The trumpets ſounded, the military ſhout was heard through the field, and the two armies ruſhed with equal fury to the charge. The Cæſar, who conducted in perſon his right wing, depended on the dexterity of his archers, and the weight of his cuiraſſiers. But his ranks were inſtantly broken by an irregular mixture of light-horſe and of light-infantry, and he had the mortification

[74] Ammianus (xvi. 12.) deſcribes, with his inflated eloquence, the figure and character of Chnodomar. Audax et fidens ingenti robore lacertorum, ubi ardor prœlii ſperabatur immanis, equo ſpumante, ſublimior, erectus in jaculum formidandæ vaſtitatis, armorumque nitore conſpicuus: antea ſtrenuus et miles, et utilis præter cæteros ductor..... Decentium Cæſarem ſuperavit æquo marte congreſſus.

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of beholding the flight of ſix hundred of his moſt renowned cuiraſſiers [75]. The fugitives were ſtopped and rallied by the preſence and authority of Julian, who, careleſs of his own ſafety, threw himſelf before them, and urging every motive of ſhame and honour, led them back againſt the victorious enemy. The conflict between the two lines of infantry was obſtinate and bloody. The Germans poſſeſſed the ſuperiority of ſtrength and ſtature, the Romans that of diſcipline and temper; and as the Barbarians who ſerved under the ſtandard of the empire, united the reſpective advantages of both parties, their ſtrenuous efforts, guided by a ſkilful leader, at length determined the event of the day. The Romans loſt four tribunes, and two hundred and forty-three ſoldiers, in this memorable battle of Straſburgh, ſo glorious to the Cæſar [76], and ſo ſalutary to the afflicted provinces of Gaul. Six thouſand of the Alemanni were ſlain in the field, without including thoſe who were drowned in the Rhine, or transfixed with darts whilſt they attempted to ſwim acroſs the river [77]. Chnodomar himſelf was ſurrounded and taken priſoner, with three of his brave companions, who had devoted themſelves to follow in life or death the fate of their chieftain. Julian received him with military pomp in the council of his officers; and expreſſing a generous pity for the fallen ſtate, diſſembled his inward contempt

[75] After the battle, Julian ventured to revive the rigour of ancient diſcipline, by expoſing theſe fugitives in female apparel to the deriſion of the whole camp. In the next campaign, theſe troops nobly retrieved their honour. Zoſimus, l. iii. p. 142.

[76] Julian himſelf (ad S. P. Q. Athen. p. 279.) ſpeaks of the battle of Straſburgh with the modeſty of conſcious merit; εμαχεσαμην ουκ ακλεως, ισως και εις υμας αφικετο η τοιαυτη μαχη. Zoſimus compares it with the victory of Alexander over Darius; and yet we are at a loſs to diſcover any of thoſe ſtrokes of military genius which fix the attention of ages on the conduct and ſucceſs of a ſingle day.

[77] Ammianus, xvi. 12. Libanius adds 2000 more to the number of the ſlain (Orat. x. p. 274.). But theſe trifling differences diſappear before the 60,000 Barbarians, whom Zoſimus has ſacrificed to the glory of his hero (l. iii. p. 141.). We might attribute this extravagant number to the careleſſneſs of tranſcribers, if this credulous or partial hiſtorian had not ſwelled the army of 35,000 Alemanni to an innumerable multitude of Barbarians, πληθος απειρον βαρβαρων. It is our own fault if this detection does not inſpire us with proper diſtruſt on ſimilar occaſions.

for

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for the abject humiliation of his captive. Inſtead of exhibiting the vanquiſhed king of the Alemanni, as a grateful ſpectacle to the cities of Gaul, he reſpectfully laid at the feet of the emperor this ſplendid trophy of his victory. Chnodomar experienced an honourable treatment: but the impatient Barbarian could not long ſurvive his defeat, his confinement, and his exile [78].

Julian ſubdues the Franks, A. D. 358.

After Julian had repulſed the Alemanni from the provinces of the Upper Rhine, he turned his arms againſt the Franks, who were ſeated nearer to the ocean on the confines of Gaul and Germany; and who, from their numbers, and ſtill more from their intrepid valour, had ever been eſteemed the moſt formidable of the Barbarians [79]. Although they were ſtrongly actuated by the allurements of rapine, they profeſſed a diſintereſted love of war; which they conſidered as the ſupreme honour and felicity of human nature; and their minds and bodies were ſo completely hardened by perpetual action, that, according to the lively expreſſion of an orator, the ſnows of winter were as pleaſant to them as the flowers of ſpring. In the month of December, which followed the battle of Straſburgh, Julian attacked a body of ſix hundred Franks, who had thrown themſelves into two caſtles on the Meuſe [80]. In the midſt of that ſevere ſeaſon they ſuſtained, with inflexible conſtancy, a ſiege of fifty-four days; till at length, exhauſted by hunger, and ſatisfied that the vigilance of the enemy in breaking the ice of the river, left them no hopes of eſcape, the Franks conſented, for the firſt time, to diſpenſe with the ancient law which commanded them to conquer

[78] Ammian. xvi. 12. Libanius, Orat. x. p. 276.

[79] Libanius (Orat. iii. p. 137.) draws a very lively picture of the manners of the Franks.

[80] Ammianus, xvii. 2. Libanius, Orat. x. p. 278. The Greek orator, by miſapprehending a paſſage of Julian, has been induced to repreſent the Franks as conſiſting of a thouſand men; and as his head was always full of the Peloponneſian war, he compares them to the Lacedæmonians, who were beſieged and taken in the iſland of Sphacteria.

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or to die. The Cæſar immediately ſent his captives to the court of Conſtantius, who accepting them as a valuable preſent [81], rejoiced in the opportunity of adding ſo many heroes to the choiceſt troops of his domeſtic guards. The obſtinate reſiſtance of this handful of Franks, appriſed Julian of the difficulties of the expedition which he meditated for the enſuing ſpring, againſt the whole body of the nation. His rapid diligence ſurpriſed and aſtoniſhed the active Barbarians. Ordering his ſoldiers to provide themſelves with biſcuit for twenty days, he ſuddenly pitched his camp near Tongres, while the enemy ſtill ſuppoſed him in his winter-quarters of Paris, expecting the ſlow arrival of his convoys from Aquitain. Without allowing the Franks to unite or to deliberate, he ſkilfully ſpread his legions from Cologne to the ocean; and by the terror, as well as by the ſucceſs of his arms, ſoon reduced the ſuppliant tribes to implore the clemency, and to obey the commands, of their conqueror. The Chamavians ſubmiſſively retired to their former habitations beyond the Rhine: but the Salians were permitted to poſſeſs their new eſtabliſhment of Toxandria, as the ſubjects and auxiliaries of the Roman empire [82]. The treaty was ratified by ſolemn oaths; and perpetual inſpectors were appointed to reſide among the Franks, with the authority of enforcing the ſtrict obſervance of the conditions. An incident is related, intereſting enough in itſelf, and by no means repugnant to the character of Julian, who ingeniouſly contrived

[81] Julian. ad S. P. Q. Athen. p. 280. Libanius, Orat. x. p. 278. According to the expreſſion of Libanius, the emperor δωρα νομαζι, which la Bleterie underſtands (Vie de Julien, p. 118.) as an honeſt confeſſion, and Valeſius (ad Ammian. xvii. 2.) as a mean evaſion, of the truth. Dom. Bouquet (Hiſtoriens de France, tom. i. p. 733.), by ſubſtituting another word, νομισι, would ſuppreſs both the difficulty and the ſpirit of this paſſage.

[82] Ammian. xvii. 8. Zoſimus, l. iii. p. 146—150. (his narrative is darkened by a mixture of fable); and Julian. ad S. P. Q. Athen. p. 280. His expreſſion, υπελιξαμην μεν μοιραν τη Σαλιων εθνει, Χαμαβους δη εξηλασα. This difference of treatment confirms the opinion, that the Salian Franks were permitted to retain the ſettlements in Toxandria.

both

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both the plot and the catastrophe of the tragedy. When the Chamavians sued for peace, he required the son of their king, as the only hostage on whom he could rely. A mournful silence, interrupted by tears and groans, declared the sad perplexity of the Barbarians; and their aged chief lamented in pathetic language, that his private loss was now embittered by a sense of the public calamity. While the Chamavians lay prostrate at the foot of his throne, the royal captive, whom they believed to have been slain, unexpectedly appeared before their eyes; and as soon as the tumult of joy was hushed into attention, the Cæsar addressed the assembly in the following terms: "Behold the son, the prince, whom you wept. You had lost him "by your fault. God and the Romans have restored him to you. "I shall still preserve and educate the youth, rather as a monument "of my own virtue, than as a pledge of your sincerity. Should "you presume to violate the faith which you have sworn, the arms "of the republic will avenge the perfidy, not on the innocent, but "on the guilty." The Barbarians withdrew from his presence, impressed with the warmest sentiments of gratitude and admiration[83].

Makes three expeditions beyond the Rhine, A. D. 357, 358, 359.

It was not enough for Julian to have delivered the provinces of Gaul from the Barbarians of Germany. He aspired to emulate the glory of the first and most illustrious of the emperors; after whose example, he composed his own commentaries of the Gallic war[84]. Cæsar has related, with conscious pride, the manner in which he *twice* passed the Rhine. Julian could boast, that before he assumed

[83] This interesting story, which Zosimus has abridged, is related by Eunapius (in Excerpt. Legationum, p. 15, 16, 17.) with all the amplifications of Grecian rhetoric: but the silence of Libanius, of Ammianus, and of Julian himself, renders the truth of it extremely suspicious.

[84] Libanius, the friend of Julian, clearly insinuates (Orat. iv. p. 178.) that his hero had composed the history of his Gallic campaigns. But Zosimus (l. iii. p. 140.) seems to have derived his information only from the Orations (λογοι) and the Epistles of Julian. The discourse which is addressed to the Athenians contains an accurate, though general, account of the war against the Germans.

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the title of Auguſtus, he had carried the Roman Eagles beyond that great river in *three* ſucceſsful expeditions[85]. The conſternation of the Germans, after the battle of Straſburgh, encouraged him to the firſt attempt; and the reluctance of the troops ſoon yielded to the perſuaſive eloquence of a leader, who ſhared the fatigues and dangers which he impoſed on the meaneſt of the ſoldiers. The villages on either ſide of the Meyn, which were plentifully ſtored with corn and cattle, felt the ravages of an invading army. The principal houſes, conſtructed with ſome imitation of Roman elegance, were conſumed by the flames; and the Cæſar boldly advanced about ten miles, till his progreſs was ſtopped by a dark and impenetrable foreſt, undermined by ſubterraneous paſſages, which threatened, with ſecret ſnares and ambuſh, every ſtep of the aſſailant. The ground was already covered with ſnow; and Julian, after repairing an ancient caſtle which had been erected by Trajan, granted a truce of ten months to the ſubmiſſive Barbarians. At the expiration of the truce, Julian undertook a ſecond expedition beyond the Rhine, to humble the pride of Surmar and Hortaire, two of the kings of the Alemanni, who had been preſent at the battle of Straſburgh. They promiſed to reſtore all the Roman captives who yet remained alive; and as the Cæſar had procured an exact account from the cities and villages of Gaul, of the inhabitants whom they had loſt, he detected every attempt to deceive him, with a degree of readineſs and accuracy, which almoſt eſtabliſhed the belief of his ſupernatural knowledge. His third expedition was ſtill more ſplendid and important than the two former. The Germans had collected their military powers, and moved along the oppoſite banks of the river, with a deſign of deſtroying the bridge, and of preventing the paſſage of the Romans. But this judicious plan of defence was diſconcerted by

[85] See Ammian. xvii. 1. 10. xviii. 2. and Zoſim. l. iii. p. 144. Julian ad S. P. Q. Athen. p. 280.

a ſkilful

a ſkilful diverſion. Three hundred light-armed and active ſoldiers were detached in forty ſmall boats, to fall down the ſtream in ſilence, and to land at ſome diſtance from the poſts of the enemy. They executed their orders with ſo much boldneſs and celerity, that they had almoſt ſurpriſed the Barbarian chiefs, who returned in the fearleſs confidence of intoxication from one of their nocturnal feſtivals. Without repeating the uniform and diſguſting tale of ſlaughter and devaſtation, it is ſufficient to obſerve, that Julian dictated his own conditions of peace to ſix of the haughtieſt kings of the Alemanni, three of whom were permitted to view the ſevere diſcipline and martial pomp of a Roman camp. Followed by twenty thouſand captives, whom he had reſcued from the chains of the Barbarians, the Cæſar repaſſed the Rhine, after terminating a war, the ſucceſs of which has been compared to the ancient glories of the Punic and Cimbric victories.

Reſtores the cities of Gaul.

As ſoon as the valour and conduct of Julian had ſecured an interval of peace, he applied himſelf to a work more congenial to his humane and philoſophic temper. The cities of Gaul, which had ſuffered from the inroads of the Barbarians, he diligently repaired; and ſeven important poſts, between Mentz and the mouth of the Rhine, are particularly mentioned, as having been rebuilt and fortified by the order of Julian [86]. The vanquiſhed Germans had ſubmitted to the juſt but humiliating condition of preparing and conveying the neceſſary materials. The active zeal of Julian urged the proſecution of the work; and ſuch was the ſpirit which he had diffuſed among the troops, that the auxiliaries themſelves, waving their exemption

[86] Ammian. xviii. 2. Libanius, Orat. x. p. 279, 280. Of theſe ſeven poſts, four are at preſent towns of ſome conſequence; Bingen, Andernach, Bonn, and Nuyſs. The other three, Triceſimæ, Quadriburgium, and Caſtra Herculis, or Heraclea, no longer ſubſiſt; but there is room to believe, that, on the ground of Quadriburgium, the Dutch have conſtructed the fort of Schenk, a name ſo offenſive to the faſtidious delicacy of Boileau. See d'Anville Notice de l'ancienne Gaule, p. 183. Boileau, Epitre iv. and the notes.

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from any duties of fatigue, contended in the moſt ſervile labours with the diligence of the Roman ſoldiers. It was incumbent on the Cæſar to provide for the ſubſiſtence, as well as for the ſafety, of the inhabitants and of the garriſons. The deſertion of the former, and the mutiny of the latter, muſt have been the fatal and inevitable conſequences of famine. The tillage of the provinces of Gaul had been interrupted by the calamities of war; but the ſcanty harveſts of the continent were ſupplied, by his paternal care, from the plenty of the adjacent iſland. Six hundred large barks, framed in the foreſt of the Ardennes, made ſeveral voyages to the coaſt of Britain; and returning from thence laden with corn, ſailed up the Rhine, and diſtributed their cargoes to the ſeveral towns and fortreſſes along the banks of the river [87]. The arms of Julian had reſtored a free and ſecure navigation, which Conſtantius had offered to purchaſe at the expence of his dignity, and of a tributary preſent of two thouſand pounds of ſilver. The emperor parſimoniouſly refuſed to his ſoldiers the ſums which he granted with a laviſh and trembling hand to the Barbarians. The dexterity, as well as the firmneſs of Julian, was put to a ſevere trial, when he took the field with a diſcontented army, which had already ſerved two campaigns, without receiving any regular pay or any extraordinary donative [88].

Civil adminiſtration of Julian.

A tender regard for the peace and happineſs of his ſubjects, was the ruling principle which directed, or ſeemed to direct, the adminiſtration of Julian [89]. He devoted the leiſure of his winter-quarters

[87] We may credit Julian himſelf, Orat. ad S. P. Q. Athenienſem, p. 280. who gives a very particular account of the tranſaction. Zoſimus adds two hundred veſſels more, l. iii. p. 145. If we compute the 600 corn ſhips of Julian at only ſeventy tons each, they were capable of exporting 120,000 quarters (See Arbuthnot's Weights and Meaſures, p. 237.); and the country, which could bear ſo large an exportation, muſt already have attained an improved ſtate of agriculture.

[88] The troops once broke out into a mutiny, immediately before the ſecond paſſage of the Rhine. Ammian. xvii. 9.

[89] Ammian. xvi. 5. xviii. 1. Mamertinus in Panegyr. Vet. xi. 4.

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to the offices of civil government; and affected to assume, with more pleasure, the character of a magistrate than that of a general. Before he took the field, he devolved on the provincial governors, most of the public and private causes which had been referred to his tribunal; but, on his return, he carefully revised their proceedings, mitigated the rigour of the law, and pronounced a second judgment on the judges themselves. Superior to the last temptation of virtuous minds, an indiscreet and intemperate zeal for justice, he restrained, with calmness and dignity, the warmth of an advocate who prosecuted, for extortion, the president of the Narbonnese provinces. "Who will ever be found guilty," exclaimed the vehement Delphidius, "if it be enough to deny?"—"And who," replied Julian, "will ever be innocent, if it is sufficient to affirm?" In the general administration of peace and war, the interest of the sovereign is commonly the same as that of his people; but Constantius would have thought himself deeply injured, if the virtues of Julian had defrauded him of any part of the tribute which he extorted from an oppressed and exhausted country. The prince who was invested with the ensigns of royalty, might sometimes presume to correct the rapacious insolence of the inferior agents; to expose their corrupt arts, and to introduce an equal and easier mode of collection. But the management of the finances was more safely entrusted to Florentius, Prætorian præfect of Gaul, an effeminate tyrant, incapable of pity or remorse; and the haughty minister complained of the most decent and gentle opposition, while Julian himself was rather inclined to censure the weakness of his own behaviour. The Cæsar had rejected with abhorrence a mandate for the levy of an extraordinary tax; a new superdiction, which the præfect had offered for his signature; and the faithful picture of the public misery, by which he had been obliged to justify his refusal, offended the court of Constantius. We may enjoy the pleasure of reading the senti-

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ments of Julian, as he expreſſes them with warmth and freedom in a letter to one of his moſt intimate friends. After ſtating his own conduct, he proceeds in the following terms: "Was it poſſible for "the diſciple of Plato and Ariſtotle to act otherwiſe than I have "done? Could I abandon the unhappy ſubjects entruſted to my "care? Was I not called upon to defend them from the repeated "injuries of theſe unfeeling robbers? A tribune who deſerts his "poſt is puniſhed with death, and deprived of the honours of bu-"rial. With what juſtice could I pronounce *his* ſentence, if, in the "hour of danger, I myſelf neglected a duty far more ſacred and "far more important? God has placed me in this elevated poſt; his "providence will guard and ſupport me. Should I be condemned to "ſuffer, I ſhall derive comfort from the teſtimony of a pure and up-"right conſcience. Would to heaven, that I ſtill poſſeſſed a coun-"ſellor like Salluſt! If they think proper to ſend me a ſucceſſor, I "ſhall ſubmit without reluctance; and had much rather improve the "ſhort opportunity of doing good, than enjoy a long and laſting "impunity of evil[90]." The precarious and dependent ſituation of Julian diſplayed his virtues, and concealed his defects. The young hero who ſupported, in Gaul, the throne of Conſtantius, was not permitted to reform the vices of the government; but he had courage to alleviate or to pity the diſtreſs of the people. Unleſs he had been able to revive the martial ſpirit of the Romans, or to introduce the arts of induſtry and refinement among their ſavage enemies, he could not entertain any rational hopes of ſecuring the public tranquillity, either by the peace or conqueſt of Germany. Yet the victories of Julian ſuſpended, for a ſhort time, the inroads of the Barbarians, and delayed the ruin of the Weſtern Empire.

[90] Ammian. xvii. 3. Julian. Epiſtol. xv. edit. Spanheim. Such a conduct almoſt juſtifies the encomium of Mamertinus. Ita illi anni ſpatia diviſa ſunt, ut aut Barbaros domitet, aut civibus jura reſtituat; perpetuum profeſſus, aut contra hoſtem, aut contra vitia, certamen.

His

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Deſcription of Paris.

His ſalutary influence reſtored the cities of Gaul, which had been ſo long expoſed to the evils of civil diſcord, Barbarian war, and domeſtic tyranny; and the ſpirit of induſtry was revived with the hopes of enjoyment. Agriculture, manufactures and commerce again flouriſhed under the protection of the laws; and the *curiæ*, or civil corporations, were again filled with uſeful and reſpectable members: the youth were no longer apprehenſive of marriage; and married perſons were no longer apprehenſive of poſterity: the public and private feſtivals were celebrated with cuſtomary pomp; and the frequent and ſecure intercourſe of the provinces diſplayed the image of national proſperity[91]. A mind like that of Julian, muſt have felt the general happineſs of which he was the author; but he viewed, with peculiar ſatisfaction and complacency, the city of Paris; the ſeat of his winter reſidence, and the object even of his partial affection[92]. That ſplendid capital, which now embraces an ample territory on either ſide of the Seine, was originally confined to the ſmall iſland in the midſt of the river, from whence the inhabitants derived a ſupply of pure and ſalubrious water. The river bathed the foot of the walls; and the town was acceſſible only by two wooden bridges. A foreſt overſpread the northern ſide of the Seine; but on the ſouth, the ground, which now bears the name of the Univerſity, was inſenſibly covered with houſes, and adorned with a palace and amphitheatre, baths, an aqueduct, and a field of Mars for the exerciſe of the Roman troops. The ſeverity of the climate was tempered by the neighbourhood of the ocean; and with ſome precautions, which experience had taught, the vine and fig-tree were ſucceſsfully cultivated.

[91] Libanius, Orat. Parental. in Imp. Julian. c. 38. in Fabricius Bibliothec. Græc. tom. vii. p. 263, 264.

[92] See Julian. in Miſopogon. p. 340, 341. The primitive ſtate of Paris is illuſtrated by Henry Valeſius (ad Ammian. xx. 4.), his brother Hadrian Valeſius, or de Valois, and M. d'Anville (in their reſpective Notitias of ancient Gaul), the Abbé de Longuerue (Deſcription de la France, tom. i. p. 12, 13.), and M. Bonamy (in the Mem. de l'Academie des Inſcriptions, tom. xv. p. 656—691.).

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But, in remarkable winters, the Seine was deeply frozen; and the huge pieces of ice that floated down the ſtream, might be compared, by an Aſiatic, to the blocks of white marble which were extracted from the quarries of Phrygia. The licentiouſneſs and corruption of Antioch recalled to the memory of Julian the ſevere and ſimple manners of his beloved Lutetia[93]; where the amuſements of the theatre were unknown or deſpiſed. He indignantly contraſted the effeminate Syrians with the brave and honeſt ſimplicity of the Gauls, and almoſt forgave the intemperance, which was the only ſtain of the Celtic character[94]. If Julian could now reviſit the capital of France, he might converſe with men of ſcience and genius, capable of underſtanding and of inſtructing a diſciple of the Greeks; he he might excuſe the lively and graceful follies of a nation, whoſe martial ſpirit has never been enervated by the indulgence of luxury; and he muſt applaud the perfection of that ineſtimable art, which ſoftens and refines and embelliſhes the intercourſe of ſocial life.

[93] Την φιλην Λευκετιαν. Julian. in Miſopogon. p. 340. Leucetia, or Lutetia, was the ancient name of the city which, according to the faſhion of the fourth century, aſſumed the territorial appellation of *Pariſii*.

[94] Julian. in Miſopogon. p. 359, 360.

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The Motives, Progreſs, and Effects of the Converſion of Conſtantine.—Legal Eſtabliſhment and Conſtitution of the Chriſtian or Catholic Church.

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THE public eſtabliſhment of Chriſtianity may be conſidered as one of thoſe important and domeſtic revolutions which excite the moſt lively curioſity, and afford the moſt valuable inſtruction. The victories and the civil policy of Conſtantine no longer influence the ſtate of Europe; but a conſiderable portion of the globe ſtill retains the impreſſion which it received from the converſion of that monarch; and the eccleſiaſtical inſtitutions of his reign are ſtill connected, by an indiſſoluble chain, with the opinions, the paſſions, and the intereſts of the preſent generation.

Date of the converſion of Conſtantine.

In the conſideration of a ſubject which may be examined with impartiality, but cannot be viewed with indifference, a difficulty immediately ariſes of a very unexpected nature; that of aſcertaining the real and preciſe date of the converſion of Conſtantine. The eloquent Lactantius, in the midſt of his court, ſeems impatient [1] to proclaim to the world the glorious example of the ſovereign of Gaul;

A. D. 306.

[1] The date of the Divine Inſtitutions of Lactantius has been accurately diſcuſſed, difficulties have been ſtarted, ſolutions propoſed, and an expedient imagined of two *original* editions; the former publiſhed during the perſecution of Diocletian, the latter under that of Licinius. See Dufreſnoy, Prefat. p. v. Tillemont, Mem. Eccleſiaſt. tom. vi. p. 465—470. Lardner's Credibility, part ii. vol. vii. p. 78—86. For my own part, I am *almoſt* convinced that Lactantius dedicated his Inſtitutions to the ſovereign of Gaul, at a time when Galerius, Maximin, and even Licinius, perſecuted the Chriſtians; that is, between the years 306 and 311.

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who, in the first moments of his reign, acknowledged and adored the majesty of the true and only God [2]. The learned Eusebius has ascribed the faith of Constantine to the miraculous sign which was displayed in the heavens whilst he meditated and prepared the Italian
A. D. 312. expedition [3]. Ths historian Zosimus maliciously asserts, that the emperor had imbrued his hands in the blood of his eldest son, before he
A. D. 326. publicly renounced the gods of Rome and of his ancestors [4]. The perplexity produced by these discordant authorities, is derived from the behaviour of Constantine himself. According to the strictness of ecclesiastical language, the first of the *Christian* emperors was unworthy of that name till the moment of his death; since it was only
A. D. 337. during his last illness that he received, as a catechumen, the imposition of hands [5], and was afterwards admitted, by the initiatory rites of baptism, into the number of the faithful [6]. The Christianity of Constantine must be allowed in a much more vague and qualified

[2] Lactant. Divin. Institut. i. 1. vii. 27. The first and most important of these passages is indeed wanting in twenty-eight manuscripts; but it is found in nineteen. If we weigh the comparative value of those manuscripts, one of 900 years old, in the king of France's library, may be alleged in its favour; but the passage is omitted in the correct manuscript of Bologna, which the P. de Montfaucon ascribes to the sixth or seventh century (Diarium Italic. p. 409.). The taste of most of the editors (except Isæus, see Lactant. edit. Dufresnoy, tom. i. p. 596.) has felt the genuine style of Lactantius.

[3] Euseb. in Vit. Constant. l. i. c. 27—32.

[4] Zosimus, l. ii. p. 104.

[5] That rite was *always* used in making a catechumen (see Bingham's Antiquities, l. x. c. 1. p. 419. Dom. Chardon, Hist. des Sacremens, tom. i. p. 62.), and Constantine received it for the *first* time (Euseb. in Vit. Constant. l. iv. c. 61.) immediately before his baptism and death. From the connection of these two facts, Valesius (ad loc. Euseb.) has drawn the conclusion which is reluctantly admitted by Tillemont (Hist. des Empereurs, tom. iv. p. 628.) and opposed with feeble arguments by Mosheim (p. 968.).

[6] Euseb. in Vit. Constant. l. iv. c. 61, 62, 63. The legend of Constantine's baptism at Rome, thirteen years before his death, was invented in the eighth century, as a proper motive for his *donation*. Such has been the gradual progress of knowledge, that a story, of which Cardinal Baronius (Annal. Ecclesiast. A. D. 324. No. 43—49.) declared himself the unblushing advocate, is now feebly supported, even within the verge of the Vatican. See the Antiquitates Christianæ, tom. ii. p. 232; a work published with six approbations at Rome, in the year 1751, by Father Mamachi, a learned Dominican.

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ſenſe; and the niceſt accuracy is required in tracing the ſlow and almoſt imperceptible gradations by which the monarch declared himſelf the protector, and at length the proſelyte, of the church. It was an arduous taſk to eradicate the habits and prejudices of his education, to acknowledge the divine power of Chriſt, and to underſtand that the truth of *his* revelation was incompatible with the worſhip of the gods. The obſtacles which he had probably experienced in his own mind, inſtructed him to proceed with caution in the momentous change of a national religion; and he inſenſibly diſcovered his new opinions, as far as he could enforce them with ſafety and with effect. During the whole courſe of his reign, the ſtream of Chriſtianity flowed with a gentle, though accelerated, motion: but its general direction was ſometimes checked, and ſometimes diverted, by the accidental circumſtances of the times, and by the prudence, or poſſibly by the caprice, of the monarch. His miniſters were permitted to ſignify the intentions of their maſter, in the various language which was beſt adapted to their reſpective principles[7]; and he artfully balanced the hopes and fears of his ſubjects, by publiſhing in the ſame year two edicts; the firſt of which enjoined the ſolemn obſervance of Sunday[8], and the ſecond directed the regular conſultation of the Aruſpices[9]. While this important revolution yet remained in ſuſpenſe, the Chriſtians and the Pagans watched the conduct of their ſovereign with the ſame anxiety, but with very

A. D. 321.

[7] The quæſtor, or ſecretary, who compoſed the law of the Theodoſian Code, makes his maſter ſay with indifference, "hominibus "ſupradictæ religionis" (l. xvi. tit. ii. leg. i.). The miniſter of eccleſiaſtical affairs was allowed a more devout and reſpectful ſtyle, της ενθεσιμου και αγιωτατης καθολικης θρησκειας; the legal, moſt holy, and Catholic worſhip. See Euſeb. Hiſt. Eccleſ. l. x. c. 6.

[8] Cod. Theodoſ. l. ii. tit. viii. leg. 1. Cod. Juſtinian. l. iii. tit. xii. leg. 3. Conſtantine ſtyles the Lord's day *dies ſolis*, a name which could not offend the ears of his Pagan ſubjects.

[9] Cod. Theod. l. xvi. tit. x. leg. 1. Godefroy, in the character of a commentator, endeavours (tom. vi. p. 257.) to excuſe Conſtantine; but the more zealous Baronius (Annal. Eccleſ. A. D. 321. No. 18.) cenſures his profane conduct with truth and aſperity.

oppoſite

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oppoſite ſentiments. The former were prompted by every motive of zeal, as well as vanity, to exaggerate the marks of his favour, and the evidences of his faith. The latter, till their juſt apprehenſions were changed into deſpair and reſentment, attempted to conceal from the world, and from themſelves, that the gods of Rome could no longer reckon the emperor in the number of their votaries. The ſame paſſions and prejudices have engaged the partial writers of the times to connect the public profeſſion of Chriſtianity with the moſt glorious or the moſt ignominious æra of the reign of Conſtantine.

His Pagan ſuperſtition.

Whatever ſymptoms of Chriſtian piety might tranſpire in the diſcourſes or actions of Conſtantine, he perſevered till he was near forty years of age in the practice of the eſtabliſhed religion [10]; and the ſame conduct which in the court of Nicomedia might be imputed to his fear, could be aſcribed only to the inclination or policy of the ſovereign of Gaul. His liberality reſtored and enriched the temples of the gods: the medals which iſſued from his Imperial mint are impreſſed with the figures and attributes of Jupiter and Apollo, of Mars and Hercules; and his filial piety increaſed the council of Olympus by the ſolemn apotheoſis of his father Conſtantius [11]. But the devotion of Conſtantine was more peculiarly directed to the genius of the Sun, the Apollo of Greek and Roman mythology; and he was pleaſed to be repreſented with the ſymbols of the God of Light and Poetry. The unerring ſhafts of that deity, the brightneſs of his eyes, his laurel wreath, immortal beauty, and elegant accompliſhments, ſeem to point him out as the patron of a

[10] Theodoret (l. i. c. 18.) ſeems to inſinuate that Helena gave her ſon a Chriſtian education; but we may be aſſured, from the ſuperior authority of Euſebius (in Vit. Conſtant. l. iii. c. 47.), that ſhe herſelf was indebted to Conſtantine for the knowledge of Chriſtianity.

[11] See the medals of Conſtantine in Ducange and Banduri. As few cities had retained the privilege of coining, almoſt all the medals of that age iſſued from the mint under the ſanction of the Imperial authority.

young

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young hero. The altars of Apollo were crowned with the votive offerings of Conſtantine; and the credulous multitude were taught to believe, that the emperor was permitted to behold with mortal eyes the viſible majeſty of their tutelar deity; and that, either waking or in a viſion, he was bleſſed with the auſpicious omens of a long and victorious reign. The Sun was univerſally celebrated as the invincible guide and protector of Conſtantine; and the Pagans might reaſonably expect that the inſulted god would purſue with unrelenting vengeance the impiety of his ungrateful favourite [12].

He protects the Chriſtians of Gaul, A. D. 305—312.

As long as Conſtantine exerciſed a limited ſovereignty over the provinces of Gaul, his Chriſtian ſubjects were protected by the authority, and perhaps by the laws, of a prince, who wiſely left to the gods the care of vindicating their own honour. If we may credit the aſſertion of Conſtantine himſelf, he had been an indignant ſpectator of the ſavage cruelties which were inflicted, by the hands of Roman ſoldiers, on thoſe citizens whoſe religion was their only crime [13]. In the Eaſt and in the Weſt he had ſeen the different effects of ſeverity and indulgence; and as the former was rendered ſtill more odious by the example of Galerius, his implacable enemy, the latter was recommended to his imitation by the authority and advice of a dying father. The ſon of Conſtantius immediately ſuſpended or repealed the edicts of perſecution, and granted the free exerciſe of their religious ceremonies to all thoſe who had already profeſſed themſelves members of the church. They were ſoon encouraged to

[12] The panegyric of Eumenius (vii. inter Panegyr. Vet.), which was pronounced a few months before the Italian war, abounds with the moſt unexceptionable evidence of the Pagan ſuperſtition of Conſtantine, and of his particular veneration for Apollo, or the Sun; to which Julian alludes (Orat. vii. p. 228. απολειπων σε). See Commentaire de Spanheim ſur les Céſars, p. 317.

[13] Conſtantin. Orat. ad Sanctos, c. 25. But it might eaſily be ſhewn, that the Greek tranſlator has improved the ſenſe of the Latin original; and the aged emperor might recollect the perſecution of Dioclesian with a more lively abhorrence than he had actually felt in the days of his youth and Paganiſm.

depend

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depend on the favour as well as on the juſtice of their ſovereign, who had imbibed a ſecret and ſincere reverence for the name of Chriſt, and for the God of the Chriſtians [14].

A. D. 313, March. Edict of Milan.

About five months after the conqueſt of Italy, the emperor made a ſolemn and authentic declaration of his ſentiments, by the celebrated edict of Milan, which reſtored peace to the Catholic church. In the perſonal interview of the two Weſtern princes, Conſtantine, by the aſcendant of genius and power, obtained the ready concurrence of his colleague Licinius; the union of their names and authority diſarmed the fury of Maximin; and, after the death of the tyrant of the Eaſt, the edict of Milan was received as a general and fundamental law of the Roman world [15]. The wiſdom of the emperors provided for the reſtitution of all the civil and religious rights of which the Chriſtians had been ſo unjuſtly deprived. It was enacted, that the places of worſhip, and public lands, which had been confiſcated, ſhould be reſtored to the church, without diſpute, without delay, and without expence: and this ſevere injunction was accompanied with a gracious promiſe, that if any of the purchaſers had paid a fair and adequate price, they ſhould be indemnified from the Imperial treaſury. The ſalutary regulations which guard the future tranquillity of the faithful, are framed on the principles of enlarged and equal toleration; and ſuch an equality muſt have been interpreted by a recent ſect as an advantageous and honourable diſtinction. The two emperors proclaim to the world, that they have granted a free and abſolute power to the Chriſtians, and to all others, of following the religion which each individual thinks proper to prefer, to which he has addicted his mind, and which he may deem

[14] See Euſeb. Hiſt. Eccleſ. l. viii. 13. l. ix. 9. and in Vit. Conſt. l. i. c. 16, 17. Lactant. Divin. Inſtitut. i. 1. Cæcilius de Mort. Perſecut. c. 25.

[15] Cæcilius (de Mort. Perſecut. c. 48.) has preſerved the Latin original; and Euſebius (Hiſt. Eccleſ. l. x. c. 5.) has given a Greek tranſlation of this perpetual edict, which refers to ſome proviſional regulations.

the

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the beſt adapted to his own uſe. They carefully explain every ambiguous word, remove every exception, and exact from the governors of the provinces a ſtrict obedience to the true and ſimple meaning of an edict, which was deſigned to eſtabliſh and ſecure, without any limitation, the claims of religious liberty. They condeſcend to aſſign two weighty reaſons which have induced them to allow this univerſal toleration: the humane intention of conſulting the peace and happineſs of their people; and the pious hope, that, by ſuch a conduct, they ſhall appeaſe and propitiate *the Deity*, whoſe ſeat is in heaven. They gratefully acknowledge the many ſignal proofs which they have received of the divine favour; and they truſt that the ſame Providence will for ever continue to protect the proſperity of the prince and people. From theſe vague and indefinite expreſſions of piety, three ſuppoſitions may be deduced, of a different, but not of an incompatible nature. The mind of Conſtantine might fluctuate between the Pagan and the Chriſtian religions. According to the looſe and complying notions of polytheiſm, he might acknowledge the God of the Chriſtians as *one* of the *many* deities who compoſed the hierarchy of heaven. Or perhaps he might embrace the philoſophic and pleaſing idea, that notwithſtanding the variety of names, of rites, and of opinions, all the ſects and all the nations of mankind are united in the worſhip of the common Father and Creator of the univerſe [16].

Uſe and beauty of the Chriſtian morality.

But the counſels of princes are more frequently influenced by views of temporal advantage, than by conſiderations of abſtract and

[16] A panegyric of Conſtantine, pronounced ſeven or eight months after the edict of Milan (ſee Gothofred. Chronolog. Legum, p. 7. and Tillemont, Hiſt. des Empereurs, tom. iv. p. 246.), uſes the following remarkable expreſſion: "Summe rerum ſator, cujus tot nomina "ſunt, quot linguas gentium eſſe voluiſti, "quem enim te ipſe dici velis, ſcire non "poſſumus." Panegyr. Vet. ix. 26. In explaining Conſtantine's progreſs in the faith, Moſheim (p. 971, &c.) is ingenious, ſubtle, prolix.

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ſpeculative truth. The partial and increaſing favour of Conſtantine may naturally be referred to the eſteem which he entertained for the moral character of the Chriſtians; and to a perſuaſion, that the propagation of the goſpel would inculcate the practice of private and public virtue. Whatever latitude an abſolute monarch may aſſume in his own conduct, whatever indulgence he may claim for his own paſſions, it is undoubtedly his intereſt that all his ſubjects ſhould reſpect the natural and civil obligations of ſociety. But the operation of the wiſeſt laws is imperfect and precarious. They ſeldom inſpire virtue, they cannot always reſtrain vice. Their power is inſufficient to prohibit all that they condemn, nor can they always puniſh the actions which they prohibit. The legiſlators of antiquity had ſummoned to their aid the powers of education and of opinion. But every principle which had once maintained the vigour and purity of Rome and Sparta, was long ſince extinguiſhed in a declining and deſpotic empire. Philoſophy ſtill exerciſed her temperate ſway over the human mind, but the cauſe of virtue derived very feeble ſupport from the influence of the Pagan ſuperſtition. Under theſe diſcouraging circumſtances, a prudent magiſtrate might obſerve with pleaſure the progreſs of a religion which diffuſed among the people a pure, benevolent, and univerſal ſyſtem of ethics, adapted to every duty and every condition of life; recommended as the will and reaſon of the Supreme Deity, and enforced by the ſanction of eternal rewards or puniſhments. The experience of Greek and Roman hiſtory could not inform the world how far the ſyſtem of national manners might be reformed and improved by the precepts of a divine revelation; and Conſtantine might liſten with ſome confidence to the flattering, and indeed reaſonable, aſſurances of Lactantius. The eloquent apologiſt ſeemed firmly to expect,

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expect, and almoſt ventured to promiſe, *that* the eſtabliſhment of Chriſtianity would reſtore the innocence and felicity of the primitive age; *that* the worſhip of the true God would extinguiſh war and diſſenſion among thoſe who mutually conſidered themſelves as the children of a common parent; *that* every impure deſire, every angry or ſelfiſh paſſion, would be reſtrained by the knowledge of the goſpel; and *that* the magiſtrates might ſheath the ſword of juſtice among a people who would be univerſally actuated by the ſentiments of truth and piety, of equity and moderation, of harmony and univerſal love [17].

Theory and practice of paſſive obedience.

The paſſive and unreſiſting obedience, which bows under the yoke of authority, or even of oppreſſion, muſt have appeared, in the eyes of an abſolute monarch, the moſt conſpicuous and uſeful of the evangelic virtues [18]. The primitive Chriſtians derived the inſtitution of civil government, not from the conſent of the people, but from the decrees of heaven. The reigning emperor, though he had uſurped the ſceptre by treaſon and murder, immediately aſſumed the ſacred character of vicegerent of the Deity. To the Deity alone he was accountable for the abuſe of his power; and his ſubjects were indiſſolubly bound, by their oath of fidelity, to a tyrant, who had violated every law of nature and ſociety. The humble Chriſtians were ſent into the world as ſheep among wolves; and ſince they were not permitted to employ force, even in the defence of their religion, they ſhould be ſtill more criminal if they were tempted to ſhed the blood of their fellow-creatures, in diſputing the vain privileges, or the ſordid poſſeſſions, of this tranſitory life. Faithful to the

[17] See the elegant deſcription of Lactantius (Divin. Inſtitut. v. 8.), who is much more perſpicuous and poſitive than it becomes a diſcreet prophet.

[18] The political ſyſtem of the Chriſtians is explained by Grotius, de Jure Belli et Pacis, l. i. c. 3, 4. Grotius was a republican and an exile, but the mildneſs of his temper inclined him to ſupport the eſtabliſhed powers.

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doctrine of the apoſtle, who in the reign of Nero had preached the duty of unconditional ſubmiſſion, the Chriſtians of the three firſt centuries preſerved their conſcience pure and innocent of the guilt of ſecret conſpiracy, or open rebellion. While they experienced the rigour of perſecution, they were never provoked either to meet their tyrants in the field, or indignantly to withdraw themſelves into ſome remote and ſequeſtered corner of the globe[19]. The proteſtants of France, of Germany, and of Britain, who aſſerted with ſuch intrepid courage their civil and religious freedom, have been inſulted by the invidious compariſon between the conduct of the primitive and of the reformed Chriſtians[20]. Perhaps, inſtead of cenſure, ſome applauſe may be due to the ſuperior ſenſe and ſpirit of our anceſtors, who had convinced themſelves that religion cannot aboliſh the unalienable rights of human nature[21]. Perhaps the patience of the primitive church may be aſcribed to its weakneſs, as well as to its virtue. A ſect of unwarlike plebeians, without leaders, without arms, without fortifications, muſt have encountered inevitable deſtruction in a raſh and fruitleſs reſiſtance to the maſter of the Roman legions. But the Chriſtians, when they deprecated the wrath of Diocletian, or ſolicited the favour of Conſtantine, could allege, with truth and confidence, that they held the principle of paſſive obedience, and that, in the ſpace of three centuries, their con-

[19] Tertullian. Apolog. c. 32. 34, 35, 36. Tamen nunquam Albiniani, nec Nigriani vel Caſſiani inveniri potuerunt Chriſtiani. Ad Scapulam, c. 2. If this aſſertion be ſtrictly true, it excludes the Chriſtians of that age from all civil and military employments, which would have compelled them to take an active part in the ſervice of their reſpective governors. See Moyle's Works, vol. ii. p. 349.

[20] See the artful Boſſuet (Hiſt. des Variations des Egliſes Proteſtantes, tom. iii. p. 210—258.), and the malicious Bayle (tom. ii. p. 620.). I *name* Bayle, for he was certainly the author of the Avis aux Refugiés; conſult the Dictionnaire Critique de Chauffepié, tom. i. part ii. p. 145.

[21] Buchanan is the earlieſt, or at leaſt the moſt celebrated, of the reformers, who has juſtified the theory of reſiſtance. See his Dialogue de Jure Regni apud Scotos, tom. ii. p. 28. 30. edit. fol. Ruddiman.

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duct had always been conformable to their principles. They might add, that the throne of the emperors would be eſtabliſhed on a fixed and permanent baſis, if all their ſubjects, embracing the Chriſtian doctrine, ſhould learn to ſuffer and to obey.

Divine right of Conſtantine.

In the general order of Providence, princes and tyrants are conſidered as the miniſters of Heaven, appointed to rule or to chaſtiſe the nations of the earth. But ſacred hiſtory affords many illuſtrious examples of the more immediate interpoſition of the Deity in the government of his choſen people. The ſceptre and the ſword were committed to the hands of Moſes, of Joſhua, of Gideon, of David, of the Maccabees; the virtues of thoſe heroes were the motive or the effect of the Divine favour, the ſucceſs of their arms was deſtined to atchieve the deliverance or the triumph of the church. If the judges of Iſrael were occaſional and temporary magiſtrates, the kings of Judah derived from the royal unction of their great anceſtor, an hereditary and indefeaſible right, which could not be forfeited by their own vices, nor recalled by the caprice of their ſubjects. The ſame extraordinary providence, which was no longer confined to the Jewiſh people, might elect Conſtantine and his family as the protectors of the Chriſtian world; and the devout Lactantius announces, in a prophetic tone, the future glories of his long and univerſal reign [22]. Galerius and Maximin, Maxentius and Licinius, were the rivals who ſhared with the favourite of Heaven the provinces of the empire. The tragic deaths of Galerius and Maximin ſoon gratified the reſentment, and fulfilled the ſanguine expectations, of the Chriſtians. The ſucceſs of Conſtantine againſt Maxentius and Licinius, removed the two formidable competitors who ſtill oppoſed the triumph of the ſecond David, and his cauſe might ſeem to claim the peculiar inter-

[22] Lactant. Divin. Inſtitut. i. 1. Euſebius, in the courſe of his hiſtory, his life, and his oration, repeatedly inculcates the divine right of Conſtantine to the empire.

poſition

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position of Providence. The character of the Roman tyrant disgraced the purple, and human nature; and though the Christians might enjoy his precarious favour, they were exposed, with the rest of his subjects, to the effects of his wanton and capricious cruelty. The conduct of Licinius soon betrayed the reluctance with which he had consented to the wise and humane regulations of the edict of Milan. The convocation of provincial synods was prohibited in his dominions; his Christian officers were ignominiously dismissed; and if he avoided the guilt, or rather danger, of a general persecution, his partial oppressions were rendered still more odious, by the violation of a solemn and voluntary engagement [23]. While the East, according to the lively expression of Eusebius, was involved in the shades of infernal darkness, the auspicious rays of celestial light warmed and illuminated the provinces of the West. The piety of Constantine was admitted as an unexceptionable proof of the justice of his arms; and his use of victory confirmed the opinion of the Christians, that their hero was inspired, and conducted, by the Lord of Hosts. The conquest of Italy produced a general edict of toleration; and as soon as the defeat of Licinius had invested Con-

A. D. 324. stantine with the sole dominion of the Roman world, he immediately, by circular letters, exhorted all his subjects to imitate, without delay, the example of their sovereign, and to embrace the divine truth of Christianity [24].

Loyalty and zeal of the Christian party.

The assurance that the elevation of Constantine was intimately connected with the designs of Providence, instilled into the minds of the Christians two opinions, which, by very different means, assisted the accomplishment of the prophecy. Their warm and active loyalty exhausted in his favour every resource of human industry; and they

[23] Our imperfect knowledge of the persecution of Licinius is derived from Eusebius (Hist. Eccles. l. x. c. 8. Vit. Constantin. l. i. c. 49—56. l. ii. c. 1, 2.). Aurelius Victor mentions his cruelty in general terms.

[24] Euseb. in Vit. Constant. l. ii. c. 24—42. 48—60.

confidently

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confidently expected that their ſtrenuous efforts would be ſeconded by ſome divine and miraculous aid. The enemies of Conſtantine have imputed to intereſted motives the alliance which he inſenſibly contracted with the Catholic church, and which apparently contributes to the ſucceſs of his ambition. In the beginning of the fourth century, the Chriſtians ſtill bore a very inadequate proportion to the inhabitants of the empire; but among a degenerate people, who viewed the change of maſters with the indifference of ſlaves, the ſpirit and union of a religious party might aſſiſt the popular leader, to whoſe ſervice, from a principle of conſcience, they had devoted their lives and fortunes[25]. The example of his father had inſtructed Conſtantine to eſteem and to reward the merit of the Chriſtians; and in the diſtribution of public offices, he had the advantage of ſtrengthening his government, by the choice of miniſters or generals, in whoſe fidelity he could repoſe a juſt and unreſerved confidence. By the influence of theſe dignified miſſionaries, the proſelytes of the new faith muſt have multiplied in the court and army; the Barbarians of Germany, who filled the ranks of the legions, were of a careleſs temper, which acquieſced without reſiſtance in the religion of their commander; and when they paſſed the Alps, it may fairly be preſumed, that a great number of the ſoldiers had already conſecrated their ſwords to the ſervice of Chriſt and of Conſtantine[26]. The habits of mankind, and the intereſt of religion, gradually abated the

[25] In the beginning of the laſt century, the Papiſts of England were only a *thirtieth*, and the Proteſtants of France only a *fifteenth* part of the reſpective nations, to whom their ſpirit and power were a conſtant object of apprehenſion. See the relations which Bentivoglio (who was then nuncio at Bruſſels, and afterwards cardinal) tranſmitted to the court of Rome (Relazione, tom. ii. p. 211. 241.). Bentivoglio was curious, well-informed, but ſomewhat partial.

[26] This careleſs temper of the Germans appears almoſt uniformly in the hiſtory of the converſion of each of the tribes. The legions of Conſtantine were recruited with Germans (Zoſimus, l. ii. p. 86.); and the court even of his father had been filled with Chriſtians. See the firſt book of the Life of Conſtantine, by Euſebius.

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horror of war and bloodſhed, which had ſo long prevailed among the Chriſtians; and in the councils which were aſſembled under the gracious protection of Conſtantine, the authority of the biſhops was ſeaſonably employed to ratify the obligation of the military oath, and to inflict the penalty of excommunication on thoſe ſoldiers who threw away their arms during the peace of the church [27]. While Conſtantine, in his own dominions, increaſed the number and zeal of his faithful adherents, he could depend on the ſupport of a powerful faction in thoſe provinces which were ſtill poſſeſſed or uſurped by his rivals. A ſecret diſaffection was diffuſed among the Chriſtian ſubjects of Maxentius and Licinius; and the reſentment which the latter did not attempt to conceal, ſerved only to engage them ſtill more deeply in the intereſt of his competitor. The regular correſpondence which connected the biſhops of the moſt diſtant provinces, enabled them freely to communicate their wiſhes and their deſigns, and to tranſmit without danger any uſeful intelligence, or any pious contributions, which might promote the ſervice of Conſtantine, who publicly declared that he had taken up arms for the deliverance of the church [28].

Expectation and belief of a miracle.

The enthuſiaſm which inſpired the troops, and perhaps the emperor himſelf, had ſharpened their ſwords while it ſatisfied their conſcience. They marched to battle with the full aſſurance, that the ſame God, who had formerly opened a paſſage to the Iſraelites through the waters of Jordan, and had thrown down the walls of Jericho at

[27] De his qui arma projiciunt in *pace*, placuit eos abſtinere a communione. Concil. Arelat. Canon iii. The beſt critics apply theſe words to the *peace of the church*.

[28] Euſebius always conſiders the ſecond civil war againſt Licinius as a ſort of religious cruſade. At the invitation of the tyrant, ſome Chriſtian officers had reſumed their *zones*; or, in other words, had returned to the military ſervice. Their conduct was afterwards cenſured by the 12th canon of the council of Nice; if this particular application may be received, inſtead of the looſe and general ſenſe of the Greek interpreters, Balſamon, Zonaras, and Alexis Ariſtenus. See Beveridge, Pandect. Eccleſ. Græc. tom. i. p. 72. tom. ii. p. 78. Annotation.

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the ſound of the trumpets of Joſhua, would diſplay his viſible majeſty and power in the victory of Conſtantine. The evidence of eccleſiaſtical hiſtory is prepared to affirm, that their expectations were juſtified by the conſpicuous miracle to which the converſion of the firſt Chriſtian emperor has been almoſt unanimouſly aſcribed. The real or imaginary cauſe of ſo important an event, deſerves and demands the attention of poſterity; and I ſhall endeavour to form a juſt eſtimate of the famous viſion of Conſtantine, by a diſtinct conſideration of the *ſtandard*, the *dream*, and the *celeſtial ſign*; by ſeparating the hiſtorical, the natural, and the marvellous parts of this extraordinary ſtory, which, in the compoſition of a ſpecious argument, have been artfully confounded in one ſplendid and brittle maſs.

The *Labarum*, or ſtandard of the croſs.

I. An inſtrument of the tortures which were inflicted only on ſlaves and ſtrangers, became an object of horror in the eyes of a Roman citizen; and the ideas of guilt, of pain, and of ignominy, were cloſely united with the idea of the croſs[29]. The piety, rather than the humanity, of Conſtantine, ſoon aboliſhed in his dominions the puniſhment which the Saviour of mankind had condeſcended to ſuffer[30]; but the emperor had already learned to deſpiſe the prejudices of his education, and of his people, before he could erect in the midſt of Rome his own ſtatue, bearing a croſs in his right hand; with an inſcription, which referred the victory of his arms, and the deliverance of Rome, to the virtue of that ſalutary ſign, the true ſymbol of

[29] Nomen ipſum *crucis* abſit non modo a corpore civium Romanorum, ſed etiam a cogitatione, oculis, auribus. Cicero pro Raberio, c. 5. The Chriſtian writers, Juſtin, Minucius Felix, Tertullian, Jerom, and Maximus of Turin, have inveſtigated with tolerable ſucceſs the figure or likeneſs of a croſs in almoſt every object of nature or art; in the interſection of the meridian and equator, the human face, a bird flying, a man ſwimming, a maſt and yard, a plough, a *ſtandard*, &c. &c. &c. See Lipſius de Cruce, l. i. c. 9.

[30] See Aurelius Victor, who conſiders this law as one of the examples of Conſtantine's piety. An edict ſo honourable to Chriſtianity deſerved a place in the Theodoſian code, inſtead of the indirect mention of it, which ſeems to reſult from the compariſon of the vth and xviiith titles of the ixth book.

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force and courage [31]. The ſame ſymbol ſanctified the arms of the ſoldiers of Conſtantine; the croſs glittered on their helmets, was engraved on their ſhields, was interwoven into their banners; and the conſecrated emblems which adorned the perſon of the emperor himſelf, were diſtinguiſhed only by richer materials and more exquiſite workmanſhip [32]. But the principal ſtandard which diſplayed the triumph of the croſs was ſtyled the *Labarum* [33], an obſcure though celebrated name, which has been vainly derived from almoſt all the languages of the world. It is deſcribed [34] as a long pike interſected by a tranſverſal beam. The ſilken veil which hung down from the beam, was curiouſly enwrought with the images of the reigning monarch and his children. The ſummit of the pike ſupported a crown of gold which incloſed the myſterious monogram, at once expreſſive of the figure of the croſs, and the initial letters of the name of Chriſt [35]. The ſafety of the labarum was entruſted to fifty guards, of approved valour and fidelity; their ſtation was

[31] Euſebius, in Vit. Conſtantin. l. i. c. 40. This ſtatue, or at leaſt the croſs and inſcription, may be aſcribed with more probability to the ſecond, or even the third, viſit of Conſtantine to Rome. Immediately after the defeat of Maxentius, the minds of the ſenate and people were ſcarcely ripe for this public monument.

[32] Agnoſcas regina libens mea ſigna neceſſe eſt;
In quibus effigies *crucis* aut gemmata refulget
Aut longis ſolido ex auro præfertur in haſtis.
Hoc ſigno invictus, tranſmiſſis Alpibus Ultor
Servitium ſolvit miſerabile Conſtantinus
* * * * * * * * * * * * * * *
Chriſtus *purpureum* gemmanti textus in auro
Signabat *Labarum*, clypeorum inſignia. Chriſtus
Scripſerat; ardebat ſummis *crux* addita criſtis.
Prudent. in Symmachum, l. ii. 464. 486.

[33] The derivation and meaning of the word *Labarum*, or *Laborum*, which is employed by Gregory Nazianzen, Ambroſe, Prudentius, &c. ſtill remain totally unknown; in ſpite of the efforts of the critics, who have ineffectually tortured the Latin, Greek, Spaniſh, Celtic, Teutonic, Illyric, Armenian, &c. in ſearch of an etymology. See Ducange, in Gloſſ. Med. & infim. Latinitat. ſub voce *Labarum*, and Godefroy, ad Cod. Theodoſ. tom. ii. p. 143.

[34] Euſeb. in Vit. Conſtantin. l. i. c. 30, 31. Baronius (Annal. Eccleſ. A. D. 312, N° 26.) has engraved a repreſentation of the Labarum.

[35] Tranſverſâ X literâ, ſummo capite circumflexo, Chriſtum in ſcutis notat. Cæcilius de M. P. c. 44. Cuper (ad M. P. in edit. Lactant. tom. ii. p. 500.) and Baronius (A. D. 312. N° 25.) have engraved from ancient monuments ſeveral ſpecimens (as thus ☧ or ☧) of theſe monograms, which became extremely faſhionable in the Chriſtian world.

marked

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marked by honours and emoluments; and ſome fortunate accidents ſoon introduced an opinion, that as long as the guards of the labarum were engaged in the execution of their office, they were ſecure and invulnerable amidſt the darts of the enemy. In the ſecond civil war Licinius felt and dreaded the power of this conſecrated banner, the ſight of which, in the diſtreſs of battle, animated the ſoldiers of Conſtantine with an invincible enthuſiaſm, and ſcattered terror and diſmay through the ranks of the adverſe legions[36]. The Chriſtian emperors, who reſpected the example of Conſtantine, diſplayed in all their military expeditions the ſtandard of the croſs; but when the degenerate ſucceſſors of Theodoſius had ceaſed to appear in perſon at the head of their armies, the labarum was depoſited as a venerable but uſeleſs relic in the palace of Conſtantinople[37]. Its honours are ſtill preſerved on the medals of the Flavian family. Their grateful devotion has placed the monogram of Chriſt in the midſt of the enſigns of Rome. The ſolemn epithets of, ſafety of the republic, glory of the army, reſtoration of public happineſs, are equally applied to the religious and military trophies; and there is ſtill extant a medal of the emperor Conſtantius, where the ſtandard of the labarum is accompanied with theſe memorable words, BY THIS SIGN THOU SHALT CONQUER[38].

The dream of Conſtantine.

II. In all occaſions of danger or diſtreſs, it was the practice of the primitive Chriſtians to fortify their minds and bodies by the ſign of

[36] Euſeb. in Vit. Conſtantin. l. ii. c. 7, 8, 9. He introduces the Labarum before the Italian expedition; but his narrative ſeems to indicate that it was never ſhewn at the head of an army, till Conſtantine, above ten years afterwards, declared himſelf the enemy of Licinius, and the deliverer of the church.

[37] See Cod. Theod. l. vi. tit. xxv. Sozomen, l. i. c. 2. Theophan. Chronograph. p. 11. Theophanes lived towards the end of the eighth century, almoſt five hundred years after Conſtantine. The modern Greeks were not inclined to diſplay in the field the ſtandard of the empire and of Chriſtianity; and though they depended on every ſuperſtitious hope of *defence*, the promiſe of *victory* would have appeared too bold a fiction.

[38] The Abbé du Voiſin, p. 103, &c. alleges ſeveral of theſe medals, and quotes a particular diſſertation of a jeſuit, the Pere de Grainville, on this ſubject.

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the croſs, which they uſed, in all their eccleſiaſtical rites, in all the daily occurrences of life, as an infallible preſervative againſt every ſpecies of ſpiritual or temporal evil[39]. The authority of the church might alone have had ſufficient weight to juſtify the devotion of Conſtantine, who in the ſame prudent and gradual progreſs acknowledged the truth, and aſſumed the ſymbol, of Chriſtianity. But the teſtimony of a contemporary writer, who in a formal treatiſe has avenged the cauſe of religion, beſtows on the piety of the emperor a more awful and ſublime character. He affirms with the moſt perfect confidence, that in the night which preceded the laſt battle againſt Maxentius, Conſtantine was admoniſhed in a dream to inſcribe the ſhields of his ſoldiers with the *celeſtial ſign of God*, the ſacred monogram of the name of Chriſt; that he executed the commands of heaven, and that his valour and obedience were rewarded by the deciſive victory of the Milvian bridge. Some conſiderations might perhaps incline a ſceptical mind to ſuſpect the judgment or the veracity of the rhetorician, whoſe pen, either from zeal or intereſt, was devoted to the cauſe of the prevailing faction[40]. He appears to have publiſhed his deaths of the perſecutors at Nicomedia about three years after the Roman victory; but the interval of a thouſand miles, and a thouſand days, will allow an ample latitude

[39] Tertullian, de Corona, c. 3. Athanaſius, tom. i. p. 101. The learned jeſuit Petavius (Dogmata Theolog. l. xv. c. 9, 10.) has collected many ſimilar paſſages on the virtues of the croſs, which in the laſt age embarraſſed our Proteſtant diſputants.

[40] Cæcilius, de M. P. c. 44. It is certain, that this hiſtorical declamation was compoſed and publiſhed while Licinius, ſovereign of the Eaſt, ſtill preſerved the friendſhip of Conſtantine, and of the Chriſtians. Every reader of taſte muſt perceive, that the ſtyle is of a very different and inferior character to that of Lactantius; and ſuch indeed is the judgment of Le Clerc and Lardner (Bibliotheque Ancienne et Moderne, tom. iii. p. 438. Credibility of the Goſpel, &c. part ii. vol. vii. p. 94.). Three arguments from the title of the book, and from the names of Donatus and Cæcilius, are produced by the advocates for Lactantius (See the P. Leſtocq, tom. ii. p. 46—60.). Each of theſe proofs is ſingly weak and defective, but their concurrence has great weight. I have often fluctuated, and ſhall *tamely* follow the Colbert MS. in calling the author (whoever he was) Cæcilius.

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for the invention of declaimers, the credulity of party, and the tacit approbation of the emperor himſelf, who might liſten without indignation to a marvellous tale, which exalted his fame, and promoted his deſigns. In favour of Licinius, who ſtill diſſembled his animoſity to the Chriſtians, the ſame author has provided a ſimilar viſion, of a form of prayer, which was communicated by an angel, and repeated by the whole army before they engaged the legions of the tyrant Maximin. The frequent repetition of miracles ſerves to provoke, where it does not ſubdue, the reaſon of mankind [41]; but if the dream of Conſtantine is ſeparately conſidered, it may be naturally explained either by the policy or the enthuſiaſm of the emperor. Whilſt his anxiety for the approaching day, which muſt decide the fate of the empire, was ſuſpended by a ſhort and interrupted ſlumber, the venerable form of Chriſt, and the well-known ſymbol of his religion, might forcibly offer themſelves to the active fancy of a prince who reverenced the name, and had perhaps ſecretly implored the power, of the God of the Chriſtians. As readily might a conſummate ſtateſman indulge himſelf in the uſe of one of thoſe military ſtratagems, one of thoſe pious frauds, which Philip and Sertorius had employed with ſuch art and effect [42]. The præternatural origin of dreams was univerſally admitted by the nations of antiquity, and a conſiderable part of the Gallic army was already prepared to place their confidence in

[41] Cæcilius, de M. P. c. 46. There ſeems to be ſome reaſon in the obſervation of M. de Voltaire (Oeuvres, tom. xiv. p. 307.), who aſcribes to the ſucceſs of Conſtantine the ſuperior fame of his Labarum above the angel of Licinius. Yet even this angel is favourably entertained by Pagi, Tillemont, Fleury, &c. who are fond of increaſing their ſtock of miracles.

[42] Beſides theſe well-known examples, Tollius (Preface to Boileau's tranſlation of Longinus) has diſcovered a viſion of Antigonus, who aſſured his troops that he had ſeen a pentagon (the ſymbol of ſafety) with theſe words, "In this conquer." But Tollius has moſt inexcuſably omitted to produce his authority; and his own character, literary as well as moral, is not free from reproach (See Chauffepié, Dictionnaire Critique, tom. iv. p. 460.). Without inſiſting on the ſilence of Diodorus, Plutarch, Juſtin, &c. it may be obſerved that Polyænus, who in a ſeparate chapter (l. iv. c. 6.) has collected nineteen military ſtratagems of Antigonus, is totally ignorant of this remarkable viſion.

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the ſalutary ſign of the Chriſtian religion. The ſecret viſion of Conſtantine could be diſproved only by the event; and the intrepid hero who had paſſed the Alps and the Apennine, might view with careleſs deſpair the conſequences of a defeat under the walls of Rome. The ſenate and people, exulting in their own deliverance from an odious tyrant, acknowledged that the victory of Conſtantine ſurpaſſed the powers of man, without daring to inſinuate that it had been obtained by the protection of the *Gods*. The triumphal arch, which was erected about three years after the event, proclaims, in ambiguous language, that, by the greatneſs of his own mind, and by an *inſtinct* or impulſe of the Divinity, he had ſaved and avenged the Roman republic [43]. The Pagan orator, who had ſeized an earlier opportunity of celebrating the virtues of the conqueror, ſuppoſes that he alone enjoyed a ſecret and intimate commerce with the Supreme Being, who delegated the care of mortals to his ſubordinate deities; and thus aſſigns a very plauſible reaſon why the ſubjects of Conſtantine ſhould not preſume to embrace the new religion of their ſovereign [44].

Appearance of a croſs in the ſky.

III. The philoſopher, who with calm ſuſpicion examines the dreams and omens, the miracles and prodigies, of profane or even of eccleſiaſtical hiſtory, will probably conclude, that if the eyes of the ſpectators have ſometimes been deceived by fraud, the underſtanding of the readers has much more frequently been inſulted by fiction. Every event, or appearance, or accident, which ſeems to deviate from the ordinary courſe of nature, has been raſhly aſcribed to the immediate action of the Deity; and the aſtoniſhed fancy of the multitude has ſometimes given ſhape and colour,

[43] Inſtinctu Divinitatis, mentis magnitudine. The inſcription on the triumphal arch of Conſtantine, which has been copied by Baronius, Gruter, &c. may ſtill be peruſed by every curious traveller.

[44] Habes profecto aliquid cum illa mente Divinâ ſecretum; quæ delegatâ noſtrâ Diis Minoribus curâ uni ſe tibi dignatur oſtendere. Panegyr. Vet. ix. 2.

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language and motion, to the fleeting but uncommon meteors of the air[45]. Nazarius and Euſebius are the two moſt celebrated orators, who in ſtudied panegyrics have laboured to exalt the glory of Conſtantine. Nine years after the Roman victory, Nazarius[46] deſcribes an army of divine warriors, who ſeemed to fall from the ſky: he marks their beauty, their ſpirit, their gigantic forms, the ſtream of light which beamed from their celeſtial armour, their patience in ſuffering themſelves to be heard, as well as ſeen, by mortals; and their declaration that they were ſent, that they flew, to the aſſiſtance of the great Conſtantine. For the truth of this prodigy, the Pagan orator appeals to the whole Gallic nation, in whoſe preſence he was then ſpeaking; and ſeems to hope that the ancient apparitions[47] would now obtain credit from this recent and public event. The Chriſtian fable of Euſebius, which, in the ſpace of twenty-ſix years, might ariſe from the original dream, is caſt in a much more correct and elegant mould. In one of the marches of Conſtantine, he is reported to have ſeen with his own eyes the luminous trophy of the croſs, placed above the meridian ſun, and inſcribed with the following words: BY THIS, CONQUER. This amazing object in the ſky aſtoniſhed the whole army, as well as the emperor himſelf, who was yet undetermined in the choice of a religion; but his aſtoniſhment was converted into faith by the viſion of the enſuing night. Chriſt appeared before his eyes; and diſplaying the ſame celeſtial ſign of the croſs, he directed Conſtantine to frame a ſimilar ſtandard, and to

A. D. 321.

A. D. 338.

[45] M. Freret (Memoires de l'Academie des Inſcriptions, tom. iv. p. 411—437.) explains, by phyſical cauſes, many of the prodigies of antiquity; and Fabricius, who is abuſed by both parties, vainly tries to introduce the celeſtial croſs of Conſtantine among the ſolar Halos. Bibliothec. Græc. tom. vi. p. 8—29.

[46] Nazarius inter Panegyr. Vet. x. 14, 15. It is unneceſſary to name the moderns, whoſe undiſtinguiſhing and ravenous appetite has ſwallowed even the Pagan bait of Nazarius.

[47] The apparitions of Caſtor and Pollux, particularly to announce the Macedonian victory, are atteſted by hiſtorians and public monuments. See Cicero de Natura Deorum, ii. 2. iii. 5, 6. Florus, ii. 12. Valerius Maximus, l. i. c. 8. N° 1. Yet the moſt recent of theſe miracles is omitted, and indirectly denied by Livy, xlv. 1.

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march, with an assurance of victory, against Maxentius and all his enemies[48]. The learned bishop of Cæsarea appears to be sensible, that the recent discovery of this marvellous anecdote would excite some surprise and distrust among the most pious of his readers. Yet, instead of ascertaining the precise circumstances of time and place, which always serve to detect falsehood, or establish truth[49]; instead of collecting and recording the evidence of so many living witnesses, who must have been spectators of this stupendous miracle[50]; Eusebius contents himself with alleging a very singular testimony; that of the deceased Constantine, who, many years after the event, in the freedom of conversation, had related to him this extraordinary incident of his own life, and had attested the truth of it by a solemn oath. The prudence and gratitude of the learned prelate forbade him to suspect the veracity of his victorious master; but he plainly intimates, that, in a fact of such a nature, he should have refused his assent to any meaner authority. This motive of credibility could not survive the power of the Flavian family; and the celestial sign, which the Infidels might afterwards deride[51], was disregarded by the Christians of the age which immediately followed the conversion of Constantine[52]. But the Catholic church, both of

[48] Eusebius, l. i. c. 28, 29, 30. The silence of the same Eusebius, in his Ecclesiastical History, is deeply felt by those advocates for the miracle who are not absolutely callous.

[49] The narrative of Constantine seems to indicate, that he saw the cross in the sky before he passed the Alps against Maxentius. The scene has been fixed by provincial vanity at Treves, Besançon, &c. See Tillemont, Hist. des Empereurs, tom. iv. p. 573.

[50] The pious Tillemont (Mem. Eccles. tom. vii. p. 1317.) rejects with a sigh the useful Acts of Artemius, a veteran and a martyr, who attests as an eye-witness the vision of Constantine.

[51] Gelasius Cyzic. in Act. Concil. Nicen. l. i. c. 4.

[52] The advocates for the vision are unable to produce a single testimony from the Fathers of the fourth and fifth centuries, who, in their voluminous writings, repeatedly celebrate the triumph of the church and of Constantine. As these venerable men had not any dislike to a miracle, we may suspect (and the suspicion is confirmed by the ignorance of Jerom) that they were all unacquainted with the life of Constantine by Eusebius. This tract was recovered by the diligence of those who translated or continued his Ecclesiastical History, and who have represented in various colours the vision of the cross.

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the East and of the West, has adopted a prodigy which favours, or seems to favour, the popular worship of the cross. The vision of Constantine maintained an honourable place in the legend of superstition, till the bold and sagacious spirit of criticism presumed to depreciate the triumph, and to arraign the truth, of the first Christian emperor [53].

The conversion of Constantine might be sincere.

The Protestant and philosophic readers of the present age will incline to believe, that, in the account of his own conversion, Constantine attested a wilful falsehood by a solemn and deliberate perjury. They may not hesitate to pronounce, that, in the choice of a religion, his mind was determined only by a sense of interest; and that (according to the expression of a profane poet [54]) he used the altars of the church as a convenient footstool to the throne of the empire. A conclusion so harsh and so absolute is not, however, warranted by our knowledge of human nature, of Constantine, or of Christianity. In an age of religious fervour, the most artful statesmen are observed to feel some part of the enthusiasm which they inspire; and the most orthodox saints assume the dangerous privilege of defending the cause of truth by the arms of deceit and falsehood. Personal interest is often the standard of our belief, as

[53] Godefroy was the first who, in the year 1643 (Not. ad Philostorgium, l. i. c. 6. p. 16.), expressed any doubt of a miracle which had been supported with equal zeal by Cardinal Baronius, and the Centuriators of Magdeburgh. Since that time, many of the Protestant critics have inclined towards doubt and disbelief. The objections are urged, with great force, by M. Chauffepié (Dictionnaire Critique, tom. iv. p. 6—11.); and, in the year 1774, a doctor of Sorbonne, the Abbé du Voisin, published an Apology, which deserves the praise of learning and moderation.

[54] Lors Constantin dit ces propres paroles:
J'ai renversé le culte des idoles;
Sur les debris de leurs temples fumans
Au Dieu du Ciel j'ai prodigué l'encens.
Mais tous mes soins pour sa grandeur suprême
N'eurent jamais d'autre objêt que moi-même;
Les saints autels n'etoient à mes regards
Qu'un marchepié du trône des Césars.
L'ambition, la fureur, les delices
Etoient mes Dieux, avoient mes sacrifices.
L'or des Chrêtiens, leurs intrigues, leur sang
Ont cimenté ma fortune et mon rang.
The poem which contains these lines may be read with pleasure, but cannot be named with decency.

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well as of our practice; and the ſame motives of temporal advantage which might influence the public conduct and profeſſions of Conſtantine, would inſenſibly diſpoſe his mind to embrace a religion ſo propitious to his fame and fortunes. His vanity was gratified by the flattering aſſurance, that *he* had been choſen by Heaven to reign over the earth; ſucceſs had juſtified his divine title to the throne, and that title was founded on the truth of the Chriſtian revelation. As real virtue is ſometimes excited by undeſerved applauſe, the ſpecious piety of Conſtantine, if at firſt it was only ſpecious, might gradually, by the influence of praiſe, of habit, and of example, be matured into ſerious faith and fervent devotion. The biſhops and teachers of the new ſect, whoſe dreſs and manners had not qualified them for the reſidence of a court, were admitted to the Imperial table; they accompanied the monarch in his expeditions; and the aſcendant which one of them, an Egyptian or a Spaniard [55], acquired over his mind, was imputed by the Pagans to the effect of magic [56]. Lactantius, who has adorned the precepts of the goſpel with the eloquence of Cicero [57]; and Euſebius, who has conſecrated the learning and philoſophy of the Greeks to the ſervice of religion [58], were both received into the friendſhip and familiarity of their ſovereign: and thoſe able maſters of controverſy could patiently watch the ſoft and yielding moments of perſuaſion, and dexterouſly apply the arguments which were the beſt adapted to his character and underſtanding.

[55] This favourite was probably the great Oſius, biſhop of Cordova, who preferred the paſtoral care of the whole church to the government of a particular dioceſe. His character is magnificently, though conciſely, expreſſed by Athanaſius (tom. i. p. 703.). See Tillemont, Mem. Eccléſ. tom. vii. p. 524—561. Oſius was accuſed, perhaps unjuſtly, of retiring from court with a very ample fortune.

[56] See Euſebius (in Vit. Conſtant. paſſim) and Zoſimus (l. ii. p. 104.).

[57] The Chriſtianity of Lactantius was of a moral, rather than of a myſterious caſt. "Erat pæne rudis (ſays the orthodox Bull) "diſciplinæ Chriſtianæ, et in rhetoricâ me-"lius quam in theologiâ verſatus." Defenſio Fidei Nicenæ, ſect. ii. c. 14.

[58] Fabricius, with his uſual diligence, has collected a liſt of between three and four hundred authors quoted in the Evangelical Preparations of Euſebius. See Bibliothec. Græc. l. v. c. 4. tom. vi. p. 37—56.

Whatever

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Whatever advantages might be derived from the acquiſition of an Imperial proſelyte, he was diſtinguiſhed by the ſplendour of his purple, rather than by the ſuperiority of wiſdom or virtue, from the many thouſands of his ſubjects who had embraced the doctrines of Chriſtianity. Nor can it be deemed incredible, that the mind of an unlettered ſoldier ſhould have yielded to the weight of evidence, which, in a more enlightened age, has ſatisfied or ſubdued the reaſon of a Grotius, a Paſcal, or a Locke. In the midſt of the inceſſant labours of his great office, this ſoldier employed, or affected to employ, the hours of the night in the diligent ſtudy of the Scriptures, and the compoſition of theological diſcourſes; which he afterwards pronounced in the preſence of a numerous and applauding audience. In a very long diſcourſe, which is ſtill extant, the royal preacher expatiates on the various proofs of religion; but he dwells with peculiar complacency on the Sybilline verſes [59], and the fourth eclogue of Virgil [60]. Forty years before the birth of Chriſt, the Mantuan bard, as if inſpired by the celeſtial muſe of Iſaiah, had celebrated, with all the pomp of Oriental metaphor, the return of the Virgin, the fall of the ſerpent, the approaching birth of a godlike child, the offſpring of the great Jupiter, who ſhould expiate the guilt of human kind, and govern the peaceful univerſe with the virtues of his father; the riſe and appearance of an heavenly race, a primitive nation throughout the world; and the gradual reſtoration of the innocence and felicity of the golden age. The poet was perhaps unconſcious of the ſecret ſenſe and object of theſe ſublime predictions, which have been ſo unworthily applied to the infant ſon of a conſul,

The fourth eclogue of Virgil.

[59] See Conſtantin. Orat. ad Sanctos, c. 19, 20. He chiefly depends on a myſterious acroſtic, compoſed in the ſixth age after the Deluge by the Erythræan Sybil, and tranſlated by Cicero into Latin. The initial letters of the thirty-four Greek verſes form this prophetic ſentence: JESUS CHRIST, SON OF GOD, SAVIOUR OF THE WORLD.

[60] In his paraphraſe of Virgil, the emperor has frequently aſſiſted and improved the literal ſenſe of the Latin text. See Blondel des Sybilles, l. i. c. 14, 15, 16.

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or a triumvir[61]: but if a more ſplendid, and indeed ſpecious, interpretation of the fourth eclogue contributed to the converſion of the firſt Chriſtian emperor, Virgil may deſerve to be ranked among the moſt ſucceſsful miſſionaries of the goſpel[62].

Devotion and privileges of Conſtantine.

The awful myſteries of the Chriſtian faith and worſhip were concealed from the eyes of ſtrangers, and even of catechumens, with an affected ſecrecy, which ſerved to excite their wonder and curioſity[63]. But the ſevere rules of diſcipline which the prudence of the biſhops had inſtituted, were relaxed by the ſame prudence in favour of an Imperial proſelyte, whom it was ſo important to allure, by every gentle condeſcenſion, into the pale of the church; and Conſtantine was permitted, at leaſt by a tacit diſpenſation, to enjoy *moſt* of the privileges, before he had contracted *any* of the obligations, of a Chriſtian. Inſtead of retiring from the congregation, when the voice of the deacon diſmiſſed the profane multitude, he prayed with the faithful, diſputed with the biſhops, preached on the moſt ſublime and intricate ſubjects of theology, celebrated with ſacred rites the vigil of Eaſter, and publicly declared himſelf, not only a partaker, but, in ſome meaſure, a prieſt and hierophant of the Chriſtian myſteries[64]. The pride of Conſtantine might aſſume, and his ſervices had deſerved, ſome extraordinary diſtinction: an ill-timed

[61] The different claims of an elder and younger ſon of Pollio, of Julia, of Druſus, of Marcellus, are found to be incompatible with chronology, hiſtory, and the good ſenſe of Virgil.

[62] See Lowth de Sacra Poeſi Hebræorum Prælect. xxi. p. 289—293. In the examination of the fourth eclogue, the reſpectable biſhop of London has diſplayed learning, taſte, ingenuity, and a temperate enthuſiaſm, which exalts his fancy without degrading his judgment.

[63] The diſtinction between the public and the ſecret parts of divine ſervice, the *miſſa catechumenorum*, and the *miſſa fidelium*, and the myſterious veil which piety or policy had caſt over the latter, are very judiciouſly explained by Thiers, Expoſition du Saint Sacrement, l. i. c. 8—12. p. 59—91.: but as, on this ſubject, the Papiſts may reaſonably be ſuſpected, a Proteſtant reader will depend with more confidence on the learned Bingham, Antiquities, l. x. c. 5.

[64] See Euſebius in Vit. Conſt. l. iv. c. 15—32. and the whole tenour of Conſtantine's Sermon. The faith and devotion of the emperor has furniſhed Baronius with a ſpecious argument in favour of his early baptiſm.

rigour

rigour might have blaſted the unripened fruits of his converſion; and if the doors of the church had been ſtrictly cloſed againſt a prince who had deſerted the altars of the gods, the maſter of the empire would have been left deſtitute of any form of religious worſhip. In his laſt viſit to Rome, he piouſly diſclaimed and inſulted the ſuperſtition of his anceſtors, by refuſing to lead the military proceſſion of the equeſtrian order, and to bffer the public vows to the Jupiter of the Capitoline Hill [65]. Many years before his baptiſm and death, Conſtantine had proclaimed to the world, that neither his perſon nor his image ſhould ever more be ſeen within the walls of an idolatrous temple; while he diſtributed through the provinces a variety of medals and pictures, which repreſented the emperor in an humble and ſuppliant poſture of Chriſtian devotion [66].

Delay of his baptiſm till the approach of death.

The pride of Conſtantine, who refuſed the privileges of a catechumen, cannot eaſily be explained or excuſed; but the delay of his baptiſm may be juſtified by the maxims and the practice of eccleſiaſtical antiquity. The ſacrament of baptiſm [67] was regularly adminiſtered by the biſhop himſelf, with his aſſiſtant clergy, in the cathedral church of the dioceſe, during the fifty days between the ſolemn feſtivals of Eaſter and Pentecoſt; and this holy term admitted a numerous band of infants and adult perſons into the boſom of the church. The diſcretion of parents often ſuſpended the baptiſm of their children till they could underſtand the obligations which they contracted: the ſeverity of ancient biſhops exacted from the new converts a noviciate of two or three years; and the catechumens

[65] Zoſimus, l. ii. p. 105.

[66] Euſebius in Vit. Conſtant. l. iv. c. 15, 16.

[67] The theory and practice of antiquity with regard to the ſacrament of baptiſm, have been copiouſly explained by Dom. Chardon, Hiſt. des Sacremens, tom. i. p. 3—405.; Dom. Martenne, de Ritibus Eccleſiæ Antiquis, tom. i.; and by Bingham, in the tenth and eleventh books of his Chriſtian Antiquities. One circumſtance may be obſerved, in which the modern churches have materially departed from the ancient cuſtom. The ſacrament of baptiſm (even when it was adminiſtered to infants) was immediately followed by confirmation and the holy communion.

themſelves,

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themſelves, from different motives of a temporal or a ſpiritual nature, were ſeldom impatient to aſſume the character of perfect and initiated Chriſtians. The ſacrament of baptiſm was ſuppoſed to contain a full and abſolute expiation of ſin; and the ſoul was inſtantly reſtored to its original purity, and entitled to the promiſe of eternal ſalvation. Among the proſelytes of Chriſtianity, there were many who judged it imprudent to precipitate a ſalutary rite, which could not be repeated: to throw away an ineſtimable privilege, which could never be recovered. By the delay of their baptiſm, they could venture freely to indulge their paſſions in the enjoyments of this world, while they ſtill retained in their own hands the means of a ſure and eaſy abſolution[68]. The ſublime theory of the goſpel had made a much fainter impreſſion on the heart than on the underſtanding of Conſtantine himſelf. He purſued the great object of his ambition through the dark and bloody paths of war and policy; and, after the victory, he abandoned himſelf, without moderation, to the abuſe of his fortune. Inſtead of aſſerting his juſt ſuperiority above the imperfect heroiſm and profane philoſophy of Trajan and the Antonines, the mature age of Conſtantine forfeited the reputation which he had acquired in his youth. As he gradually advanced in the knowledge of truth, he proportionably declined in the practice of virtue; and the ſame year of his reign in which

[68] The fathers, who cenſured this criminal delay, could not deny the certain and victorious efficacy, even of a death-bed baptiſm. The ingenious rhetoric of Chryſoſtom could find only three arguments againſt theſe prudent Chriſtians. 1. That we ſhould love and purſue virtue for her own ſake, and not merely for the reward. 2. That we may be ſurpriſed by death without an opportunity of baptiſm. 3. That although we ſhall be placed in heaven, we ſhall only twinkle like little ſtars, when compared to the ſuns of righteouſneſs who have run their appointed courſe with labour, with ſucceſs, and with glory. Chryſoſtom in Epiſt. ad Hebræos, Homil. xiii. apud Chardon, Hiſt. des Sacremens, tom. i. p. 49. I believe that this delay of baptiſm, though attended with the moſt pernicious conſequences, was never condemned by any general or provincial council, or by any public act or declaration of the church. The zeal of the biſhops was eaſily kindled on much ſlighter occaſions.

he convened the council of Nice, was polluted by the execution, or rather murder, of his eldeſt ſon. This date is alone ſufficient to refute the ignorant and malicious ſuggeſtions of Zoſimus [69], who affirms, that, after the death of Criſpus, the remorſe of his father accepted from the miniſters of Chriſtianity the expiation which he had vainly ſolicited from the Pagan pontiffs. At the time of the death of Criſpus, the emperor could no longer heſitate in the choice of a religion; he could no longer be ignorant that the church was poſſeſſed of an infallible remedy, though he choſe to defer the application of it till the approach of death had removed the temptation and danger of a relapſe. The biſhops, whom he ſummoned, in his laſt illneſs, to the palace of Nicomedia, were edified by the fervour with which he requeſted and received the ſacrament of baptiſm, by the ſolemn proteſtation that the remainder of his life ſhould be worthy of a diſciple of Chriſt, and by his humble refuſal to wear the Imperial purple after he had been clothed in the white garment of a Neophyte. The example and reputation of Conſtantine ſeemed to countenance the delay of baptiſm [70]. Future tyrants were encouraged to believe, that the innocent blood which they might ſhed in a long reign, would inſtantly be waſhed away in the waters of regeneration; and the abuſe of religion dangerouſly undermined the foundations of moral virtue.

Propagation of Chriſtianity.

The gratitude of the church has exalted the virtues and excuſed the failings of a generous patron, who ſeated Chriſtianity on the throne of the Roman world; and the Greeks, who celebrate the feſtival of the Imperial ſaint, ſeldom mention the name of Conſtantine

[69] Zoſimus, l. ii. p. 104. For this diſingenuous falſehood he has deſerved and experienced the harſheſt treatment from all the eccleſiaſtical writers, except Cardinal Baronius (A. D. 324, N° 15—28.), who had occaſion to employ the Infidel on a particular ſervice againſt the Arian Euſebius.

[70] Euſebius, l. iv. c. 61, 62, 63. The biſhop of Cæſarea ſuppoſes the ſalvation of Conſtantine with the moſt perfect confidence.

without

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without adding the title of *equal to the Apoſtles*[71]. Such a compariſon, if it alludes to the character of thoſe divine miſſionaries, muſt be imputed to the extravagance of impious flattery. But if the parallel is confined to the extent and number of their evangelic victories, the ſucceſs of Conſtantine might perhaps equal that of the Apoſtles themſelves. By the edicts of toleration, he removed the temporal diſadvantages which had hitherto retarded the progreſs of Chriſtianity; and its active and numerous miniſters received a free permiſſion, a liberal encouragement, to recommend the ſalutary truths of revelation by every argument which could affect the reaſon or piety of mankind. The exact balance of the two religions continued but a moment; and the piercing eye of ambition and avarice ſoon diſcovered, that the profeſſion of Chriſtianity might contribute to the intereſt of the preſent, as well as of a future, life[72]. The hopes of wealth and honours, the example of an emperor, his exhortations, his irreſiſtible ſmiles, diffuſed conviction among the venal and obſequious crowds which uſually fill the apartments of a palace. The cities which ſignalized a forward zeal, by the voluntary deſtruction of their temples, were diſtinguiſhed by municipal privileges, and rewarded with popular donatives; and the new capital of the Eaſt gloried in the ſingular advantage, that Conſtantinople was never profaned by the worſhip of idols[73]. As the lower ranks of ſociety are governed by imitation, the converſion of thoſe who poſſeſſed any eminence of birth, of power, or of riches, was ſoon followed by de-

[71] See Tillemont, Hiſt. des Empereurs, tom. iv. p. 429. The Greeks, the Ruſſians, and, in the darker ages, the Latins themſelves, have been deſirous of placing Conſtantine in the catalogue of ſaints.

[72] See the third and fourth books of his life. He was accuſtomed to ſay, that whether Chriſt was preached in pretence or in truth, he ſhould ſtill rejoice (l. iii. c. 58.).

[73] M. de Tillemont (Hiſt. des Empereurs, tom. iv. p. 374. 616.) has defended, with ſtrength and ſpirit, the virgin purity of Conſtantinople againſt ſome malevolent inſinuations of the Pagan Zoſimus.

pendent

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pendent multitudes[74]. The ſalvation of the common people was purchaſed at an eaſy rate, if it be true, that, in one year, twelve thouſand men were baptized at Rome, beſides a proportionable number of women and children; and that a white garment, with twenty pieces of gold, had been promiſed by the emperor to every convert[75]. The powerful influence of Conſtantine was not circumſcribed by the narrow limits of his life, or of his dominions. The education which he beſtowed on his ſons and nephews, ſecured to the empire a race of princes, whoſe faith was ſtill more lively and ſincere, as they imbibed, in their earlieſt infancy, the ſpirit, or at leaſt the doctrine, of Chriſtianity. War and commerce had ſpread the knowledge of the goſpel beyond the confines of the Roman provinces; and the Barbarians, who had diſdained an humble and proſcribed ſect, ſoon learned to eſteem a religion which had been ſo lately embraced by the greateſt monarch and the moſt civilized nation of the globe[76]. The Goths and Germans, who enliſted under the ſtandard of Rome, revered the croſs which glittered at the head

[74] The author of the Hiſtoire Politique et Philoſophique des deux Indes (tom. i. p. 9.), condemns a law of Conſtantine, which gave freedom to all the ſlaves who ſhould embrace Chriſtianity. The emperor did indeed publiſh a law, which reſtrained the Jews from circumciſing, perhaps from keeping, any Chriſtian ſlaves (See Euſeb. in Vit. Conſtant. l. iv. c. 27. and Cod. Theod. l. xvi. tit. ix. with Godefroy's Commentary, tom. vi. p. 247.). But this imperfect exception related only to the Jews; and the great body of ſlaves, who were the property of Chriſtian or Pagan maſters, could not improve their temporal condition by changing their religion. I am ignorant by what guides the Abbé Raynal was deceived; as the total abſence of quotations is the unpardonable blemiſh of his entertaining hiſtory.

[75] See Acta S^ti Silveſtri, and Hiſt. Eccleſ. Nicephor. Calliſt. l. vii. c. 34. ap. Baronium Annal. Eccleſ. A. D. 324, N° 67. 74. Such evidence is contemptible enough; but theſe circumſtances are in themſelves ſo probable, that the learned Dr. Howell (Hiſtory of the World, vol. iii. p. 14.) has not ſcrupled to adopt them.

[76] The converſion of the Barbarians under the reign of Conſtantine is celebrated by the eccleſiaſtical hiſtorians (ſee Sozomen, l. ii. c. 6. and Theodoret, l. i. c. 23, 24.). But Rufinus, the Latin tranſlator of Euſebius, deſerves to be conſidered as an original authority. His information was curiouſly collected from one of the companions of the apoſtle of Æthiopia, and from Bacurius, an Iberian prince, who was count of the domeſtics. Father Mamachi has given an ample compilation on the progreſs of Chriſtianity, in the firſt and ſecond volumes of his great but imperfect work.

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of the legions, and their fierce countrymen received at the ſame time the leſſons of faith and of humanity. The kings of Iberia and Armenia worſhipped the God of their protector; and their ſubjects, who have invariably preſerved the name of Chriſtians, ſoon formed a ſacred and perpetual connection with their Roman brethren. The Chriſtians of Perſia were ſuſpected, in time of war, of preferring their religion to their country; but as long as peace ſubſiſted between the two empires, the perſecuting ſpirit of the Magi was effectually reſtrained by the interpoſition of Conſtantine [77]. The rays of the goſpel illuminated the coaſt of India. The colonies of Jews, who had penetrated into Arabia and Æthiopia [78], oppoſed the progreſs of Chriſtianity; but the labour of the miſſionaries was in ſome meaſure facilitated by a previous knowledge of the Moſaic revelation; and Abyſſinia ſtill reveres the memory of Frumentius, who, in the time of Conſtantine, devoted his life to the converſion of thoſe ſequeſtered regions. Under the reign of his ſon Conſtantius, Theophilus [79], who was himſelf of Indian extraction, was inveſted with the double character of ambaſſador and biſhop. He embarked on the Red Sea with two hundred horſes of the pureſt breed of Cappadocia, which were ſent by the emperor to the prince of the Sabæans, or Homerites. Theophilus was entruſted with many other uſeful or curious preſents, which might raiſe the admiration, and conciliate the friendſhip, of the Barbarians; and he ſuc-

[77] See in Euſebius (in Vit. Conſtant. l. iv. c. 9.) the preſſing and pathetic epiſtle of Conſtantine in favour of his Chriſtian brethren of Perſia.

[78] See Baſnage, Hiſt. des Juifs, tom. vii. p. 182. tom. viii. p. 333. tom. ix. p. 810. The curious diligence of this writer purſues the Jewiſh exiles to the extremities of the globe.

[79] Theophilus had been given in his infancy as a hoſtage by his countrymen of the iſle of Diva, and was educated by the Romans in learning and piety. The Maldives, of which Male, or *Diva*, may be the capital, are a cluſter of 1,900 or 12,000 minute iſlands in the Indian Ocean. The ancients were imperfectly acquainted with the Maldives; but they are deſcribed in the two Mahometan travellers of the ninth century, publiſhed by Renaudot, Geograph. Nubienſis, p. 30, 31. D'Herbelot, Bibliotheque Orientale, p. 704. Hiſt. Generale des Voyages, tom. viii.

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ceſsfully employed ſeveral years in a paſtoral viſit to the churches of the torrid zone [80].

Change of the national religion.

The irreſiſtible power of the Roman emperors was diſplayed in the important and dangerous change of the national religion. The terrors of a military force ſilenced the faint and unſupported murmurs of the Pagans, and there was reaſon to expect, that the cheerful ſubmiſſion of the Chriſtian clergy, as well as people, would be the reſult of conſcience and gratitude. It was long ſince eſtabliſhed, as a fundamental maxim of the Roman conſtitution, that every rank of citizens were alike ſubject to the laws, and that the care of religion was the right as well as duty of the civil magiſtrate. Conſtantine and his ſucceſſors could not eaſily perſuade themſelves that they had forfeited, by their converſion, any branch of the Imperial prerogatives, or that they were incapable of giving laws to a religion which they had protected and embraced. The emperors ſtill continued to exerciſe a ſupreme juriſdiction over the eccleſiaſtical order; and the ſixteenth book of the Theodoſian code repreſents, under a variety of titles, the authority which they aſſumed in the government of the Catholic church.

A. D. 312—438.

Diſtinction of the ſpiritual and temporal powers.

But the diſtinction of the ſpiritual and temporal powers [81], which had never been impoſed on the free ſpirit of Greece and Rome, was introduced and confirmed by the legal eſtabliſhment of Chriſtianity. The office of ſupreme pontiff, which, from the time of Numa to that of Auguſtus, had always been exerciſed by one of the moſt eminent of the ſenators, was at length united to the Imperial dignity. The firſt magiſtrate of the ſtate, as often as he was prompted by ſu-

[80] Philoſtorgius, l. iii. c. 4, 5, 6. with Godefroy's learned obſervations. The hiſtorical narrative is ſoon loſt in an enquiry concerning the ſeat of Paradiſe, ſtrange monſters, &c.

[81] See the epiſtle of Oſius, ap. Athanaſium, vol. i. p. 840. The public remonſtrance which Oſius was forced to addreſs to the ſon, contained the ſame principles of eccleſiaſtical and civil government which he had ſecretly inſtilled into the mind of the father.

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perſtition or policy, performed with his own hands the ſacerdotal functions[82]; nor was there any order of prieſts, either at Rome or in the provinces, who claimed a more ſacred character among men, or a more intimate communication with the gods. But in the Chriſtian church, which entruſts the ſervice of the altar to a perpetual ſucceſſion of conſecrated miniſters, the monarch, whoſe ſpiritual rank is leſs honourable than that of the meaneſt deacon, was ſeated below the rails of the ſanctuary, and confounded with the reſt of the faithful multitude[83]. The emperor might be ſaluted as the father of his people, but he owed a filial duty and reverence to the fathers of the church; and the ſame marks of reſpect, which Conſtantine had paid to the perſons of ſaints and confeſſors, were ſoon exacted by the pride of the epiſcopal order[84]. A ſecret conflict between the civil and eccleſiaſtical juriſdictions, embarraſſed the operations of the Roman government; and a pious emperor was alarmed by the guilt and danger of touching with a profane hand the ark of the covenant. The ſeparation of men into the two orders of the clergy and of the laity, was, indeed, familiar to many nations of antiquity; and the prieſts of India, of Perſia, of Aſſyria, of Judea,

[82] M. de la Baſtie (Memoires de l'Academie des Inſcriptions, tom. xv. p. 38—61.) has evidently proved, that Auguſtus and his ſucceſſors exerciſed in perſon all the ſacred functions of pontifex maximus, or high prieſt of the Roman empire.

[83] Something of a contrary practice had inſenſibly prevailed in the church of Conſtantinople; but the rigid Ambroſe commanded Theodoſius to retire below the rails, and taught him to know the difference between a king and a prieſt. See Theodoret, l. v. c. 18.

[84] At the table of the emperor Maximus, Martin, biſhop of Tours, received the cup from an attendant, and gave it to the preſbyter his companion, before he allowed the emperor to drink; the empreſs waited on Martin at table. Sulpicius Severus, in Vit. St. Martin. c. 23. and Dialogue ii. 7. Yet it may be doubted, whether theſe extraordinary compliments were paid to the biſhop or the ſaint. The honours uſually granted to the former character may be ſeen in Bingham's Antiquities, l. ii. c. 9. and Valeſ. ad Theodoret. l. iv. c. 6. See the haughty ceremonial which Leontius, biſhop of Tripoli, impoſed on the empreſs. Tillemont, Hiſt. des Empereurs, tom. iv. p. 754. Patres Apoſtol. tom. ii. p. 179.

of Æthiopia, of Egypt, and of Gaul, derived from a celeſtial origin the temporal power and poſſeſſions which they had acquired. Theſe venerable inſtitutions had gradually aſſimilated themſelves to the manners and government of their reſpective countries[85]; but the oppoſition or contempt of the civil power ſerved to cement the diſcipline of the primitive church. The Chriſtians had been obliged to elect their own magiſtrates, to raiſe and diſtribute a peculiar revenue, and to regulate the internal policy of their republic by a code of laws, which were ratified by the conſent of the people, and the practice of three hundred years. When Conſtantine embraced the faith of the Chriſtians, he ſeemed to contract a perpetual alliance with a diſtinct and independent ſociety; and the privileges granted or confirmed by that emperor, or by his ſucceſſors, were accepted, not as the precarious favours of the court, but as the juſt and inalienable rights of the eccleſiaſtical order.

State of the biſhops under the Chriſtian emperors.

The Catholic church was adminiſtered by the ſpiritual and legal juriſdiction of eighteen hundred biſhops[86]; of whom one thouſand were ſeated in the Greek, and eight hundred in the Latin, provinces of the empire. The extent and boundaries of their reſpective dioceſes, had been variouſly and accidentally decided by the zeal and ſucceſs of the firſt miſſionaries, by the wiſhes of the people, and by the propagation of the goſpel. Epiſcopal churches were cloſely planted along the banks of the Nile, on the ſea-coaſt of Africa, in the proconſular Aſia, and through the ſouthern provinces of Italy. The biſhops of Gaul and Spain, of Thrace and Pontus, reigned over an

[85] Plutarch, in his treatiſe of Iſis and Oſiris, informs us, that the kings of Egypt, who were not already prieſts, were initiated, after their election, into the ſacerdotal order.

[86] The numbers are not aſcertained by any ancient writer, or original catalogue; for the partial liſts of the eaſtern churches are comparatively modern. The patient diligence of Charles a S^to^ Paolo, of Luke Holſtenius, and of Bingham, has laboriouſly inveſtigated all the epiſcopal ſees of the Catholic church, which was almoſt commenſurate with the Roman empire. The ninth book of the Chriſtian Antiquities is a very accurate map of eccleſiaſtical geography.

ample

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ample territory, and delegated their rural ſuffragans to execute the ſubordinate duties of the paſtoral office [87]. A Chriſtian dioceſe might be ſpread over a province, or reduced to a village, but all the biſhops poſſeſſed an equal and indelible character: they all derived the ſame powers and privileges from the apoſtles, from the people, and from the laws. While the *civil* and *military* profeſſions were ſeparated by the policy of Conſtantine, a new and perpetual order of *eccleſiaſtical* miniſters, always reſpectable, ſometimes dangerous, was eſtabliſhed in the church and ſtate. The important review of their ſtation and attributes may be diſtributed under the following heads: I. Popular election. II. Ordination of the clergy. III. Property. IV. Civil juriſdiction. V. Spiritual cenſures. VI. Exerciſe of public oratory. VII. Privilege of legiſlative aſſemblies.

I. Election of biſhops.

I. The freedom of elections ſubſiſted long after the legal eſtabliſhment of Chriſtianity [88]; and the ſubjects of Rome enjoyed in the church the privilege which they had loſt in the republic, of chuſing the magiſtrates whom they were bound to obey. As ſoon as a biſhop had cloſed his eyes, the metropolitan iſſued a commiſſion to one of his ſuffragans to adminiſter the vacant ſee, and prepare, within a limited time, the future election. The right of voting was veſted in the inferior clergy, who were beſt qualified to judge of the merit of the candidates; in the ſenators or nobles of the city, all thoſe who were diſtinguiſhed by their rank or property; and finally in the whole body of the people, who, on the appointed day,

[87] On the ſubject of the rural biſhops, or *Chorepiſcopi*, who voted in ſynods, and conferred the minor orders, ſee Thomaſſin, Diſcipline de l'Egliſe, tom. i. p. 447, &c. and Chardon, Hiſt. des Sacremens, tom. v. p. 595, &c. They do not appear till the fourth century; and this equivocal character, which had excited the jealouſy of the prelates, was aboliſhed before the end of the tenth, both in the Eaſt and the Weſt.

[88] Thomaſſin (Diſcipline de l'Egliſe, tom. ii. l. ii. c. 1—8. p. 673—721.) has copiouſly treated of the election of biſhops during the five firſt centuries, both in the Eaſt and in the Weſt; but he ſhews a very partial bias in favour of the epiſcopal ariſtocracy. Bingham (l. iv. c. 2.) is moderate; and Chardon (Hiſt. des Sacramens, tom. v. p. 108—128.) is very clear and conciſe.

flocked

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flocked in multitudes from the moſt remote parts of the dioceſe [89], and ſometimes ſilenced, by their tumultuous acclamations, the voice of reaſon, and the laws of diſcipline. Theſe acclamations might accidentally fix on the head of the moſt deſerving competitor; of ſome ancient preſbyter, ſome holy monk, or ſome layman, conſpicuous for his zeal and piety. But the epiſcopal chair was ſolicited, eſpecially in the great and opulent cities of the empire, as a temporal rather than as a ſpiritual dignity. The intereſted views, the ſelfiſh and angry paſſions, the arts of perfidy and diſſimulation, the ſecret corruption, the open and even bloody violence which had formerly diſgraced the freedom of election in the commonwealths of Greece and Rome, too often influenced the choice of the ſucceſſors of the apoſtles. While one of the candidates boaſted the honours of his family, a ſecond allured his judges by the delicacies of a plentiful table, and a third, more guilty than his rivals, offered to ſhare the plunder of the church among the accomplices of his ſacrilegious hopes [90]. The civil as well as eccleſiaſtical laws attempted to exclude the populace from this ſolemn and important tranſaction. The canons of ancient diſcipline, by requiring ſeveral epiſcopal qualifications of age, ſtation, &c. reſtrained in ſome meaſure the indiſcriminate caprice of the electors. The authority of the provincial biſhops, who were aſſembled in the vacant church to conſecrate the choice of the people, was interpoſed to moderate their paſſions, and to correct their miſtakes. The biſhops could refuſe to ordain an unworthy candidate, and the rage of contending factions ſometimes accepted their impartial mediation. The ſubmiſſion, or the reſiſtance

[89] Incredibilis multitudo, non ſolum ex eo oppido (*Tours*), ſed etiam ex vicinis urbibus ad ſuffragia ferenda convenerat, &c. Sulpicius Severus, in Vit. Martin. c. 7. The council of Laodicea (canon xiii.) prohibits mobs and tumults; and Juſtinian confines the right of election to the nobility. Novell. cxxiii. 1.

[90] The epiſtles of Sidonius Apollinaris (iv. 25. vii. 5. 9.) exhibit ſome of the ſcandals of the Gallican church; and Gaul was leſs poliſhed and leſs corrupt than the Eaſt.

of

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of the clergy and people, on various occaſions, afforded different precedents, which were inſenſibly converted into poſitive laws, and provincial cuſtoms[91]: but it was every where admitted, as a fundamental maxim of religious policy, that no biſhop could be impoſed on an orthodox church, without the conſent of its members. The emperors, as the guardians of the public peace, and as the firſt citizens of Rome and Conſtantinople, might effectually declare their wiſhes in the choice of a primate: but thoſe abſolute monarchs reſpected the freedom of eccleſiaſtical elections; and while they diſtributed and reſumed the honours of the ſtate and army, they allowed eighteen hundred perpetual magiſtrates to receive their important offices from the free ſuffrages of the people[92]. It was agreeable to the dictates of juſtice, that theſe magiſtrates ſhould not deſert an honourable ſtation from which they could not be removed; but the wiſdom of councils endeavoured, without much ſucceſs, to enforce the reſidence, and to prevent the tranſlation, of biſhops. The diſcipline of the Weſt was indeed leſs relaxed than that of the Eaſt; but the ſame paſſions which made thoſe regulations neceſſary, rendered them ineffectual. The reproaches which angry prelates have ſo vehemently urged againſt each other, ſerve only to expoſe their common guilt, and their mutual indiſcretion.

II. Ordination of the clergy.

II. The biſhops alone poſſeſſed the faculty of *ſpiritual* generation; and this extraordinary privilege might compenſate, in ſome degree, for the painful celibacy[93] which was impoſed as a virtue, as a duty, and

[91] A compromiſe was ſometimes introduced by law or by conſent; either the biſhops or the people choſe one of the three candidates who had been named by the other party.

[92] All the examples quoted by Thomaſſin (Diſcipline de l'Egliſe, tom. ii. l. ii. c. 6. p. 704—714.) appear to be extraordinary acts of power, and even of oppreſſion. The confirmation of the biſhop of Alexandria is mentioned by Philoſtorgius as a more regular proceeding (Hiſt. Eccleſ. l. ii. 11.).

[93] The celibacy of the clergy during the firſt five or ſix centuries, is a ſubject of diſcipline, and indeed of controverſy, which has been very diligently examined. See in particular Thomaſſin, Diſcipline de l'Egliſe, tom.

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and at length as a positive obligation. The religions of antiquity, which established a separate order of priests, dedicated a holy race, a tribe or family, to the perpetual service of the Gods [94]. Such institutions were founded for possession rather than conquest. The children of the priests enjoyed, with proud and indolent security, their sacred inheritance; and the fiery spirit of enthusiasm was abated by the cares, the pleasures, and the endearments of domestic life. But the Christian sanctuary was open to every ambitious candidate, who aspired to its heavenly promises, or temporal possessions. The office of priests, like that of soldiers or magistrates, was strenuously exercised by those men, whose temper and abilities had prompted them to embrace the ecclesiastical profession, or who had been selected by a discerning bishop, as the best qualified to promote the glory and interest of the church. The bishops [95] (till the abuse was restrained by the prudence of the laws) might constrain the reluctant, and protect the distressed; and the imposition of hands for ever bestowed some of the most valuable privileges of civil society. The whole body of the Catholic clergy, more numerous perhaps than the legions, was exempted by the emperors from all service, private or public, all municipal offices, and all personal taxes

tom. i. l. ii. c. lx. lxi. p. 886—902. and Bingham's Antiquities, l. iv. c. 5. By each of these learned but partial critics, one half of the truth is produced, and the other is concealed.

[94] Diodorus Siculus attests and approves the hereditary succession of the priesthood among the Egyptians, the Chaldeans, and the Indians (l. i. p. 84. l. ii. p. 142. 153. edit. Wesseling). The magi are described by Ammianus as a very numerous family: "Per "sæcula multa ad præsens unâ eâdemque "prosapiâ multitudo creata, Deorum culti- "bus dedicata" (xxiii. 6.). Ausonius celebrates the *Stirps Druidarum* (De Profes-

[95] The subject of the vocation, ordination, obedience, &c. of the clergy, is laboriously discussed by Thomassin (Discipline de l'Eglise, tom. ii. p. 1—83.) and Bingham (in the 4th book of his Antiquities, more especially the 4th, 6th, and 7th chapters). When the brother of St. Jerom was ordained in Cyprus, the deacons forcibly stopped his mouth, lest he should make a solemn protestation, which might invalidate the holy rites.

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and contributions, which preſſed on their fellow-citizens with intolerable weight; and the duties of their holy profeſſion were accepted as a full diſcharge of their obligations to the republic [96]. Each biſhop acquired an abſolute and indefeaſible right to the perpetual obedience of the clerk whom he ordained: the clergy of each epiſcopal church, with its dependent pariſhes, formed a regular and permanent ſociety; and the cathedrals of Conſtantinople [97] and Carthage [98] maintained their peculiar eſtabliſhment of five hundred eccleſiaſtical miniſters. Their ranks [99] and numbers were inſenſibly multiplied by the ſuperſtition of the times, which introduced into the church the ſplendid ceremonies of a Jewiſh or Pagan temple; and a long train of prieſts, deacons, ſub-deacons, acolythes, exorciſts, readers, ſingers, and door-keepers, contributed, in their reſpective ſtations, to ſwell the pomp and harmony of religious worſhip. The clerical name and privilege were extended to many pious fraternities, who devoutly ſupported the eccleſiaſtical throne [100]. Six hundred *parabolani*, or adventurers, viſited the ſick at Alexandria; eleven hundred *copiatæ*, or grave-diggers, buried the dead at Conſtantinople; and the ſwarms of monks, who aroſe from the Nile, overſpread and darkened the face of the Chriſtian world.

[96] The charter of immunities, which the clergy obtained from the Chriſtian emperors, is contained in the 16th book of the Theodoſian code; and is illuſtrated with tolerable candour by the learned Godefroy, whoſe mind was balanced by the oppoſite prejudices of a civilian and a proteſtant.

[97] Juſtinian. Novell. ciii. Sixty preſbyters, or prieſts, one hundred deacons, forty deaconeſſes, ninety ſub-deacons, one hundred and ten readers, twenty-five chanters, and one hundred door-keepers; in all, five hundred and twenty-five. This moderate number was fixed by the emperor, to relieve the diſtreſs of the church, which had been involved in debt and uſury by the expence of a much higher eſtabliſhment.

[98] Univerſus clerus eccleſiæ Carthaginienſis . . . . fere *quingenti* vel amplius; inter quos quamplurimi erant lectores infantuli. Victor Vitenſis, de Perſecut. Vandal. v. 9. p. 78. edit. Ruinart. This remnant of a more proſperous ſtate ſtill ſubſiſted under the oppreſſion of the Vandals.

[99] The number of *ſeven* orders has been fixed in the Latin church, excluſive of the epiſcopal character. But the four inferior ranks, the minor orders, are now reduced to empty and uſeleſs titles.

[100] See Cod. Theodoſ. l. xvi. tit. 2. leg. 42, 43. Godefroy's Commentary, and the Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory of Alexandria, ſhew the danger of theſe pious inſtitutions, which often diſturbed the peace of that turbulent capital.

III. The

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III. Property. A. D. 313.

III. The edict of Milan secured the revenue as well as the peace of the church [101]. The Christians not only recovered the lands and houses of which they had been stripped by the persecuting laws of Diocletian, but they acquired a perfect title to all the possessions which they had hitherto enjoyed by the connivance of the magistrate. As soon as Christianity became the religion of the emperor and the empire, the national clergy might claim a decent and honourable maintenance: and the payment of an annual tax might have delivered the people from the more oppressive tribute which superstition imposes on her votaries. But as the wants and expences of the church increased with her prosperity, the ecclesiastical order was still supported and enriched by the voluntary oblations of the faithful. Eight years after the edict of Milan, Constantine granted to all his subjects the free and universal permission of bequeathing their fortunes to the holy Catholic church [102]; and their devout liberality, which during their lives was checked by luxury or avarice, flowed with a profuse stream at the hour of their death. The wealthy Christians were encouraged by the example of their sovereign. An absolute monarch, who is rich without patrimony, may be charitable without merit; and Constantine too easily believed that he should purchase the favour of heaven, if he maintained the idle at the expence of the industrious; and distributed among the saints the wealth of the republic. The same messenger who carried over to Africa the head of Maxentius, might be entrusted with an epistle to Cæcilian, bishop of Carthage. The emperor acquaints him, that A. D. 321.

[101] The edict of Milan (de M. P. c. 48.) acknowledges, by reciting, that there existed a species of landed property, ad jus corporis eorum, id est, ecclesiarum non hominum singulorum pertinentia. Such a solemn declaration of the supreme magistrate must have been received in all the tribunals as a maxim of civil law.

[102] Habeat unusquisque licentiam sanctissimo Catholicæ *(ecclesiæ)* venerabilique concilio, decedens bonorum quod optavit relinquere. Cod. Theodos. l. xvi. tit. ii. leg. 4. This law was published at Rome, A. D. 321, at a time when Constantine might foresee the probability of a rupture with the emperor of the East.

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the treaſurers of the province are directed to pay into his hands the ſum of three thouſand *folles*, or eighteen thouſand pounds ſterling, and to obey his farther requiſitions for the relief of the churches of Africa, Numidia, and Mauritania [103]. The liberality of Conſtantine increaſed in a juſt proportion to his faith, and to his vices. He aſſigned in each city a regular allowance of corn, to ſupply the fund of eccleſiaſtical charity; and the perſons of both ſexes who embraced the monaſtic life, became the peculiar favourites of their ſovereign. The Chriſtian temples of Antioch, Alexandria, Jeruſalem, Conſtantinople, &c. diſplayed the oſtentatious piety of a prince, ambitious in a declining age to equal the perfect labours of antiquity [104]. The form of theſe religious edifices was ſimple and oblong; though they might ſometimes ſwell into the ſhape of a dome, and ſometimes branch into the figure of a croſs. The timbers were framed for the moſt part of cedars of Libanus; the roof was covered with tiles, perhaps of gilt braſs; and the walls, the columns, the pavement, were incruſted with variegated marbles. The moſt precious ornaments of gold and ſilver, of ſilk and gems, were profuſely dedicated to the ſervice of the altar; and this ſpecious magnificence was ſupported on the ſolid and perpetual baſis of landed poperty. In the ſpace of two centuries, from the reign of Conſtantine to that of Juſtinian, the eighteen hundred churches of the empire were enriched by the frequent and unalienable gifts of the prince and people. An annual income of ſix hundred pounds ſterling may be reaſonably aſſigned to the biſhops, who were placed

[103] Euſebius, Hiſt. Eccleſ. l. x. 6. in Vit. Conſtantin. l. iv. c. 28. He repeatedly expatiates on the liberality of the Chriſtian hero, which the biſhop himſelf had an opportunity of knowing, and even of taſting.

[104] Euſebius, Hiſt. Eccleſ. l. x. c. 2, 3, 4. The biſhop of Cæſarea, who ſtudied and gratified the taſte of his maſter, pronounced in public an elaborate deſcription of the church of Jeruſalem (in Vit. Conſ. l. iv. c. 46.). It no longer exiſts, but he has inſerted in the life of Conſtantine (l. iii. c. 36.), a ſhort account of the architecture and ornaments. He likewiſe mentions the church of the holy Apoſtles at Conſtantinople (l. iv. c. 59.).

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at an equal distance between riches and poverty [105]; but the standard of their wealth insensibly rose with the dignity and opulence of the cities which they governed. An authentic but imperfect [106] rent-roll specifies some houses, shops, gardens, and farms, which belonged to the three *Basilicæ* of Rome, St. Peter, St. Paul, and St. John Lateran, in the provinces of Italy, Africa, and the East. They produce, besides a reserved rent of oil, linen, paper, aromatics, &c. a clear annual revenue of twenty-two thousand pieces of gold, or twelve thousand pounds sterling. In the age of Constantine and Justinian, the bishops no longer possessed, perhaps they no longer deserved, the unsuspecting confidence of their clergy and people. The ecclesiastical revenues of each diocese were divided into four parts; for the respective uses, of the bishop himself, of his inferior clergy, of the poor, and of the public worship; and the abuse of this sacred trust was strictly and repeatedly checked [107]. The patrimony of the church was still subject to all the public impositions of the state [108]. The clergy of Rome, Alexandria, Thessalonica, &c. might solicit and obtain some partial exemptions; but the premature attempt of the

[105] See Justinian. Novell. cxxiii. 3. The revenue of the patriarchs, and the most wealthy bishops, is not expressed; the highest annual valuation of a bishopric is stated at *thirty*, and the lowest at *two*, pounds of gold; the medium might be taken at *sixteen*; but these valuations are much below the real value.

[106] See Baronius (Annal. Eccles. A. D. 324, N° 58. 65. 70, 71.). Every record which comes from the Vatican is justly suspected; yet these rent-rolls have an ancient and authentic colour; and it is at least evident, that, if forged, they were forged in a period when *farms*, not *kingdoms*, were the objects of papal avarice.

[107] See Thomassin, Discipline de l'Eglise, tom. iii. l. ii. c. 13, 14, 15. p. 689—706. The legal division of the ecclesiastical revenue does not appear to have been established in the time of Ambrose and Chrysostom. Simplicius and Gelasius, who were bishops of Rome in the latter part of the fifth century, mention it in their pastoral letters as a general law, which was already confirmed by the custom of Italy.

[108] Ambrose, the most strenuous asserter of ecclesiastical privileges, submits without a murmur to the payment of the land-tax. "Si tributum petit Imperator, non negamus; "agri ecclesiæ solvunt tributum; solvimus "quæ sunt Cæsaris Cæsari, & quæ sunt Dei "Deo: tributum Cæsaris est; non negatur." Baronius labours to interpret this tribute as an act of charity rather than of duty (Annal. Eccles. A. D. 387); but the words, if not the intentions, of Ambrose, are more candidly explained by Thomassin, Discipline de l'Eglise, tom. iii. l. i. c. 34. p. 268.

great

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great council of Rimini, which aſpired to univerſal freedom, was ſucceſsfully reſiſted by the ſon of Conſtantine [109].

IV. Civil juriſdiction.

IV. The Latin clergy, who erected their tribunal on the ruins of the civil and common law, have modeſtly accepted as the gift of Conſtantine [110], the independent juriſdiction which was the fruit of time, of accident, and of their own induſtry. But the liberality of the Chriſtian emperors had actually endowed them with ſome legal prerogatives, which ſecured and dignified the ſacerdotal character [111]. 1. Under a deſpotic government, the biſhops alone enjoyed and aſſerted the ineſtimable privilege of being tried only by their *peers*; and even in a capital accuſation, a ſynod of their brethren were the ſole judges of their guilt or innocence. Such a tribunal, unleſs it was inflamed by perſonal reſentment or religious diſcord, might be favourable, or even partial, to the ſacerdotal order: but Conſtantine was ſatisfied [112], that ſecret impunity would be leſs pernicious than public ſcandal: and

[109] In Ariminenſe ſynodo ſuper eccleſiarum & clericorum privilegiis tractatû habito, uſque eo diſpoſitio progreſſa eſt, ut juga quæ viderentur ad eccleſiam pertinere, a publicâ functione ceſſarent inquietudine deſiſtente: quod noſtra videtur dudum ſanctio repulſiſſe. Cod. Theod. l. xvi. tit. ii. leg. 15. Had the ſynod of Rimini carried this point, ſuch practical merit might have atoned for ſome ſpeculative hereſies.

[110] From Euſebius (in Vit. Conſtant. l. iv. c. 27.) and Sozomen (l. i. c. 9.) we are aſſured that the epiſcopal juriſdiction was extended and confirmed by Conſtantine; but the forgery of a famous edict, which was never fairly inſerted in the Theodoſian Code (ſee at the end, tom. vi. p. 303.), is demonſtrated by Godefroy in the moſt ſatisfactory manner. It is ſtrange that M. de Monteſquieu, who was a lawyer as well as a philoſopher, ſhould allege this edict of Conſtantine (Eſprit des Loix, l. xxix. c. 16.) without intimating any ſuſpicion.

[111] The ſubject of eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction has been involved in a miſt of paſſion, of prejudice, and of intereſt. Two of the faireſt books which have fallen into my hands are, the Inſtitutes of Canon Law, by the Abbé de Fleury, and the Civil Hiſtory of Naples, by Giannone. Their moderation was the effect of ſituation as well as of temper. Fleury was a French eccleſiaſtic, who reſpected the authority of the parliaments; Giannone was an Italian lawyer, who dreaded the power of the church. And here let me obſerve, that as the general propoſitions which I advance are the reſult of *many* particular and imperfect facts, I muſt either refer the reader to thoſe modern authors who have expreſsly treated the ſubject, or ſwell theſe notes to a diſagreeable and diſproportioned ſize.

[112] Tillemont has collected from Rufinus, Theodoret, &c. the ſentiments and language of Conſtantine. Mem. Eccleſ. tom. iii. p. 749, 750.

the Nicene council was edified by his public declaration, that if he ſurpriſed a biſhop in the act of adultery, he ſhould caſt his Imperial mantle over the epiſcopal ſinner. 2. The domeſtic juriſdiction of the biſhops was at once a privilege and a reſtraint of the eccleſiaſtical order, whoſe civil cauſes were decently withdrawn from the cognizance of a ſecular judge. Their venal offences were not expoſed to the ſhame of a public trial or puniſhment; and the gentle correction, which the tenderneſs of youth may endure from its parents or inſtructors, was inflicted by the temperate ſeverity of the biſhops. But if the clergy were guilty of any crime which could not be ſufficiently expiated by their degradation from an honourable and beneficial profeſſion, the Roman magiſtrate drew the ſword of juſtice, without any regard to eccleſiaſtical immunities. 3. The arbitration of the biſhops was ratified by a poſitive law; and the judges were inſtructed to execute, without appeal or delay, the epiſcopal decrees, whoſe validity had hitherto depended on the conſent of the parties. The converſion of the magiſtrates themſelves, and of the whole empire, might gradually remove the fears and ſcruples of the Chriſtians. But they ſtill reſorted to the tribunal of the biſhops, whoſe abilities and integrity they eſteemed; and the venerable Auſtin enjoyed the ſatisfaction of complaining that his ſpiritual functions were perpetually interrupted by the invidious labour of deciding the claim or the poſſeſſion of ſilver and gold, of lands and cattle. 4. The ancient privilege of ſanctuary was tranſferred to the Chriſtian temples, and extended, by the liberal piety of the younger Theodoſius, to the precincts of conſecrated ground[113]. The fugitive, and even guilty, ſuppliants, were permitted to implore, either the juſtice, or the mercy, of the Deity and his miniſters.

[113] See Cod. Theod. l. ix. tit. xlv. leg. 4. In the works of Fra Paolo (tom. iv. p. 192, &c.) there is an excellent diſcourſe on the origin, claims, abuſes, and limits of ſanctuaries. He juſtly obſerves, that ancient Greece might perhaps contain fifteen or twenty *azyla* or ſanctuaries; a number which at preſent may be found in Italy within the walls of a ſingle city.

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sters. The rash violence of despotism was suspended by the mild interposition of the church: and the lives or fortunes of the most eminent subjects might be protected by the mediation of the bishop.

V. Spiritual censures.

V. The bishop was the perpetual censor of the morals of his people. The discipline of penance was digested into a system of canonical jurisprudence[114], which accurately defined the duty of private or public confession, the rules of evidence, the degrees of guilt, and the measure of punishment. It was impossible to execute this spiritual censure, if the Christian pontiff, who punished the obscure sins of the multitude, respected the conspicuous vices and destructive crimes of the magistrate: but it was impossible to arraign the conduct of the magistrate, without controlling the administration of civil government. Some considerations of religion, or loyalty, or fear, protected the sacred persons of the emperors from the zeal or resentment of the bishops; but they boldly censured and excommunicated the subordinate tyrants, who were not invested with the majesty of the purple. St. Athanasius excommunicated one of the ministers of Egypt; and the interdict which he pronounced, of fire and water, was solemnly transmitted to the churches of Cappadocia[115]. Under the reign of the younger Theodosius, the polite and eloquent Synesius, one of the descendants of Hercules[116], filled the episcopal seat

[114] The penitential jurisprudence was continually improved by the canons of the councils. But as many cases were still left to the discretion of the bishops, they occasionally published, after the example of the Roman Prætor, the rules of discipline which they proposed to observe. Among the canonical epistles of the fourth century, those of Basil the Great were the most celebrated. They are inserted in the Pandects of Beveridge (tom. ii. p. 47—151.), and are translated by Chardon, Hist. des Sacremens, tom. iv. p. 219—277.

[115] Basil. Epistol. xlvii. in Baronius (Annal. Eccles. A. D. 370, N° 91.), who declares that he purposely relates it, to convince governors that they were not exempt from a sentence of excommunication. In his opinion, even a royal head is not safe from the thunders of the Vatican; and the cardinal shews himself much more consistent than the lawyers and theologians of the Gallican church.

[116] The long series of his ancestors, as high as Eurysthenes, the first Doric king of Sparta, and the fifth in lineal descent from Hercules, was inscribed in the public regis-

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seat of Ptolemais, near the ruins of ancient Cyrene [118], and the philosophic bishop supported with dignity, the character which he had assumed with reluctance [119]. He vanquished the monster of Libya, the president Andronicus, who abused the authority of a venal office, invented new modes of rapine and torture, and aggravated the guilt of oppression by that of sacrilege [120]. After a fruitless attempt to reclaim the haughty magistrate by mild and religious admonition, Synesius proceeds to inflict the last sentence of ecclesiastical justice [121], which devotes Andronicus, with his associates and their *families*, to the abhorrence of earth and heaven. The impenitent sinners, more cruel than Phalaris or Sennacherib, more destructive than war, pestilence, or a cloud of locusts, are deprived of the name and privileges of Christians, of the participation of the sacraments, and of the hope of Paradise. The bishop exhorts the clergy, the magistrates, and the people, to renounce all society with the enemies of Christ;

ters of Cyrene, a Lacedæmonian colony (Synes. Epistol. lvii. p. 197. edit. Petav.). Such a pure and illustrious pedigree of seventeen hundred years, without adding the royal ancestors of Hercules, cannot be equalled in the history of mankind.

[118] Synesius (de Regno, p. 2.) pathetically deplores the fallen and ruined state of Cyrene, πολις Ελληνις, παλαιον ονομα και σεμνον, και εν ωδη μυριαδι των παλαι σοφων. νυν πενης και κατηφης, και μεγα ερειπιον. Ptolemais, a new city, 82 miles to the westward of Cyrene, assumed the metropolitan honours of the Pentapolis, or Upper Libya, which were afterward transferred to Sozusa. See Wesseling Itinerar. p. 67, 68. 732. Cellarius Geograph. tom. ii. part ii. p. 72. 74. Carolus a S^to Paulo Geograph. Sacra, p. 273. D'Anville Geographie Ancienne, tom. iii. p. p. 43, 44. Memoires de l'Acad. des Inscriptions, tom. xxxvii. p. 363—391.

[119] Synesius had previously represented his own disqualifications (Epist. c. v. p. 246—250.). He loved profane studies and profane sports; he was incapable of supporting a life of celibacy; he disbelieved the resurrection: and he refused to preach *fables* to the people, unless he might be permitted to *philosophize* at home. Theophilus, primate of Egypt, who knew his merit, accepted this extraordinary compromise. See the life of Synesius in Tillemont, Mem. Eccles. tom. xii. p. 499—554.

[120] See the invective of Synesius, Epist. lvii. p. 191—201. The promotion of Andronicus was illegal; since he was a native of Berenice, in the same province. The instruments of tortures are curiously specified, the στρεπτηριον, or press, the δακτυληθρα, the ποδοστραξη, the ρινολαβις, the ωταγρα, and the χειλοστροφιον, that variously pressed or distended the fingers, the feet, the nose, the ears, and the lips, of the victims.

[121] The sentence of excommunication is expressed in a rhetorical style (Synesius, Epist. lviii. p. 201—203.). The method of involving whole families, though somewhat unjust, was improved into national interdicts.

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to exclude them from their houſes and tables; and to refuſe them the common offices of life, and the decent rites of burial. The church of Ptolemais, obſcure and contemptible as ſhe may appear, addreſſes this declaration to all her ſiſter churches of the world; and the profane who reject her decrees, will be involved in the guilt and puniſhment of Andronicus and his impious followers. Theſe ſpiritual terrors were enforced by a dexterous application to the Byzantine court; the trembling preſident implored the mercy of the church; and the deſcendant of Hercules enjoyed the ſatisfaction of raiſing a proſtrate tyrant from the ground [122]. Such principles and ſuch examples inſenſibly prepared the triumph of the Roman pontiffs, who have trampled on the necks of kings.

VI. Freedom of public preaching.

VI. Every popular government has experienced the effects of rude or artificial eloquence. The coldeſt nature is animated, the firmeſt reaſon is moved, by the rapid communication of the prevailing impulſe; and each hearer is affected by his own paſſions, and by thoſe of the ſurrounding multitude. The ruin of civil liberty had ſilenced the demagogues of Athens, and the tribunes of Rome; the cuſtom of preaching, which ſeems to conſtitute a conſiderable part of Chriſtian devotion, had not been introduced into the temples of antiquity; and the ears of monarchs were never invaded by the harſh ſound of popular eloquence, till the pulpits of the empire were filled with ſacred orators, who poſſeſſed ſome advantages unknown to their profane predeceſſors [123]. The arguments and rhetoric of the tribune were inſtantly oppoſed, with equal arms, by ſkilful and reſolute antagoniſts; and the cauſe of truth and reaſon

[122] See Syneſius, Epiſt. xlvii. p. 186, 187. Epiſt. lxxii. p. 218, 219. Epiſt. lxxxix. p. 230, 231.

[123] See Thomaſſin (Diſcipline de l'Egliſe, tom. ii. l. iii. c. 83. p. 1761—1770.) and Bingham (Antiquities, vol. i. l. xiv. c. 4. p. 688—717.). Preaching was conſidered as the moſt important office of the biſhop; but this function was ſometimes intruſted to ſuch preſbyters as Chryſoſtom and Auguſtin.

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might derive an accidental ſupport from the conflict of hoſtile paſſions. The biſhop, or ſome diſtinguiſhed preſbyter to whom he cautiouſly delegated the powers of preaching, harangued, without the danger of interruption or reply, a ſubmiſſive multitude, whoſe minds had been prepared and ſubdued by the awful ceremonies of religion. Such was the ſtrict ſubordination of the Catholic church, that the ſame concerted ſounds might iſſue at once from an hundred pulpits of Italy or Egypt, if they were *tuned* [124] by the maſter hand of the Roman or Alexandrian primate. The deſign of this inſtitution was laudable, but the fruits were not always ſalutary. The preachers recommended the practice of the ſocial duties; but they exalted the perfection of monaſtic virtue, which is painful to the individual, and uſeleſs to mankind. Their charitable exhortations betrayed a ſecret wiſh, that the clergy might be permitted to manage the wealth of the faithful, for the benefit of the poor. The moſt ſublime repreſentations of the attributes and laws of the Deity were ſullied by an idle mixture of metaphyſical ſubtleties, puerile rites, and fictitious miracles: and they expatiated, with the moſt fervent zeal, on the religious merit of hating the adverſaries, and obeying the miniſters, of the church. When the public peace was diſtracted by hereſy and ſchiſm, the ſacred orators ſounded the trumpet of diſcord, and, perhaps, of ſedition. The underſtandings of their congregations were perplexed by myſtery, their paſſions were inflamed by invectives; and they ruſhed from the Chriſtian temples of Antioch or Alexandria, prepared either to ſuffer or to inflict martyrdom. The corruption of taſte and language is ſtrongly marked in the vehement declamations of the Latin biſhops; but the compoſitions of

[124] Queen Elizabeth uſed this expreſſion, and practiſed this art, whenever ſhe wiſhed to prepoſſeſs the minds of her people in favour of any extraordinary meaſure of government. The hoſtile effects of this *muſic* were apprehended by her ſucceſſor, and ſeverely felt by his ſon. "When pulpit, drum eccleſi-"aſtic, &c." See Heylin's Life of Archbiſhop Laud, p. 153.

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Gregory and Chryſoſtom have been compared with the moſt ſplendid models of Attic, or at leaſt of Aſiatic, eloquence [125].

VII. Privilege of legiſlative aſſemblies.

VII. The repreſentatives of the Chriſtian republic were regularly aſſembled in the ſpring and autumn of each year: and theſe ſynods diffuſed the ſpirit of eccleſiaſtical diſcipline and legiſlation through the hundred and twenty provinces of the Roman world [126]. The archbiſhop or metropolitan was empowered, by the laws, to ſummon the ſuffragan biſhops of his province; to reviſe their conduct, to vindicate their rights, to declare their faith, and to examine the merit of the candidates who were elected by the clergy and people to ſupply the vacancies of the epiſcopal college. The primates of Rome, Alexandria, Antioch, Carthage, and afterwards Conſtantinople, who exerciſed a more ample juriſdiction, convened the numerous aſſembly of their dependent biſhops. But the convocation of great and extraordinary ſynods, was the prerogative of the emperor alone. Whenever the emergencies of the church required this deciſive meaſure, he diſpatched a peremptory ſummons to the biſhops, or the deputies of each province, with an order for the uſe of poſt-horſes, and a competent allowance for the expences of their journey. At an early period, when Conſtantine was the protector, rather than the proſelyte, of Chriſtianity, he referred the African controverſy to the council of Arles; in which the biſhops of York, of Treves, of Milan, and of Carthage, met as friends and brethren, to debate in their native tongue on the common intereſt of the Latin or Weſtern church [127]. Eleven years afterwards, a more numerous and celebrated

A. D. 314.

A. D. 325.

[125] Thoſe modeſt orators acknowledged, that, as they were deſtitute of the gift of miracles, they endeavoured to acquire the arts of eloquence.

[126] The Council of Nice, in the fourth, fifth, ſixth, and ſeventh canons, has made ſome fundamental regulations concerning ſynods, metropolitans, and primates. The Nicene canons have been variouſly tortured, abuſed, interpolated, or forged, according to the intereſt of the clergy. The *Suburbicarian* churches, aſſigned (by Rufinus) to the biſhop of Rome, have been made the ſubject of vehement controverſy. (See Sirmond. Opera, tom. iv. p. 1—238.)

[127] We have only thirty-three or forty-ſeven

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celebrated assembly was convened at Nice in Bithynia, to extinguish, by their final sentence, the subtle disputes which had arisen in Egypt on the subject of the Trinity. Three hundred and eighteen bishops obeyed the summons of their indulgent master; the ecclesiastics of every rank, and sect, and denomination, have been computed at two thousand and forty-eight persons[128]; the Greeks appeared in person; and the consent of the Latins was expressed by the legates of the Roman pontiff. The session, which lasted about two months, was frequently honoured by the presence of the emperor. Leaving his guards at the door, he seated himself (with the permission of the council) on a low stool in the midst of the hall. Constantine listened with patience, and spoke with modesty: and while he influenced the debates, he humbly professed that he was the minister, not the judge, of the successors of the apostles, who had been established as priests and as gods upon earth[129]. Such profound reverence of an absolute monarch towards a feeble and unarmed assembly of his own subjects, can only be compared to the respect with which the senate had been treated by the Roman princes who adopted the policy of Augustus. Within the space of fifty years, a philosophic spectator of the vicissitudes of human affairs might have contemplated Tacitus in the senate of Rome, and Constantine in the council of Nice. The fathers of the capitol and those of the church had alike degenerated from the virtues of their founders; but as the bishops were more deeply rooted in the public opinion, they sustained their dignity with more decent pride, and sometimes opposed, with a manly spirit, the wishes of their sovereign. The progress of time and superstition

seven episcopal subscriptions: but Ado, a writer indeed of small account, reckons six hundred bishops in the council of Arles. Tillemont, Mem. Eccles. tom. vi. p. 422.

[128] See Tillemont, tom. vi. p. 915. and Beausobre, Hist. du Manicheisme, tom. i. p. 529. The name of *bishop*, which is given by Eutychius to the 2048 ecclesiastics (Annal. tom. i. p. 440. vers. Pocock), must be extended far beyond the limits of an orthodox or even episcopal ordination.

[129] See Euseb. in Vit. Constantin. l. iii. c. 6—21. Tillemont, Mem. Ecclesiastiques, tom. vi. p. 669—759.

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erazed the memory of the weakneſs, the paſſion, the ignorance, which diſgraced theſe eccleſiaſtical ſynods; and the Catholic world has unanimouſly ſubmitted [130] to the *infallible* decrees of the general councils [131].

[130] Sancimus igitur vicem legum obtinere, quæ a quatuor Sanctis Conciliis . . . expoſitæ ſunt aut firmatæ. Prædictarum enim quatuor ſynodorum dogmata ſicut ſanctas Scripturas et regulas ſicut leges obſervamus. Juſtinian. Novell. cxxxi. Beveridge (ad Pandect. proleg. p. 2.) remarks, that the emperors never made new laws in eccleſiaſtical matters; and Giannone obſerves, in a very different ſpirit, that they gave a legal ſanction to the canons of councils. Iſtoria Civile di Napoli, tom. i. p. 136.

[131] See the article CONCILE in the Encyclopedie, tom. iii. p. 668—679. edition de Lucques. The author, M. le Docteur Bouchaud, has diſcuſſed, according to the principles of the Gallican church, the principal queſtions which relate to the form and conſtitution of general, national, and provincial councils. The editors (ſee Preface, p. xvi.) have reaſon to be proud of *this* article. Thoſe who conſult their immenſe compilation, ſeldom depart ſo well ſatisfied.

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Perſecution of Hereſy.—The Schiſm of the Donatiſts.—The Arian Controverſy.—Athanaſius.—Diſtracted State of the Church and Empire under Conſtantine and his Sons.—Toleration of Paganiſm.

THE grateful applauſe of the clergy has conſecrated the memory of a prince who indulged their paſſions and promoted their intereſt. Conſtantine gave them ſecurity, wealth, honours, and revenge: and the ſupport of the orthodox faith was conſidered as the moſt ſacred and important duty of the civil magiſtrate. The edict of Milan, the great charter of toleration, had confirmed to each individual of the Roman world, the privilege of chuſing and profeſſing his own religion. But this ineſtimable privilege was ſoon violated: with the knowledge of truth, the emperor imbibed the maxims of perſecution; and the ſects which diſſented from the Catholic church, were afflicted and oppreſſed by the triumph of Chriſtianity. Conſtantine eaſily believed that the Heretics who preſumed to diſpute *his* opinions, or to oppoſe *his* commands, were guilty of the moſt abſurd and criminal obſtinacy; and that a ſeaſonable application of moderate ſeverities might ſave thoſe unhappy men from the danger of an everlaſting condemnation. Not a moment was loſt in excluding the miniſters and teachers of the ſeparated congregations from any ſhare of the rewards and immunities which the emperor had ſo liberally beſtowed on the orthodox clergy. But as the ſectaries might ſtill exiſt under the cloud of royal diſgrace,

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disgrace, the conquest of the East was immediately followed by an edict which announced their total destruction[1]. After a preamble filled with passion and reproach, Constantine absolutely prohibits the assemblies of the Heretics, and confiscates their public property to the use either of the revenue or of the Catholic church. The sects against whom the Imperial severity was directed, appear to have been the adherents of Paul of Samosata; the Montanists of Phrygia, who maintained an enthusiastic succession of prophecy; the Novatians, who sternly rejected the temporal efficacy of repentance; the Marcionites and Valentinians, under whose leading banners the various Gnostics of Asia and Egypt had insensibly rallied; and perhaps the Manichæans, who had recently imported from Persia a more artful composition of Oriental and Christian theology[2]. The design of extirpating the name, or at least of restraining the progress of these odious Heretics, was prosecuted with vigour and effect. Some of the penal regulations were copied from the edicts of Diocletian; and this method of conversion was applauded by the same bishops who had felt the hand of oppression, and had pleaded for the rights of humanity. Two immaterial circumstances may serve, however, to prove that the mind of Constantine was not entirely corrupted by the spirit of zeal and bigotry. Before he condemned the Manichæans and their kindred sects, he resolved to make an accurate inquiry into the nature of their religious principles. As if he distrusted the impartiality of his ecclesiastical counsellors, this delicate commission was entrusted to a civil magistrate, whose learning and moderation he justly esteemed, and of whose

[1] Eusebius in Vit. Constantin. l. iii. c. 63, 64, 65, 66.

[2] After some examination of the various opinions of Tillemont, Beausobre, Lardner, &c. I am convinced that Manes did not propagate his sect, even in Persia, before the year 270. It is strange, that a philosophic and foreign heresy should have penetrated so rapidly into the African provinces; yet I cannot easily reject the edict of Diocletian against the Manichæans, which may be found in Baronius, Annal. Eccl. A. D. 287.

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venal character he was probably ignorant[3]. The emperor was ſoon convinced that he had too haſtily proſcribed the orthodox faith and the exemplary morals of the Novatians; who had diſſented from the church in ſome articles of diſcipline which were not perhaps eſſential to ſalvation. By a particular edict, he exempted them from the general penalties of the law[4]; allowed them to build a church at Conſtantinople, reſpected the miracles of their ſaints, invited their biſhop Aceſius to the council of Nice; and gently ridiculed the narrow tenets of his ſect by a familiar jeſt; which, from the mouth of a ſovereign, muſt have been received with applauſe and gratitude[5].

African controverſy, A. D. 312.

The complaints and mutual accuſations which aſſailed the throne of Conſtantine, as ſoon as the death of Maxentius had ſubmitted Africa to his victorious arms, were ill adapted to edify an imperfect proſelyte. He learned, with ſurpriſe, that the provinces of that great country, from the confines of Cyrene to the columns of Hercules, were diſtracted with religious diſcord[6]. The ſource of the diviſion was derived from a double election in the church of Carthage; the ſecond, in rank and opulence, of the eccleſiaſtical thrones of the Weſt. Cæcilian and Majorinus were the two rival

[3] Conſtantinus, enim cum limatius ſuperſtitionum quæreret ſectas, Manichæorum et ſimilium, &c. Ammian. xv. 15. Strategius, who from this commiſſion obtained the ſurname of *Muſonianus*, was a Chriſtian of the Arian ſect. He acted as one of the counts at the council of Sardica. Libanius praiſes his mildneſs and prudence. Valeſ. ad locum Ammian.

[4] Cod. Theod. l. xvi. tit. v. leg. 2. As the general law is not inſerted in the Theodoſian code, it is probable that, in the year 438, the ſects which it had condemned were already extinct.

[5] Sozomen, l. i. c. 22. Socrates, l. i. c. 10. Theſe hiſtorians have been ſuſpected, but I think without reaſon, of an attachment to the Novatian doctrine. The emperor ſaid to the biſhop, "Aceſius, take a ladder, and "get up to Heaven by yourſelf." Moſt of the Chriſtian ſects have, by turns, borrowed the ladder of Aceſius.

[6] The beſt materials for this part of eccleſiaſtical hiſtory may be found in the edition of Optatus Milevitanus, publiſhed (Paris 1700) by M. Dupin, who has enriched it with critical notes, geographical diſcuſſions, original records, and an accurate abridgement of the whole controverſy. M. de Tillemont has beſtowed on the Donatiſts the greateſt part of a volume (tom. vi. part i.): and I am indebted to him for an ample collection of all the paſſages of his favourite St. Auguſtin, which relate to thoſe heretics.

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primates of Africa; and the death of the latter ſoon made room for Donatus, who, by his ſuperior abilities and apparent virtues, was the firmeſt ſupport of his party. The advantage which Cæcilian might claim from the priority of his ordination, was deſtroyed by the illegal, or at leaſt indecent, haſte, with which it had been performed, without expecting the arrival of the biſhops of Numidia. The authority of theſe biſhops, who, to the number of ſeventy, condemned Cæcilian, and conſecrated Majorinus, is again weakened by the infamy of ſome of their perſonal characters; and by the female intrigues, ſacrilegious bargains, and tumultuous proceedings which are imputed to this Numidian council[7]. The biſhops of the contending factions maintained, with equal ardour and obſtinacy, that their adverſaries were degraded, or at leaſt diſhonoured, by the odious crime of delivering the Holy Scriptures to the officers of Diocletian. From their mutual reproaches, as well as from the ſtory of this dark tranſaction, it may juſtly be inferred, that the late perſecution had embittered the zeal, without reforming the manners, of the African Chriſtians. That divided church was incapable of affording an impartial judicature; the controverſy was ſolemnly tried in five ſucceſſive tribunals, which were appointed by the emperor; and the whole proceeding, from the firſt appeal to the final ſentence, laſted above three years. A ſevere inquiſition, which was taken by the Prætorian vicar, and the proconſul of Africa, the report of two epiſcopal viſitors who had been ſent to Carthage, the decrees of the councils of Rome and of Arles, and the ſupreme judgment of Con-

[7] Schiſma igitur illo tempore confuſæ mulieris iracundia peperit; ambitus nutrivit; avaritia roboravit. Optatus, l. i. c. 19. The language of Purpurius is that of a furious madman. Dicitur te necaſſe filios ſororis tuæ duos. Purpurius reſpondit: Putas me terreri à te . . . occidi; et occido eos qui contra me faciunt. Acta Concil. Cirtenſis, ad calc. Optat. p. 274. When Cæcilian was invited to an aſſembly of biſhops, Purpurius ſaid to his brethren, or rather to his accomplices, "Let him come hither to receive our impoſition of hands; and we "will break his head by way of penance." Optat. l. i. c. 19.

ſtantine

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ſtantine himſelf in his ſacred conſiſtory, were all favourable to the cauſe of Cæcilian; and he was unanimouſly acknowledged by the civil and eccleſiaſtical powers, as the true and lawful primate of Africa. The honours and eſtates of the church were attributed to *his* ſuffragan biſhops, and it was not without difficulty, that Conſtantine was ſatisfied with inflicting the puniſhment of exile on the principal leaders of the Donatiſt faction. As their cauſe was examined with attention, perhaps it was determined with juſtice. Perhaps their complaint was not without foundation, that the credulity of the emperor had been abuſed by the inſidious arts of his favourite Oſius. The influence of falſehood and corruption might procure the condemnation of the innocent, or aggravate the ſentence of the guilty. Such an act, however, of injuſtice, if it concluded an importunate diſpute, might be numbered among the tranſient evils of a deſpotic adminiſtration, which are neither felt nor remembered by poſterity.

Schiſm of the Donatiſts, A. D. 315.

But this incident, ſo inconſiderable that it ſcarcely deſerves a place in hiſtory, was productive of a memorable ſchiſm; which afflicted the provinces of Africa above three hundred years, and was extinguiſhed only with Chriſtianity itſelf. The inflexible zeal of freedom and fanaticiſm animated the Donatiſts to refuſe obedience to the uſurpers, whoſe election they diſputed, and whoſe ſpiritual powers they denied. Excluded from the civil and religious communion of mankind, they boldly excommunicated the reſt of mankind, who had embraced the impious party of Cæcilian, and of the Traditors, from whom he derived his pretended ordination. They aſſerted with confidence, and almoſt with exultation, that the Apoſtolical ſucceſſion was interrupted; that *all* the biſhops of Europe and Aſia were infected by the contagion of guilt and ſchiſm; and that the prerogatives of the Catholic church were confined to the choſen portion of the African believers, who alone had preſerved inviolate the inte-

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grity of their faith and diſcipline. This rigid theory was ſupported by the moſt uncharitable conduct. Whenever they acquired a proſelyte, even from the diſtant provinces of the Eaſt, they carefully repeated the ſacred rites of baptiſm[8] and ordination; as they rejected the validity of thoſe which he had already received from the hands of heretics or ſchiſmatics. Biſhops, virgins, and even ſpotleſs infants, were ſubjected to the diſgrace of a public penance, before they could be admitted to the communion of the Donatiſts. If they obtained poſſeſſion of a church which had been uſed by their Catholic adverſaries, they purified the unhallowed building with the ſame jealous care which a temple of idols might have required. They waſhed the pavement, ſcraped the walls, burnt the altar, which was commonly of wood, melted the conſecrated plate, and caſt the Holy Euchariſt to the dogs, with every circumſtance of ignominy which could provoke and perpetuate the animoſity of religious factions[9]. Notwithſtanding this irreconcilable averſion, the two parties, who were mixed and ſeparated in all the cities of Africa, had the ſame language and manners, the ſame zeal and learning, the ſame faith and worſhip. Proſcribed by the civil and eccleſiaſtical powers of the empire, the Donatiſts ſtill maintained in ſome provinces, particularly in Numidia, their ſuperior numbers; and four hundred biſhops acknowledged the juriſdiction of their primate. But the invincible ſpirit of the ſect ſometimes preyed on its own vitals; and the boſom of their ſchiſmatical church was torn by inteſtine diviſions. A fourth part of the Donatiſt biſhops followed the independent ſtandard of the Maximianiſts. The narrow and ſolitary path which their firſt

[8] The councils of Arles, of Nice, and of Trent, confirmed the wiſe and moderate practice of the church of Rome. The Donatiſts, however, had the advantage of maintaining the ſentiment of Cyprian, and of a conſiderable part of the primitive church. Vincentius Lirinenſis (p. 332. ap. Tillemont, Mem. Eccleſ. tom. vi. p. 138.) has explained why the Donatiſts are eternally burning with the Devil, while St. Cyprian reigns in heaven with Jeſus Chriſt.

[9] See the ſixth book of Optatus Milevitanus, p. 91—100.

leaders

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leaders had marked out, continued to deviate from the great ſociety of mankind. Even the imperceptible ſect of the Rogatians could affirm, without a bluſh, that when Chriſt ſhould deſcend to judge the earth, he would find his true religion preſerved only in a few nameleſs villages of the Cæſarean Mauritania[10].

The Trinitarian controverſy.

The ſchiſm of the Donatiſts was confined to Africa: the more diffuſive miſchief of the Trinitarian controverſy ſucceſſively penetrated into every part of the Chriſtian world. The former was an accidental quarrel, occaſioned by the abuſe of freedom; the latter was a high and myſterious argument, derived from the abuſe of philoſophy. From the age of Conſtantine to that of Clovis and Theodoric, the temporal intereſts both of the Romans and Barbarians were deeply involved in the theological diſputes of Arianiſm. The hiſtorian may therefore be permitted reſpectfully to withdraw the veil of the ſanctuary; and to deduce the progreſs of reaſon and faith, of error and paſſion, from the ſchool of Plato to the decline and fall of the empire.

The ſyſtem of Plato. Before Chriſt 360.

The genius of Plato, informed by his own meditation, or by the traditional knowledge of the prieſts of Egypt[11], had ventured to explore the myſterious nature of the Deity. When he had elevated his mind to the ſublime contemplation of the firſt ſelf-exiſtent, neceſſary cauſe of the univerſe, the Athenian ſage was incapable of conceiving *how* the ſimple unity of his eſſence could admit the infinite variety of diſtinct and ſucceſſive ideas which compoſe the model

[10] Tillemont, Mem. Eccleſiaſtiques, tom. vi. part i. p. 253. He laughs at their partial cruelty. He revered Auguſtin, the great doctor of the ſyſtem of predeſtination.

[11] Plato Egyptum peragravit ut a ſacerdotibus Barbaris numeros et *cæleſtia* acciperet. Cicero de Finibus, v. 25. The Egyptians might ſtill preſerve the traditional creed of the Patriarchs. Joſephus has perſuaded many of the Chriſtian fathers, that Plato derived a part of his knowledge from the Jews; but this vain opinion cannot be reconciled with the obſcure ſtate and unſocial manners of the Jewiſh people, whoſe ſcriptures were not acceſſible to Greek curioſity till more than one hundred years after the death of Plato. See Marſham, Canon. Chron. p. 144. Le Clerc, Epiſtol. Critic. vii. p. 177—194.

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of the intellectual world; *how* a Being purely incorporeal could execute that perfect model, and mould with a plaſtic hand the rude and independent chaos. The vain hope of extricating himſelf from theſe difficulties, which muſt ever oppreſs the feeble powers of the human mind, might induce Plato to conſider the divine nature under the threefold modification; of the firſt cauſe, the reaſon, or *Logos*, and the ſoul or ſpirit of the univerſe. His poetical imagination ſometimes fixed and animated theſe metaphyſical abſtractions; the three *archical* or original principles were repreſented in the Platonic ſyſtem as three Gods, united with each other by a myſterious and ineffable generation; and the Logos was particularly conſidered under the more acceſſible character of the Son of an Eternal Father, and the Creator and Governor of the world. Such appear to have been the ſecret doctrines which were cautiouſly whiſpered in the gardens of the academy; and which, according to the more recent diſciples of Plato, could not be perfectly underſtood, till after an aſſiduous ſtudy of thirty years [12].

The Logos

taught in the ſchool of Alexandria. Before Chriſt 300.

The arms of the Macedonians diffuſed over Aſia and Egypt the language and learning of Greece; and the theological ſyſtem of Plato was taught, with leſs reſerve, and perhaps with ſome improvements, in the celebrated ſchool of Alexandria [13]. A numerous colony of Jews had been invited, by the favour of the Ptolemies, to ſettle in their new capital [14]. While the bulk of the nation practiſed the legal ceremonies, and purſued the lucrative occupations of commerce, a few Hebrews, of a more liberal ſpirit, devoted their lives

[12] The modern guides who lead me to the knowledge of the Platonic ſyſtem are, Cudworth (Intellectual Syſtem, p. 568—620.), Baſnage (Hiſt. des Juifs, l. iv. c. iv. p. 53—86.), Le Clerc (Epiſt. Crit. vii. p. 194—209.), and Brucker (Hiſt. Philoſoph. tom. i. p. 675—706.). As the learning of theſe writers was equal, and their intention different, an inquiſitive obſerver may derive inſtruction from their diſputes, and certainty from their agreement.

[13] Brucker, Hiſt. Philoſoph. tom. i. p. 1349—1357. The Alexandrian ſchool is celebrated by Strabo (l. xvii.) and Ammianus (xxii. 6.).

[14] Joſeph. Antiquitat. l. xii. c. 1. 3. Baſnage, Hiſt. des Juifs, l. vii. c. 7.

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to religious and philoſophical contemplation[15]. They cultivated with diligence, and embraced with ardour, the theological ſyſtem of the Athenian ſage. But their national pride would have been mortified by a fair confeſſion of their former poverty: and they boldly marked, as the ſacred inheritance of their anceſtors, the gold and jewels which they had ſo lately ſtolen from their Egyptian maſters. One hundred years before the birth of Chriſt, a philoſophical treatiſe, which manifeſtly betrays the ſtyle and ſentiments of the ſchool of Plato, was produced by the Alexandrian Jews, and unanimouſly received as a genuine and valuable relic of the inſpired Wiſdom of Solomon[16]. A ſimilar union of the Moſaic faith, and the Grecian philoſophy, diſtinguiſhes the works of Philo, which were compoſed, for the moſt part, under the reign of Auguſtus[17]. The material ſoul of the univerſe[18] might offend the piety of the Hebrews: but they applied the character of the LOGOS to the Jehovah of Moſes and the patriarchs; and the Son of God was introduced upon earth under a viſible, and even human appearance, to perform thoſe familiar offices which ſeem incompatible with the nature and attributes of the Univerſal Cauſe[19].

Before Chriſt 100.

The

[15] For the origin of the Jewiſh philoſophy, ſee Euſebius, Præparat. Evangel. viii. 9, 10. According to Philo, the Therapeutæ ſtudied philoſophy; and Brucker has proved (Hiſt. Philoſoph. tom. ii. p. 787.), that they gave the preference to that of Plato.

[16] See Calmet, Diſſertations ſur la Bible, tom. ii. p. 277. The book of the Wiſdom of Solomon was received by many of the fathers as the work of that monarch; and although rejected by the Proteſtants for want of a Hebrew original, it has obtained, with the reſt of the Vulgate, the ſanction of the council of Trent.

[17] The Platoniſm of Philo, which was famous to a proverb, is proved beyond a doubt by Le Clerc (Epiſt. Crit. viii. p. 211—228.). Baſnage (Hiſt. des Juifs, l. iv. c. 5.) has clearly aſcertained, that the theological works of Philo were compoſed before the death, and moſt probably before the birth, of Chriſt. In ſuch a time of darkneſs, the knowledge of Philo is more aſtoniſhing than his errors. Bull, Defenſ. Fid. Nicen. ſ. i. c. 1. p. 12.

[18] Mens agitat molem, et magno ſe corpori *miſcet*.

Beſides this material ſoul, Cudworth has diſcovered (p. 562.) in Amelius, Porphyry, Plotinus, and, as he thinks, in Plato himſelf, a ſuperior, ſpiritual, *upercoſmian* ſoul of the univerſe. But this double ſoul is exploded by Brucker, Baſnage, and Le Clerc, as an idle fancy of the latter Platoniſts.

[19] Petav. Dogmata Theologica, tom. ii. l. viii. c. 2. p. 791. Bull, Defenſ. Fid. Nicen. ſ. i. c. 1. p. 8. 13. This notion, till it was abuſed by the Arians, was freely adopted in the Chriſtian theology. Tertullian (adv. Praxeam, c. 16.) has a remarkable and dangerous paſſage. After contraſting, with

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Revealed by the Apoſtle St. John, A. D. 97.

The eloquence of Plato, the name of Solomon, the authority of the ſchool of Alexandria, and the conſent of the Jews and Greeks, were inſufficient to eſtabliſh the truth of a myſterious doctrine which might pleaſe, but could not ſatisfy, a rational mind. A prophet, or apoſtle, inſpired by the Deity, can alone exerciſe a lawful dominion over the faith of mankind; and the theology of Plato might have been for ever confounded with the philoſophical viſions of the Academy, the Porch, and the Lycæum, if the name and divine attributes of the *Logos* had not been confirmed by the celeſtial pen of the laſt and moſt ſublime of the Evangeliſts[20]. The Chriſtian Revelation, which was conſummated under the reign of Nerva, diſcloſed to the world the amazing ſecret, that the LOGOS, who was with God from the beginning, and was God, who had made all things, and for whom all things had been made, was incarnate in the perſon of Jeſus of Nazareth; who had been born of a virgin, and ſuffered death on the croſs. Beſides the general deſign of fixing on a perpetual baſis the divine honours of Chriſt, the moſt ancient and reſpectable of the eccleſiaſtical writers have aſcribed to the evangelic theologian, a particular intention to confute two oppoſite hereſies, which diſturbed the peace of the primitive church[21]. I. The faith of the Ebionites[22], perhaps of the Nazarenes[23], was groſs and imperfect. They revered

The Ebionites and Docetes.

with indiſcreet wit, the nature of God, and the actions of Jehovah, he concludes: Scilicet ut hæc de filio Dei non credenda fuiſſe, ſi non ſcripta eſſent; fortaſſe non credenda de Patre licet ſcripta.

[20] The Platoniſts admired the beginning of the Goſpel of St. John, as containing an exact tranſcript of their own principles. Auguſtin. de Civitat. Dei, x. 29. Amelius apud Cyril. adverſ. Julian. l. viii. p. 283. But in the third and fourth centuries, the Platoniſts of Alexandria might improve their Trinity, by the ſecret ſtudy of the Chriſtian theology.

[21] See Beauſobre Hiſt. Critique du Manicheiſme, tom. i. p. 377. The Goſpel according to St. John is ſuppoſed to have been publiſhed about ſeventy years after the death of Chriſt.

[22] The ſentiments of the Ebionites are fairly ſtated by Moſheim (p. 331.) and Le Clerc (Hiſt. Eccleſ. p. 535.). The Clementines, publiſhed among the apoſtolical fathers, are attributed by the critics to one of theſe ſectaries.

[23] Staunch polemics, like Bull (Judicium Eccleſ. Cathol. c. 2.), inſiſt on the orthodoxy of the Nazarenes; which appears leſs pure and certain in the eyes of Moſheim (p. 330.).

Jeſus

Jeſus as the greateſt of the prophets, endowed with ſupernatural virtue and power. They aſcribed to his perſon and to his future reign all the predictions of the Hebrew oracles which relate to the ſpiritual and everlaſting kingdom of the promiſed Meſſiah [24]. Some of them might confeſs that he was born of a virgin; but they obſtinately rejected the preceding exiſtence and divine perfections of the *Logos*, or Son of God, which are ſo clearly defined in the Goſpel of St. John. About fifty years afterwards, the Ebionites, whoſe errors are mentioned by Juſtin Martyr with leſs ſeverity than they ſeem to deſerve [25], formed a very inconſiderable portion of the Chriſtian name. II. The Gnoſtics, who were diſtinguiſhed by the epithet of *Docetes*, deviated into the contrary extreme; and betrayed the human, while they aſſerted the divine, nature of Chriſt. Educated in the ſchool of Plato, accuſtomed to the ſublime idea of the *Logos*, they readily conceived that the brighteſt *Æon* or *Emanation* of the Deity, might aſſume the outward ſhape and viſible appearances of a mortal [26]; but they vainly pretended, that the imperfections of matter are incompatible with the purity of a celeſtial ſubſtance. While the blood of Chriſt yet ſmoked on Mount Calvary, the Docetes invented the impious and extravagant hypotheſis, that, inſtead of iſſuing from the womb of the Virgin [27], he had deſcended on the banks of the Jordan

[24] The humble condition and ſufferings of Jeſus have always been a ſtumbling-block to the Jews. "Deus . . . contrariis coloribus "Meſſiam depinxerat; futurus erat Rex, "Judex, Paſtor," &c. See Limborch et Orobio Amica Collat. p. 8. 19. 53–76. 192—234. But this objection has obliged the believing Chriſtians to lift up their eyes to a ſpiritual and everlaſting kingdom.

[25] Juſtin Martyr, Dialog. cum Tryphonte, p. 143, 144. See Le Clerc, Hiſt. Eccleſ. p. 615. Bull, and his editor Grabe (Judicium Eccleſ. Cathol. c. 7. and Appendix), attempt to diſtort either the ſentiments or the words of Juſtin; but their violent correction of the text is rejected even by the Benedictine editors.

[26] The Arians reproached the orthodox party with borrowing their Trinity from the Valentinians and Marcionites. See Beauſobre, Hiſt. du Manicheiſme, l. iii. c. 5. 7.

[27] Non dignum eſt ex utero credere Deum, et Deum Chriſtum . . . ; non dignum eſt ut tanta majeſtas per ſordes et ſqualores mulieris tranſire credatur. The Gnoſtics aſſerted the impurity of matter, and of marriage; and they were ſcandalized by the groſs interpretations of the fathers, and even of Auguſtin himſelf. See Beauſobre, tom. ii. p. 523.

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in the form of perfect manhood; that he had impoſed on the ſenſes of his enemies, and of his diſciples; and that the miniſters of Pilate had waſted their impotent rage on an airy phantom, who *ſeemed* to expire on the croſs, and, after three days, to riſe from the dead [28].

Myſterious nature of the Trinity.

The divine ſanction, which the Apoſtle had beſtowed on the fundamental principle of the theology of Plato, encouraged the learned proſelytes of the ſecond and third centuries to admire and ſtudy the writings of the Athenian ſage, who had thus marvellouſly anticipated one of the moſt ſurpriſing diſcoveries of the Chriſtian revelation. The reſpectable name of Plato was uſed by the orthodox [29], and abuſed by the heretics [30], as the common ſupport of truth and error: the authority of his ſkilful commentators, and the ſcience of dialectics, were employed to juſtify the remote conſequences of his opinions; and to ſupply the diſcreet ſilence of the inſpired writers. The ſame ſubtle and profound queſtions concerning the nature, the generation, the diſtinction, and the equality of the three divine perſons of the myſterious *Triad*, or Trinity [31], were agitated in the philoſophical, and in the Chriſtian, ſchools of Alexandria. An eager ſpirit of curioſity urged them to explore the ſecrets of the abyſs; and

[28] Apoſtolis adhuc in ſæculo ſuperſtitibus apud Judæam Chriſti ſanguine recente, et *phantaſma* corpus Domini aſſerebatur. Cotelerius thinks (Patres Apoſtol. tom. ii. p. 24.) that thoſe who will not allow the *Docetes* to have ariſen in the time of the Apoſtles, may with equal reaſon deny that the ſun ſhines at noon-day. Theſe *Docetes*, who formed the moſt conſiderable party among the Gnoſtics, were ſo called, becauſe they granted only a *ſeeming* body to Chriſt.

[29] Some proofs of the reſpect which the Chriſtians entertained for the perſon and doctrine of Plato, may be found in De la Mothe le Vayer, tom. v. p. 135, &c. edit. 1757; and Baſnage, Hiſt. des Juifs, tom. iv. p. 29. 79, &c.

[30] Doleo bona fide, Platonem omnium hæreticorum condimentarium factum. Tertullian de Anima, c. 23. Petavius (Dogm. Theolog. tom. iii. proleg. 2.) ſhews that this was a general complaint. Beauſobre (tom. i. l. iii. c. 9, 10.) has deduced the Gnoſtic errors from Platonic principles; and as, in the ſchool of Alexandria, thoſe principles were blended with the Oriental philoſophy (Brucker, tom. i. p. 1356.), the ſentiment of Beauſobre may be reconciled with the opinion of Moſheim (General Hiſtory of the Church, vol. i. p. 37.).

[31] If Theophilus, biſhop of Antioch (ſee Dupin, Bibliotheque Eccleſiaſtique, tom. i. p. 66.), was the firſt who employed the word *Triad*, *Trinity*, that abſtract term, which was already familiar to the ſchools of philoſophy, muſt have been introduced into the theology of the Chriſtians after the middle of the ſecond century.

the

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the pride of the profeſſors, and of their diſciples, was ſatisfied with the ſcience of words. But the moſt ſagacious of the Chriſtian theologians, the great Athanaſius himſelf, has candidly confeſſed [32], that whenever he forced his underſtanding to meditate on the divinity of the *Logos*, his toilſome and unavailing efforts recoiled on themſelves; that the more he thought, the leſs he comprehended; and the more he wrote, the leſs capable was he of expreſſing his thoughts. In every ſtep of the inquiry, we are compelled to feel and acknowledge the immeaſurable diſproportion between the ſize of the object and the capacity of the human mind. We may ſtrive to abſtract the notions of time, of ſpace, and of matter, which ſo cloſely adhere to all the perceptions of our experimental knowledge. But as ſoon as we preſume to reaſon of infinite ſubſtance, of ſpiritual generation; as often as we deduce any poſitive concluſions from a negative idea, we are involved in darkneſs, perplexity, and inevitable contradiction. As theſe difficulties ariſe from the nature of the ſubject, they oppreſs, with the ſame inſuperable weight, the philoſophic and the theological diſputant; but we may obſerve two eſſential and peculiar circumſtances, which diſcriminated the doctrines of the Catholic church from the opinions of the Platonic ſchool.

Zeal of the Chriſtians.

I. A choſen ſociety of philoſophers, men of a liberal education and curious diſpoſition, might ſilently meditate, and temperately diſcuſs, in the gardens of Athens or the library of Alexandria, the abſtruſe queſtions of metaphyſical ſcience. The lofty ſpeculations, which neither convinced the underſtanding, nor agitated the paſſions, of the Platoniſts themſelves, were careleſsly overlooked by the idle, the buſy, and even the ſtudious part of mankind [33]. But after the *Logos*

[32] Athanaſius, tom. i. p. 808. His expreſſions have an uncommon energy; and as he was writing to Monks, there could not be any occaſion for him to *affect* a rational language.

[33] In a treatiſe, which profeſſed to explain the opinions of the ancient philoſophers concerning the nature of the Gods, we might expect to diſcover the theological Trinity of Plato. But Cicero very honeſtly confeſſed, that

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Logos had been revealed as the ſacred object of the faith, the hope, and the religious worſhip of the Chriſtians; the myſterious ſyſtem was embraced by a numerous and increaſing multitude in every province of the Roman world. Thoſe perſons who, from their age, or ſex, or occupations, were the leaſt qualified to judge, who were the leaſt exerciſed in the habits of abſtract reaſoning; aſpired to contemplate the œconomy of the Divine Nature: and it is the boaſt of Tertullian [34], that a Chriſtian mechanic could readily anſwer ſuch queſtions as had perplexed the wiſeſt of the Grecian ſages. Where the ſubject lies ſo far beyond our reach, the difference between the higheſt and the loweſt of human underſtandings may indeed be calculated as infinitely ſmall; yet the degree of weakneſs may perhaps be meaſured by the degree of obſtinacy and dogmatic confidence. Theſe ſpeculations, inſtead of being treated as the amuſement of a vacant hour, became the moſt ſerious buſineſs of the preſent, and the moſt uſeful preparation for a future, life. A theology, which it was incumbent to believe, which it was impious to doubt, and which it might be dangerous, and even fatal, to miſtake, became the familiar topic of private meditation and popular diſcourſe. The cold indifference of philoſophy was inflamed by the fervent ſpirit of devotion; and even the metaphors of common language ſuggeſted the fallacious prejudices of ſenſe and experience. The Chriſtians, who abhorred the groſs and impure generation of the Greek mythology [35], were tempted to argue from the familiar analogy of the filial and paternal relations. The character of *Son* ſeemed to imply a perpe-

that though he had tranſlated the Timæus, he could never underſtand that myſterious dialogue. See Hieronym. præf. ad l. xii. in Iſaiam, tom. v. p. 154.

[34] Tertullian. in Apolog. c. 46. See Bayle, Dictionnaire, au mot *Simonide*. His remarks on the preſumption of Tertullian are profound and intereſting.

[35] Lactantius, iv. 8. Yet the *Probole*, or *Prolatio*, which the moſt orthodox divines borrowed without ſcruple from the Valentinians, and illuſtrated by the compariſons of a fountain and ſtream, the ſun and its rays, &c, either meant nothing, or favoured a material idea of the divine generation. See Beauſobre, tom. i. l. iii. c. 7. p. 548.

tual

tual ſubordination to the voluntary author of his exiſtence[36]; but as the act of generation, in the moſt ſpiritual and abſtracted ſenſe, muſt be ſuppoſed to tranſmit the properties of a common nature[37], they durſt not preſume to circumſcribe the powers or the duration of the Son of an eternal and omnipotent Father. Fourſcore years after the death of Chriſt, the Chriſtians of Bithynia declared before the tribunal of Pliny, that they invoked him as a god: and his divine honours have been perpetuated in every age and country, by the various ſects who aſſume the name of his diſciples[38]. Their tender reverence for the memory of Chriſt, and their horror for the profane worſhip of any created being, would have engaged them to aſſert the equal and abſolute divinity of the *Logos*, if their rapid aſcent towards the throne of heaven had not been imperceptibly checked by the apprehenſion of violating the unity and ſole ſupremacy of the great Father of Chriſt and of the Univerſe. The ſuſpenſe and fluctuation produced in the minds of the Chriſtians by theſe oppoſite tendencies, may be obſerved in the writings of the theologians who flouriſhed after the end of the apoſtolic age, and before the origin of the Arian controverſy. Their ſuffrage is claimed, with equal confidence, by the orthodox and by the heretical parties; and the moſt inquiſitive critics have fairly allowed, that if they had the good fortune of poſſeſſing the Catholic verity, they have delivered their conceptions in looſe, inaccurate, and ſometimes contradictory language[39].

II. The

[36] Many of the primitive writers have frankly confeſſed, that the Son owed his being to the *will* of the Father. See Clarke's Scripture Trinity, p. 280—287. On the other hand, Athanaſius and his followers ſeem unwilling to grant what they are afraid to deny. The ſchoolmen extricate themſelves from this difficulty by the diſtinction of a *preceding* and a *concomitant* will. Petav. Dogm. Theolog. tom. ii. l. vi. c. 8. p. 587—603.

[37] See Petav. Dogm. Theolog. tom. ii. l. ii. c. 10. p. 159.

[38] Carmenque Chriſto quaſi Deo dicere ſecum invicem. Plin. Epiſt. x. 97. The ſenſe of *Deus*, Θεος, *Elohim*, in the ancient languages, is critically examined by Le Clerc (Ars Critica, p. 150—156.); and the propriety of worſhipping a very excellent creature, is ably defended by the Socinian Emlyn (Tracts, p. 29—36. 51—145.).

[39] See Daillé de Uſu Patrum, and Le Clerc, Bibliotheque Univerſelle, tom. x. p. 409. To arraign the faith of the Anti-Nicene fathers, was the object, or at leaſt has

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Authority of the church.

II. The devotion of individuals was the firſt circumſtance which diſtinguiſhed the Chriſtians from the Platoniſts: the ſecond was the authority of the church. The diſciples of philoſophy aſſerted the rights of intellectual freedom, and their reſpect for the ſentiments of their teachers was a liberal and voluntary tribute, which they offered to ſuperior reaſon. But the Chriſtians formed a numerous and diſciplined ſociety; and the juriſdiction of their laws and magiſtrates was ſtrictly exerciſed over the minds of the faithful. The looſe wanderings of the imagination were gradually confined by creeds and confeſſions [40]; the freedom of private judgment ſubmitted to the public wiſdom of ſynods; the authority of a theologian was determined by his eccleſiaſtical rank; and the epiſcopal ſucceſſors of the apoſtles inflicted the cenſures of the church on thoſe who deviated from the orthodox belief. But in an age of religious controverſy, every act of oppreſſion adds new force to the elaſtic vigour of the mind; and the zeal or obſtinacy of a ſpiritual rebel was ſometimes ſtimulated by

Factions.

ſecret motives of ambition or avarice. A metaphyſical argument became the cauſe or pretence of political conteſts; the ſubtleties of the Platonic ſchool were uſed as the badges of popular factions, and the diſtance which ſeparated their reſpective tenets was enlarged or magnified by the acrimony of diſpute. As long as the dark hereſies of Praxeas and Sabellius laboured to confound the *Father* with the *Son* [41], the orthodox party might be excuſed if they adhered more ſtrictly and more earneſtly to the *diſtinction*, than to the *equality*, of the divine perſons. But as ſoon as the heat of controverſy had ſub-

has been the effect, of the ſtupendous work of Petavius on the Trinity (Dogm. Theolog. tom. ii.); nor has the deep impreſſion been erazed by the learned defence of Biſhop Bull.

[40] The moſt ancient creeds were drawn up with the greateſt latitude. See Bull (Judicium Eccleſ. Cathol.), who tries to prevent Epiſcopius from deriving any advantage from this obſervation.

[41] The hereſies of Praxeas, Sabellius, &c. are accurately explained by Moſheim (p. 425. 680—714.). Praxeas, who came to Rome about the end of the ſecond century, deceived, for ſome time, the ſimplicity of the biſhop, and was confuted by the pen of the angry Tertullian.

ſided,

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ſided, and the progreſs of the Sabellians was no longer an object of terror to the churches of Rome, of Africa, or of Egypt; the tide of theological opinion began to flow with a gentle but ſteady motion toward the contrary extreme; and the moſt orthodox doctors allowed themſelves the uſe of the terms and definitions which had been cenſured in the mouth of the ſectaries[42]. After the edict of toleration had reſtored peace and leiſure to the Chriſtians, the Trinitarian controverſy was revived in the ancient ſeat of Platoniſm, the learned, the opulent, the tumultuous city of Alexandria; and the flame of religious diſcord was rapidly communicated from the ſchools, to the clergy, the people, the province, and the Eaſt. The abſtruſe queſtion of the eternity of the *Logos* was agitated in eccleſiaſtic conferences and popular ſermons; and the heterodox opinions of Arius[43] were ſoon made public by his own zeal, and by that of his adverſaries. His moſt implacable adverſaries have acknowledged the learning and blameleſs life of that eminent preſbyter; who, in a former election, had declared, and perhaps generouſly declined, his pretenſions to the epiſcopal throne[44]. His competitor Alexander aſſumed the office of his judge. The important cauſe was argued before him; and if at firſt he ſeemed to heſitate, he at length pronounced his final ſentence, as an abſolute rule of faith[45]. The undaunted preſbyter, who preſumed to reſiſt the authority of his angry biſhop, was ſeparated from

Arius.

[42] Socrates acknowledges, that the hereſy of Arius proceeded from his ſtrong deſire to embrace an opinion the moſt diametrically oppoſite to that of Sabellius.

[43] The figure and manners of Arius, the character and numbers of his firſt proſelytes, are painted in very lively colours by Epiphanius (tom. i. Hæreſ. lxix. 3. p. 729.); and we cannot but regret that he ſhould ſoon forget the hiſtorian, to aſſume the taſk of controverſy.

[44] See Phioſtorgius (l. i. c. 3.), and Godefroy's ample Commentary. Yet the credibility of Philoſtorgius is leſſened, in the eyes of the orthodox, by his Arianiſm; and in thoſe of rational critics, by his paſſion, his prejudice, and his ignorance.

[45] Sozomen (l. i. c. 15.) repreſents Alexander as indifferent, and even ignorant, in the beginning of the controverſy; while Socrates (l. i. c. 5.) aſcribes the origin of the diſpute to the vain curioſity of his theological ſpeculations. Dr. Jortin (Remarks on Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, vol. ii. p. 178.) has cenſured, with his uſual freedom, the conduct of Alexander: προς οργην εξαπτεται . . . ομοιως φρονιμ ικιλιυσι.

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the communion of the church. But the pride of Arius was ſupported by the applauſe of a numerous party. He reckoned among his immediate followers two biſhops of Egypt, ſeven preſbyters, twelve deacons, and (what may appear almoſt incredible) ſeven hundred virgins. A large majority of the biſhops of Aſia appeared to ſupport or favour his cauſe; and their meaſures were conducted by Euſebius of Cæſarea, the moſt learned of the Chriſtian prelates; and by Euſebius of Nicomedia, who had acquired the reputation of a ſtateſman without forfeiting that of a ſaint. Synods in Paleſtine and Bithynia were oppoſed to the ſynods of Egypt. The attention of the prince and people was attracted by this theological diſpute; and the deciſion, at the end of ſix years [46], was referred to the ſupreme authority of the general council of Nice.

A. D. 318—325.

Three ſyſtems of the Trinity.

When the myſteries of the Chriſtian faith were dangerouſly expoſed to public debate, it might be obſerved, that the human underſtanding was capable of forming three diſtinct, though imperfect, ſyſtems, concerning the nature of the Divine Trinity; and it was pronounced, that none of theſe ſyſtems, in a pure and abſolute ſenſe, were exempt from hereſy and error [47]. I. According to the firſt hypotheſis, which was maintained by Arius and his diſciples, the *Logos* was a dependent and ſpontaneous production, created from nothing by the will of the Father. The Son, by whom all things were made [48], had been begotten before all worlds, and the longeſt

Arianiſm.

[46] The flames of Arianiſm might burn for ſome time in ſecret; but there is reaſon to believe that they burſt out with violence as early as the year 319. Tillemont, Mem. Eccleſ. tom. vi. p. 774—780.

[47] Quid credidit? Certe, *aut* tria nomina audiens tres Deos eſſe credidit, et idololatra effectus eſt; *aut* in tribus vocabulis trinominem credens Deum, in Sabellii hæreſim incurrit; *aut* edoctus ab Arianis unum eſſe verum Deum Patrem, filium et ſpiritum ſanctum credidit creaturas. Aut extra hæc quid credere potuerit neſcio. Hieronym. adv. Luciferianos. Jerom reſerves for the laſt the orthodox ſyſtem, which is more complicated and difficult.

[48] As the doctrine of abſolute creation from nothing, was gradually introduced among the Chriſtians (Beauſobre, tom. ii. p. 165—215.), the dignity of the *workman* very naturally roſe with that of the *work*.

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of the aſtronomical periods could be compared only as a fleeting moment to the extent of his duration; yet this duration was not infinite [49], and there *had* been a time which preceded the ineffable generation of the *Logos*. On this only begotten Son the Almighty Father had transfuſed his ample ſpirit, and impreſſed the effulgence of his glory. Viſible image of inviſible perfection, he ſaw, at an immeaſurable diſtance beneath his feet, the thrones of the brighteſt archangels: yet he ſhone only with a reflected light, and, like the ſons of the Roman emperors, who were inveſted with the titles of Cæſar or Auguſtus [50], he governed the univerſe in obedience to the will of his Father and Monarch. II. In the ſecond hypotheſis, the *Logos* poſſeſſed all the inherent, incommunicable perfections, which religion and philoſophy appropriate to the Supreme God. Three diſtinct and infinite minds or ſubſtances, three co-equal and co-eternal beings, compoſed the Divine Eſſence [51]; and it would have implied contradiction, that any of them ſhould not have exiſted, or that they ſhould ever ceaſe to exiſt [52]. The advocates of a ſyſtem which ſeemed to eſtabliſh three independent Deities, attempted to preſerve the unity of the Firſt Cauſe, ſo conſpicuous in the deſign and order of the world, by the perpetual concord of their adminiſtration, and the eſſential agreement of their will. A faint reſemblance of this unity of action may be diſcovered in the ſocieties of men, and even of animals. The cauſes which diſturb their harmony proceed only from the

Tritheiſm.

[49] The metaphyſics of Dr. Clarke (Scripture Trinity, p. 276—280.) could digeſt an eternal generation from an infinite cauſe.

[50] This profane and abſurd ſimile is employed by ſeveral of the primitive fathers, particularly by Athenagoras, in his Apology to the emperor Marcus and his ſon; and it is alleged, without cenſure, by Bull himſelf. See Defenſ. Fid. Nicen. ſ. iii. c. 5. N° 4.

[51] See Cudworth's Intellectual Syſtem, p. 559. 579. This dangerous hypotheſis was countenanced by the two Gregories, of Nyſſa and Nazianzen, by Cyril of Alexandria, John of Damaſcus, &c. See Cudworth, p. 603. Le Clerc, Bibliotheque Univerſelle, tom. xviii. p. 97—105.

[52] Auguſtin ſeems to envy the freedom of the philoſophers. Liberis verbis loquuntur philoſophi .... Nos autem non dicimus duo vel tria principia, duos vel tres Deos. De Civitat. Dei, x. 23.

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imperfection and inequality of their faculties: but the omnipotence which is guided by infinite wiſdom and goodneſs, cannot fail of chuſing the ſame means for the accompliſhment of the ſame ends.

Sabellianiſm.

III. Three Beings, who, by the ſelf-derived neceſſity of their exiſtence, poſſeſs all the divine attributes in the moſt perfect degree; who are eternal in duration, infinite in ſpace, and intimately preſent to each other, and to the whole univerſe; irreſiſtibly force themſelves on the aſtoniſhed mind, as one and the ſame Being [53], who, in the œconomy of grace, as well as in that of nature, may manifeſt himſelf under different forms, and be conſidered under different aſpects. By this hypotheſis, a real ſubſtantial Trinity is refined into a trinity of names, and abſtract modifications, that ſubſiſt only in the mind which conceives them. The *Logos* is no longer a perſon, but an attribute; and it is only in a figurative ſenſe, that the epithet of Son can be applied to the eternal reaſon which was with God from the beginning, and by *which*, not by *whom*, all things were made. The incarnation of the *Logos* is reduced to a mere inſpiration of the Divine Wiſdom, which filled the ſoul, and directed all the actions of the man Jeſus. Thus, after revolving round the theological circle, we are ſurpriſed to find that the Sabellian ends where the Ebionite had begun; and that the incomprehenſible myſtery which excites our adoration, eludes our inquiry [54].

Council of Nice, A. D. 325.

If the biſhops of the council of Nice [55] had been permitted to follow the unbiaſſed dictates of their conſcience, Arius and his aſſociates

[53] Boetius, who was deeply verſed in the philoſophy of Plato and Ariſtotle, explains the unity of the Trinity by the *indifference* of the three perſons. See the judicious remarks of Le Clerc, Bibliotheque Choiſie, tom. xvi. p. 225, &c.

[54] If the Sabellians were ſtartled at this concluſion, they were driven down another precipice into the confeſſion, that the Father was born of a virgin, that *he* had ſuffered on the croſs; and thus deſerved the odious epithet of *Patri paſſians*, with which they were branded by their adverſaries. See the invectives of Tertullian againſt Praxeas, and the temperate reflections of Moſheim (p. 423, 681.); and Beauſobre, tom. i. l. iii. c. 6. p. 533.

[55] The tranſactions of the council of Nice are related by the ancients, not only in a partial, but in a very imperfect manner. Such a picture

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associates could scarcely have flattered themselves with the hopes of obtaining a majority of votes, in favour of an hypothesis so directly adverse to the two most popular opinions of the Catholic world. The Arians soon perceived the danger of their situation, and prudently assumed those modest virtues, which, in the fury of civil and religious dissensions, are seldom practised, or even praised, except by the weaker party. They recommended the exercise of Christian charity and moderation; urged the incomprehensible nature of the controversy; disclaimed the use of any terms or definitions which could not be found in the scriptures; and offered, by very liberal concessions, to satisfy their adversaries, without renouncing the integrity of their own principles. The victorious faction received all their proposals with haughty suspicion; and anxiously sought for some irreconcilable mark of distinction, the rejection of which might involve the Arians in the guilt and consequences of heresy. A letter was publicly read, and ignominiously torn, in which their patron, Eusebius of Nicomedia, ingenuously confessed, that the admission of the HOMOOUSION, or Consubstantial, a word already familiar to the Platonists, was incompatible with the principles of their theological system. The fortunate opportunity was eagerly embraced by the bishops, who governed the resolutions of the synod; and according to the lively expression of Ambrose [56], they used the sword, which heresy itself had drawn from the scabbard, to cut off the head of the hated monster. The consubstantiality of the Father and the Son was established by the council of Nice, and has been

The Homoousion.

a picture as Fra-Paolo would have drawn, can never be recovered; but such rude sketches as have been traced by the pencil of bigotry, and that of reason, may be seen in Tillemont (Mem. Eccles. tom. vi. p. 669—759.) and in Le Clerc (Bibliotheque Universelle, tom. x. p. 435—454.).

[56] We are indebted to Ambrose (de Fide, l. iii. cap. ult.) for the knowledge of this curious anecdote. Hoc verbum posuerunt Patres, quod viderunt adversariis esse formidini; ut tanquam evaginato ab ipsis gladio, ipsum nefandæ caput hæreseos amputarent.

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unanimouſly received as a fundamental article of the Chriſtian faith, by the conſent of the Greek, the Latin, the Oriental, and the Proteſtant churches. But if the ſame word had not ſerved to ſtigmatize the heretics, and to unite the Catholics, it would have been inadequate to the purpoſe of the majority, by whom it was introduced into the orthodox creed. This majority was divided into two parties, diſtinguiſhed by a contrary tendency to the ſentiments of the Tritheiſts and of the Sabellians. But as thoſe oppoſite extremes ſeemed to overthrow the foundations either of natural, or revealed, religion, they mutually agreed to qualify the rigour of their principles; and to diſavow the juſt, but invidious, conſequences, which might be urged by their antagoniſts. The intereſt of the common cauſe inclined them to join their numbers, and to conceal their differences; their animoſity was ſoftened by the healing counſels of toleration, and their diſputes were ſuſpended by the uſe of the myſterious *Homoouſion*, which either party was free to interpret according to their peculiar tenets. The Sabellian ſenſe, which, about fifty years before, had obliged the council of Antioch [57] to prohibit this celebrated term, had endeared it to thoſe theologians who entertained a ſecret but partial affection for a nominal Trinity. But the more faſhionable ſaints of the Arian times, the intrepid Athanaſius, the learned Gregory Nazianzen, and the other pillars of the church, who ſupported with ability and ſucceſs the Nicene doctrine, appeared to conſider the expreſſion of *ſubſtance*, as if it had been ſynonymous with that of *nature*; and they ventured to illuſtrate their meaning, by affirming that three men, as they belong to the ſame common ſpecies, are conſubſtantial or homoouſian to each other [58]. This pure

[57] See Bull, Defenſ. Fid. Nicen. ſect. ii. c. i. p. 25—36. He thinks it his duty to reconcile two orthodox ſynods.

[58] According to Ariſtotle, the ſtars were Homoouſian to each other. "That *Homoouſius* means of one ſubſtance in *kind*, hath "been ſhewn by Petavius, Curcellæus, Cudworth, Le Clerc, &c. and to prove it, would "be *actum agere*." This is the juſt remark of Dr. Jortin (vol. ii. p. 212.), who examines the Arian controverſy with learning, candour, and ingenuity.

and

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and distinct equality was tempered, on the one hand, by the internal connection, and spiritual penetration, which indissolubly unites the divine persons[59]; and on the other by the pre-eminence of the Father, which was acknowledged as far as it is compatible with the independence of the Son[60]. Within these limits the almost invisible and tremulous ball of orthodoxy was allowed securely to vibrate. On either side, beyond this consecrated ground, the heretics and the dæmons lurked in ambush to surprise and devour the unhappy wanderer. But as the degrees of theological hatred depend on the spirit of the war, rather than on the importance of the controversy, the heretics who degraded, were treated with more severity than those who annihilated, the person of the Son. The life of Athanasius was consumed in irreconcilable opposition to the impious *madness* of the Arians[61]; but he defended above twenty years the Sabellianism of Marcellus of Ancyra; and when at last he was compelled to withdraw himself from his communion, he continued to mention, with an ambiguous smile, the venial errors of his respectable friend[62].

Arian creeds.

The authority of a general council, to which the Arians themselves had been compelled to submit, inscribed on the banners of the orthodox party the mysterious characters of the word *Homoousion*, which essentially contributed, notwithstanding some obscure disputes, some nocturnal combats, to maintain and perpetuate the uniformity

[59] See Petavius (Dogm. Theolog. tom. ii. l. iv. c. 16. p. 453, &c.), Cudworth (p. 559.), Bull (sect. iv. p. 285—290. edit. Grab.) The περιχωρησις, or *circumincessio*, is perhaps the deepest and darkest corner of the whole theological abyss.

[60] The third section of Bull's Defence of the Nicene Faith, which some of his antagonists have called nonsense, and others heresy, is consecrated to the supremacy of the Father.

[61] The ordinary appellation with which Athanasius and his followers chose to compliment the Arians, was that of *Arimanites*.

[62] Epiphanius, tom. i. Hæres. lxxii. 4. p. 837. See the Adventures of Marcellus, in Tillemont (Mem. Eccles. tom. vii. p. 880—899.) His work, in *one* book, of the unity of God, was answered in the *three* books, which are still extant, of Eusebius. After a long and careful examination, Petavius (tom. ii. l. i. c. 14. p. 78.) has reluctantly pronounced the condemnation of Marcellus.

of

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of faith, or at leaſt of language. The Conſubſtantialiſts, who by their ſucceſs have deſerved and obtained the title of Catholics, gloried in the ſimplicity and ſteadineſs of their own creed, and inſulted the repeated variations of their adverſaries, who were deſtitute of any certain rule of faith. The ſincerity or the cunning of the Arian chiefs, the fear of the laws or of the people, their reverence for Chriſt, their hatred of Athanaſius, all the cauſes, human and divine, that influence and diſturb the counſels of a theological faction, introduced among the ſectaries a ſpirit of diſcord and inconſtancy, which, in the courſe of a few years, erected eighteen different models of religion[63], and avenged the violated dignity of the church. The zealous Hilary[64], who, from the peculiar hardſhips of his ſituation, was inclined to extenuate rather than to aggravate the errors of the Oriental clergy, declares, that in the wide extent of the ten provinces of Aſia, to which he had been baniſhed, there could be found very few prelates who had preſerved the knowledge of the true God[65]. The oppreſſion which he had felt, the diſorders of which he was the ſpectator and the victim, appeaſed, during a ſhort interval, the angry paſſions of his ſoul; and in the following paſſage, of which I ſhall tranſcribe a few lines, the biſhop of Poitiers unwarily deviates into the ſtyle of a Chriſtian philoſopher. "It is a thing," ſays Hilary, "equally deplorable and dangerous, that there are as

[63] Athanaſius, in his epiſtle concerning the ſynods of Seleucia and Rimini (tom. i. p. 886—905.), has given an ample liſt of Arian creeds, which has been enlarged and improved by the labours of the indefatigable Tillemont (Mem. Eccleſ. tom. vi. p. 477.).

[64] Eraſmus, with admirable ſenſe and freedom, has delineated the juſt character of Hilary. To reviſe his text, to compoſe the annals of his life, and to juſtify his ſentiments and conduct, is the province of the Benedictine editors.

[65] Abſque epiſcopo Eleuſio et paucis cum eo, ex majore parte Aſianæ decem provinciæ, inter quas conſiſto, vere Deum neſciunt. Atque utinam penitus neſcirent! cum procliviore enim veniâ ignorarent quam obtrectarent. Hilar. de Synodis, ſive de Fide Orientalium, c. 63. p. 1186. edit. Benedict. In the celebrated parallel between atheiſm and ſuperſtition, the biſhop of Poitiers would have been ſurpriſed in the philoſophic ſociety of Bayle and Plutarch.

"many

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" many creeds as opinions among men, as many doctrines as in-
" clinations, and as many ſources of blaſphemy as there are faults
" among us; becauſe we make creeds arbitrarily, and explain them
" as arbitrarily. The Homoouſion is rejected, and received, and
" explained away by ſucceſſive ſynods. The partial or total re-
" ſemblance of the Father and of the Son, is a ſubject of diſpute for
" theſe unhappy times. Every year, nay every moon, we make
" new creeds to deſcribe inviſible myſteries. We repent of what
" we have done, we defend thoſe who repent, we anathematiſe thoſe
" whom we defended. We condemn either the doctrine of others
" in ourſelves, or our own in that of others; and reciprocally tearing
" one another to pieces, we have been the cauſe of each other's
" ruin [66]."

Arian ſects.

It will not be expected, it would not perhaps be endured, that I ſhould ſwell this theological digreſſion, by a minute examination of the eighteen creeds, the authors of which, for the moſt part, diſclaimed the odious name of their parent Arius. It is amuſing enough to delineate the form, and to trace the vegetation, of a ſingular plant; but the tedious detail of leaves without flowers, and of branches without fruit, would ſoon exhauſt the patience, and diſappoint the curioſity, of the laborious ſtudent. One queſtion which gradually aroſe from the Arian controverſy, may however be noticed, as it ſerved to produce and diſcriminate the three ſects, who were united only by their common averſion to the Homoouſion of the Nicene ſynod. 1. If they were aſked, whether the Son was *like* unto the Father; the queſtion was reſolutely anſwered in the negative, by the heretics who adhered to the principles of Arius, or indeed to thoſe of philoſophy; which ſeem to eſtabliſh an infinite

[66] Hilarius ad Conſtantium, l. ii. c. 4, 5. p. 1227, 1228. This remarkable paſſage deſerved the attention of Mr. Locke, who has tranſcribed it (vol. iii. p. 470.) into the model of his new common-place book.

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difference between the Creator and the moſt excellent of his creatures. This obvious conſequence was maintained by Ætius [67], on whom the zeal of his adverſaries beſtowed the ſurname of the Atheiſt. His reſtleſs and aſpiring ſpirit urged him to try almoſt every profeſſion of human life. He was ſucceſſively a ſlave, or at leaſt a huſbandman, a travelling tinker, a goldſmith, a phyſician, a ſchoolmaſter, a theologian, and at laſt the apoſtle of a new church, which was propagated by the abilities of his diſciple Eunomius [68]. Armed with texts of ſcripture, and with captious ſyllogiſms from the logic of Ariſtotle, the ſubtle Ætius had acquired the fame of an invincible diſputant, whom it was impoſſible either to ſilence or to convince. Such talents engaged the friendſhip of the Arian biſhops, till they were forced to renounce, and even to perſecute, a dangerous ally, who, by the accuracy of his reaſoning, had prejudiced their cauſe in the popular opinion, and offended the piety of their moſt devoted followers. 2. The omnipotence of the Creator ſuggeſted a ſpecious and reſpectful ſolution of the *likeneſs* of the Father and the Son; and faith might humbly receive what reaſon could not preſume to deny, that the ſupreme God might communicate his infinite perfections, and create a being ſimilar only to himſelf [69]. Theſe Arians were powerfully ſupported by the weight and abilities of their leaders, who had ſucceeded to the management of the Euſebian in-

[67] In Philoſtorgius (l. iii. c. 15.) the character and adventures of Ætius appear ſingular enough, though they are carefully ſoftened by the hand of a friend. The editor Godefroy (p. 153.), who was more attached to his principles than to his author, has collected the odious circumſtances which his various adverſaries have preſerved or invented.

[68] According to the judgment of a man who reſpected both thoſe ſectaries, Ætius had been endowed with a ſtronger underſtanding, and Eunomius had acquired more art and learning (Philoſtorgius, l. viii. c. 18.). The confeſſion and apology of Eunomius (Fabricius, Bibliot. Græc. tom. viii. p. 258—305.) is one of the few heretical pieces which have eſcaped.

[69] Yet, according to the opinion of Eſtius and Bull (p. 297.), there is one power, that of creation, which God *cannot* communicate to a creature. Eſtius, who ſo accurately defined the limits of Omnipotence, was a Dutchman by birth, and by trade a ſcholaſtic divine. Dupin, Bibliot. Eccleſ. tom. xvii. p. 45.

tereſt,

tereſt, and who occupied the principal thrones of the Eaſt. They deteſted, perhaps with ſome affectation, the impiety of Ætius; they profeſſed to believe, either without reſerve, or acording to the ſcriptures, that the Son was different from all *other* creatures, and ſimilar only to the Father. But they denied, that he was either of the ſame or of a ſimilar ſubſtance; ſometimes boldly juſtifying their diſſent, and ſometimes objecting to the uſe of the word ſubſtance, which ſeems to imply an adequate, or at leaſt a diſtinct, notion of the nature of the Deity. 3. The ſect which aſſerted the doctrine of a ſimilar ſubſtance, was the moſt numerous, at leaſt in the provinces of Aſia; and when the leaders of both parties were aſſembled in the council of Seleucia[70], *their* opinion would have prevailed by a majority of one hundred and five to forty-three biſhops. The Greek word, which was choſen to expreſs this myſterious reſemblance, bears ſo cloſe an affinity to the orthodox ſymbol, that the profane of every age have derided the furious conteſts which the difference of a ſingle diphthong excited between the Homoouſians and the Homoiouſians. As it frequently happens, that the ſounds and characters which approach the neareſt to each other, accidentally repreſent the moſt oppoſite ideas, the obſervation would be itſelf ridiculous, if it were poſſible to mark any real and ſenſible diſtinction between the doctrine of the Semi-Arians, as they were improperly ſtyled, and that of the Catholics themſelves. The biſhop of Poitiers, who in his Phrygian exile very wiſely aimed at a coalition of parties, endeavours to prove that, by a pious and faithful interpretation[71], the *Homoiouſion* may

[70] Sabinus (ap. Socrat. l. ii. c. 39.) had copied the acts; Athanaſius and Hilary have explained the diviſions of this Arian ſynod; the other circumſtances which are relative to it are carefully collected by Baronius and Tillemont.

[71] Fideli et piâ intelligentiâ . . . De Synod. c. 77. p. 1193. In his ſhort apologetical notes (firſt publiſhed by the Benedictines from a MS. of Chartres) he obſerves, that he uſed this cautious expreſſion, qui intelligerem et impiam, p. 1206. See p. 1146. Philoſtorgius, who ſaw thoſe objects through a different medium, is inclined to forget the difference of the important diphthong. See in particular viii. 17. and Godefroy, p. 352.

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be reduced to a conſubſtantial ſenſe. Yet he confeſſes that the word has a dark and ſuſpicious aſpect; and, as if darkneſs were congenial to theological diſputes, the Semi-Arians, who advanced to the doors of the church, aſſailed them with the moſt unrelenting fury.

Faith of the Weſtern or Latin church.

The provinces of Egypt and Aſia, which cultivated the language and manners of the Greeks, had deeply imbibed the venom of the Arian controverſy. The familiar ſtudy of the Platonic ſyſtem, a vain and argumentative diſpoſition, a copious and flexible idiom, ſupplied the clergy and people of the Eaſt with an inexhauſtible flow of words and diſtinctions; and, in the midſt of their fierce contentions, they eaſily forgot the doubt which is recommended by philoſophy, and the ſubmiſſion which is enjoined by religion. The inhabitants of the Weſt were of a leſs inquiſitive ſpirit; their paſſions were not ſo forcibly moved by inviſible objects; their minds were leſs frequently exerciſed by the habits of diſpute; and ſuch was the happy ignorance of the Gallican church, that Hilary himſelf, above thirty years after the firſt general council, was ſtill a ſtranger to the Nicene creed[72]. The Latins had received the rays of divine knowledge through the dark and doubtful medium of a tranſlation. The poverty and ſtubbornneſs of their native tongue, was not always capable of affording juſt equivalents for the Greek terms, for the technical words of the Platonic philoſophy[73], which had been conſecrated by the goſpel or by the church, to expreſs the myſteries of the Chriſtian faith; and a verbal defect might introduce into the Latin theology a long train of error or perplexity[74]. But as the weſtern

[72] Teſtor Deum cœli atque terræ mecum neutrum audiſſem, ſemper tamen utrumque ſenſiſſe. . . . Regeneratus pridem et in epiſcopatu aliquantiſper manens fidem Nicenam nunquam niſi exſulaturus audivi. Hilar. de Synodis, c. xci. p. 1205. The Benedictines are perſuaded that he governed the dioceſe of Poitiers ſeveral years before his exile.

[73] Seneca (Epiſt. lviii.) complains that even the τὸ ὄν of the Platoniſts (the *ens* of the bolder ſchoolmen) could not be expreſſed by a Latin noun.

[74] The preference which the fourth council of the Lateran at length gave to a *numerical* rather than a *generical* unity (ſee Petav. tom. ii. l. iv. c. 13. p. 424.) was favoured by the

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western provincials had the good fortune of deriving their religion from an orthodox source, they preserved with steadiness the doctrine which they had accepted with docility; and when the Arian pestilence approached their frontiers, they were supplied with the seasonable preservative of the Homoousion, by the paternal care of the Roman pontiff. Their sentiments and their temper were displayed in the memorable synod of Rimini, which surpassed in numbers the council of Nice, since it was composed of above four hundred bishops of Italy, Africa, Spain, Gaul, Britain, and Illyricum. From the first debates it appeared, that only fourscore prelates adhered to the party, though *they* affected to anathematise the name and memory, of Arius. But this inferiority was compensated by the advantages of skill, of experience, and of discipline; and the minority was conducted by Valens and Ursacius, two bishops of Illyricum, who had spent their lives in the intrigues of courts and councils, and who had been trained under the Eusebian banner, in the religious wars of the East. By their arguments and negociations, they embarrassed, they confounded, they at last deceived, the honest simplicity of the Latin bishops; who suffered the palladium of the faith to be extorted from their hands by fraud and importunity, rather than by open violence. The council of Rimini was not allowed to separate, till the members had imprudently subscribed a captious creed, in which some expressions, susceptible of an heretical sense, were inserted in the room of the Homoousion. It was on this occasion, that, according to Jerom, the world was surprised to find itself Arian[75]. But the bishops of the Latin provinces had no sooner reached their respective dioceses, than they discovered their mistake, and repented of their weakness. The ignominious capitulation was rejected with disdain and abhorrence: and the Homoousian standard, which had been shaken but

Council of Rimini, A. D. 360.

the Latin language; τριας seems to excite the idea of substance, *trinitas* of qualities.

[75] Ingemuit totus orbis, et Arianum se esse miratus est. Hieronym. adv. Lucifer. tom. i. p. 145.

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not overthrown, was more firmly replanted in all the churches of the Weſt[75].

Conduct of the emperors in the Arian controverſy.

Such was the riſe and progreſs, and ſuch were the natural revolutions, of thoſe theological diſputes which diſturbed the peace of Chriſtianity under the reigns of Conſtantine and of his ſons. But as thoſe princes preſumed to extend their deſpotiſm over the faith, as well as over the lives and fortunes, of their ſubjects; the weight of their ſuffrage ſometimes inclined the eccleſiaſtical balance: and the prerogatives of the King of Heaven were ſettled, or changed, or modified, in the cabinet of an earthly monarch.

Indifference of Conſtantine. A. D. 324.

The unhappy ſpirit of diſcord which pervaded the provinces of the Eaſt, interrupted the triumph of Conſtantine; but the emperor continued for ſome time to view, with cool and careleſs indifference, the object of the diſpute. As he was yet ignorant of the difficulty of appeaſing the quarrels of theologians, he addreſſed to the contending parties, to Alexander and to Arius, a moderating epiſtle[77]; which may be aſcribed, with far greater reaſon, to the untutored ſenſe of a ſoldier and ſtateſman, than to the dictates of any of his epiſcopal counſellors. He attributes the origin of the whole controverſy to a trifling and ſubtle queſtion, concerning an incomprehenſible point of the law, which was fooliſhly aſked by the biſhop, and imprudently reſolved by the preſbyter. He laments that the Chriſtian people, who had the ſame God, the ſame religion, and the ſame worſhip, ſhould be divided by ſuch inconſiderable diſtinctions; and he ſeriouſly recommends to the clergy of Alexandria the ex-

[75] The ſtory of the council of Rimini is very elegantly told by Sulpicius Severus (Hiſt. Sacra, l. ii. p. 419.—430. edit. Lugd. Bat. 1647), and by Jerom, in his Dialogue againſt the Luciferians. The deſign of the latter is to apologize for the conduct of the Latin biſhops who were deceived, and who repented.

[77] Euſebius, in Vit. Conſtant. l. ii. c. 64.—72. The principles of toleration and religious indifference, contained in this epiſtle, have given great offence to Baronius, Tillemont, &c. who ſuppoſe that the emperor had ſome evil counſellor, either Satan or Euſebius, at his elbow. See Jortin's Remarks, tom. ii. p. 183.

ample

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ample of the Greek philoſophers; who could maintain their arguments without loſing their temper, and aſſert their freedom without violating their friendſhip. The indifference and contempt of the ſovereign would have been, perhaps, the moſt effectual method of ſilencing the diſpute, if the popular current had been leſs rapid and impetuous, and if Conſtantine himſelf, in the midſt of faction and fanaticiſm, could have preſerved the calm poſſeſſion of his own mind. But his eccleſiaſtical miniſters ſoon contrived to ſeduce the impartiality of the magiſtrate, and to awaken the zeal of the proſelyte. He was provoked by the inſults which had been offered to his ſtatues; he was alarmed by the real, as well as the imaginary, magnitude of the ſpreading miſchief; and he extinguiſhed the hope of peace and toleration, from the moment that he aſſembled three hundred biſhops within the walls of the ſame palace. The preſence of the monarch ſwelled the importance of the debate; his attention multiplied the arguments; and he expoſed his perſon with a patient intrepidity, which animated the valour of the combatants. Notwithſtanding the applauſe which has been beſtowed on the eloquence and ſagacity of Conſtantine[78]; a Roman general, whoſe religion might be ſtill a ſubject of doubt, and whoſe mind had not been enlightened either by ſtudy or by inſpiration, was indifferently qualified to diſcuſs, in the Greek language, a metaphyſical queſtion, or an article of faith. But the credit of his favourite Oſius, who appears to have preſided in the council of Nice, might diſpoſe the emperor in favour of the orthodox party; and a well-timed inſinuation, that the ſame Euſebius of Nicomedia, who now protected the heretic, had lately aſſiſted the tyrant[79], might exaſperate him againſt their adverſaries.

His zeal. A. D. 325.

[78] Euſebius, in Vit. Conſtantin. l. iii. c. 13.

[79] Theodoret has preſerved (l. i. c. 20.) an epiſtle from Conſtantine to the people of Nicomedia, in which the monarch declares himſelf the public accuſer of one of his ſubjects; he ſtyles Euſebius, ὁ τῆς τυραννικῆς ὠμότητος συμμύστης; and complains of his hoſtile behaviour during the civil war.

The

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The Nicene creed was ratified by Conſtantine; and his firm declaration, that thoſe who reſiſted the divine judgment of the ſynod, muſt prepare themſelves for an immediate exile, annihilated the murmurs of a feeble oppoſition; which from ſeventeen, was almoſt inſtantly reduced to two, proteſting biſhops. Euſebius of Cæſarea yielded a reluctant and ambiguous conſent to the Homoouſion [80]; and the wavering conduct of the Nicomedian Euſebius ſerved only to delay, about three months, his diſgrace and exile [81]. The impious Arius was baniſhed into one of the remote provinces of Illyricum; his perſon and diſciples were branded by law with the odious name of Porphyrians; his writings were condemned to the flames; and a capital puniſhment was denounced againſt thoſe in whoſe poſſeſſion they ſhould be found. The emperor had now imbibed the ſpirit of controverſy, and the angry ſarcaſtic ſtyle of his edicts was deſigned to inſpire his ſubjects with the hatred which he had conceived againſt the enemies of Chriſt [82].

He perſecutes the Arian

But as if the conduct of the emperor had been guided by paſſion inſtead of principle, three years from the council of Nice were ſcarcely elapſed, before he diſcovered ſome ſymptoms of mercy, and even of indulgence, towards the proſcribed ſect, which was ſecretly protected by his favourite ſiſter. The exiles were recalled; and Euſebius, who gradually reſumed his influence over the mind of Conſtantine, was reſtored to the epiſcopal throne, from which he had been ignominiouſly degraded. Arius himſelf was treated by the

and the orthodox party, A. D. 328—337.

[80] See in Socrates (l. i. c. 8.), or rather in Theodoret (l. i. c. 12.), an original letter of Euſebius of Cæſarea, in which he attempts to juſtify his ſubſcribing the Homoouſion. The character of Euſebius has always been a problem; but thoſe who have read the ſecond critical epiſtle of Le Clerc (Ars Critica, tom. iii. p. 30—69.), muſt entertain a very unfavourable opinion of the orthodoxy and ſincerity of the biſhop of Cæſarea.

[81] Athanaſius, tom. i. p. 727. Philoſtorgius, l. i. c. 10. and Godefroy's Commentary, p. 41.

[82] Socrates, l. i. c. 9. In his circular letters, which were addreſſed to the ſeveral cities, Conſtantine employed againſt the heretics the arms of ridicule and *comic* raillery.

whole

whole court with the reſpect which would have been due to an innocent and oppreſſed man. His faith was approved by the ſynod of Jeruſalem; and the emperor ſeemed impatient to repair his injuſtice, by iſſuing an abſolute command, that he ſhould be ſolemnly admitted to the communion in the cathedral of Conſtantinople. On the ſame day, which had been fixed for the triumph of Arius, he expired;—and the ſtrange and horrid circumſtances of his death might excite a ſuſpicion, that the orthodox ſaints had contributed, more efficaciouſly than by their prayers, to deliver the church from the moſt formidable of her enemies [83]. The three principal leaders of the Catholics, Athanaſius of Alexandria, Euſtathius of Antioch, and Paul of Conſtantinople, were depoſed on various accuſations, by the ſentence of numerous councils; and were afterwards baniſhed into diſtant provinces by the firſt of the Chriſtian emperors, who, in the laſt moments of his life, received the rites of baptiſm from the Arian biſhop of Nicomedia. The eccleſiaſtical government of Conſtantine cannot be juſtified from the reproach of levity and weakneſs. But the credulous monarch, unſkilled in the ſtratagems of theological warfare, might be deceived by the modeſt and ſpecious profeſſions of the heretics, whoſe ſentiments he never perfectly underſtood; and while he protected Arius, and perſecuted Athanaſius, he ſtill conſidered the council of Nice as the bulwark of the Chriſtian faith, and the peculiar glory of his own reign [84].

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[83] We derive the original ſtory from Athanaſius (tom. i. p. 670.), who expreſſes ſome reluctance to ſtigmatize the memory of the dead. He might exaggerate; but the perpetual commerce of Alexandria and Conſtantinople would have rendered it dangerous to invent. Thoſe who preſs the literal narrative of the death of Arius (his bowels ſuddenly burſt out in a privy) muſt make their option between *poiſon* and *miracle*.

[84] The change in the ſentiments, or at leaſt in the conduct, of Conſtantine, may be traced in Euſebius (in Vit. Conſtant. l. iii. c. 23. l. iv. c. 41.), Socrates (l. i. c. 23—39.), Sozomen (l. ii. c. 16—34.), Theodoret (l. i. c. 14—34.), and Philoſtorgius (l. ii. c. 1—17.). But

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Conſtantius favours the Arians, A. D. 337—361.

The ſons of Conſtantine muſt have been admitted from their childhood into the rank of catechumens, but they imitated, in the delay of their baptiſm, the example of their father. Like him, they preſumed to pronounce their judgment on myſteries into which they had never been regularly initiated[85]: and the fate of the Trinitarian controverſy depended, in a great meaſure, on the ſentiments of Conſtantius; who inherited the provinces of the Eaſt, and acquired the poſſeſſion of the whole empire. The Arian preſbyter or biſhop, who had ſecreted for his uſe the teſtament of the deceaſed emperor, improved the fortunate occaſion which had introduced him to the familiarity of a prince, whoſe public counſels were always ſwayed by his domeſtic favourites. The eunuchs and ſlaves diffuſed the ſpiritual poiſon through the palace, and the dangerous infection was communicated by the female attendants to the guards, and by the empreſs to her unſuſpicious huſband[86]. The partiality which Conſtantius always expreſſed towards the Euſebian faction, was inſenſibly fortified by the dexterous management of their leaders; and his victory over the tyrant Magnentius increaſed his inclination, as well as ability, to employ the arms of power in the cauſe of Arianiſm. While the two armies were engaged in the plains of Murſa, and the fate of the two rivals depended on the chance of war, the ſon of Conſtantine paſſed the anxious moments in a church of the martyrs, under the walls of the city. His ſpiritual comforter, Valens, the Arian biſhop of the dioceſe, employed the moſt artful precautions to obtain ſuch early intelligence as might ſecure either his favour or his eſcape. A ſecret chain of ſwift and truſty meſſengers informed him of the vi-

But the firſt of theſe writers was too near the ſcene of action, and the others were too remote from it. It is ſingular enough, that the important taſk of continuing the hiſtory of the church, ſhould have been left for two laymen and a heretic.

[85] Quia etiam tum catechumenus ſacramentum fidei merito videretur potuiſſe neſcire. Sulp. Sever. Hiſt. Sacra, l. ii. p. 410.

[86] Socrates, l. ii. c. 2. Sozomen. l. iii. c. 18. Athanaſ. tom. i. p. 813. 834. He obſerves, that the eunuchs are the natural enemies of the *Son*. Compare Dr. Jortin's Remarks on Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, vol. iv. p. 3. with a certain genealogy in *Candide* (ch. iv.), which ends with one of the firſt companions of Chriſtopher Columbus.

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ciſſitudes of the battle; and while the courtiers ſtood trembling round their affrighted maſter, Valens aſſured him that the Gallic legions gave way; and inſinuated with ſome preſence of mind, that the glorious event had been revealed to him by an angel. The grateful emperor aſcribed his ſucceſs to the merits and interceſſion of the biſhop of Murſa, whoſe faith had deſerved the public and miraculous approbation of Heaven[87]. The Arians, who conſidered as their own the victory of Conſtantius, preferred his glory to that of his father[88]. Cyril, biſhop of Jeruſalem, immediately compoſed the deſcription of a celeſtial croſs, encircled with a ſplendid rainbow; which during the feſtival of Pentecoſt, about the third hour of the day, had appeared over the Mount of Olives, to the edification of the devout pilgrims, and the people of the holy city[89]. The ſize of the meteor was gradually magnified; and the Arian hiſtorian has ventured to affirm, that it was conſpicuous to the two armies in the plains of Pannonia; and that the tyrant, who is purpoſely repreſented as an idolater, fled before the auſpicious ſign of orthodox Chriſtianity[90].

Arian councils.

The ſentiments of a judicious ſtranger, who has impartially conſidered the progreſs of civil or eccleſiaſtical diſcord, are always entitled to our notice: and a ſhort paſſage of Ammianus, who ſerved in the armies, and ſtudied the character, of Conſtantius, is perhaps of more

[87] Sulpicius Severus, in Hiſt. Sacra, l. 2. p. 405, 406.

[88] Cyril (apud Baron. A. D. 353, No. 26.) expreſsly obſerves, that in the reign of Conſtantine the croſs had been found in the bowels of the earth; but that it had appeared, in the reign of Conſtantius, in the midſt of the heavens. This oppoſition evidently proves, that Cyril was ignorant of the ſtupendous miracle to which the converſion of Conſtantine is attributed; and this ignorance is the more ſurpriſing, ſince it was no more than twelve years after his death that Cyril was conſecrated biſhop of Jeruſalem, by the immediate ſucceſſor of Euſebius of Cæſarea. See Tillemont, Mem. Eccleſ. tom. viii. p. 715.

[89] It is not eaſy to determine how far the ingenuity of Cyril might be aſſiſted by ſome natural appearances of a ſolar halo.

[90] Philoſtorgius, l. iii. c. 26. He is followed by the author of the Alexandrian Chronicle, by Cedrenus, and by Nicephorus (See Gothofred. Diſſert. p. 188.). They could not refuſe a miracle, even from the hand of an enemy.

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value than many pages of theological invectives. "The Chriſtian "religion, which, in itſelf," ſays that moderate hiſtorian, "is plain "and ſimple, *he* confounded by the dotage of ſuperſtition. Inſtead "of reconciling the parties by the weight of his authority, he "cheriſhed and propagated, by verbal diſputes, the differences which "his vain curioſity had excited. The highways were covered with "troops of biſhops, galloping from every ſide to the aſſemblies "which they call ſynods; and while they laboured to reduce the "whole ſect to their own particular opinions, the public eſtabliſh-"ment of the poſts was almoſt ruined by their haſty and repeated "journies[91]." Our more intimate knowledge of the eccleſiaſtical tranſactions of the reign of Conſtantius, would furniſh an ample commentary on this remarkable paſſage; which juſtifies the rational apprehenſions of Athanaſius, that the reſtleſs activity of the clergy, who wandered round the empire in ſearch of the true faith, would excite the contempt and laughter of the unbelieving world[92]. As ſoon as the emperor was relieved from the terrors of the civil war, he devoted the leiſure of his winter-quarters at Arles, Milan, Sirmium, and Conſtantinople, to the amuſement or toils of controverſy: the ſword of the magiſtrate, and even of the tyrant, was unſheathed, to enforce the reaſons of the theologian; and as he oppoſed the orthodox faith of Nice, it is readily confeſſed that his incapacity and ignorance were equal to his preſumption[93]. The eunuchs, the women, and the biſhops, who governed the vain and feeble mind of the emperor, had inſpired him with an inſuperable diſlike to the

[91] So curious a paſſage well deſerves to be tranſcribed. Chriſtianam religionem abſolutam et ſimplicem, anili ſuperſtitione confundens; in quâ ſcrutandâ perplexius, quam componendâ gravius excitaret diſcidia plurima; quæ progreſſa fuſius aluit concertatione verborum, ut catervis antiſtitum jumentis publicis ultro citroque diſcurrentibus, per ſynodos (quas appellant) dum ritum omnem ad ſuum trahere conantur (Valeſius reads *conatur*) rei vehicularis concideret nervos. Ammianus, xxi. 16.

[92] Athanaſ. tom. i. p. 870.

[93] Socrates, l. ii. c. 35—47. Sozomen, l. iv. c. 12—30. Theodoret, l. ii. c. 18—32. Philoſtorg. l. iv. c. 4—12. l. v. c. 1—4. l. vi. c. 1—5.

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Homoouſion; but his timid conſcience was alarmed by the impiety of Ætius. The guilt of that atheiſt was aggravated by the ſuſpicious favour of the unfortunate Gallus; and even the deaths of the Imperial miniſters, who had been maſſacred at Antioch, were imputed to the ſuggeſtions of that dangerous ſophiſt. The mind of Conſtantius, which could neither be moderated by reaſon, nor fixed by faith, was blindly impelled to either ſide of the dark and empty abyſs, by his horror of the oppoſite extreme: he alternately embraced and condemned the ſentiments, he ſucceſſively baniſhed and recalled the leaders, of the Arian and Semi-Arian factions [94]. During the ſeaſon of public buſineſs or feſtivity, he employed whole days, and even nights, in ſelecting the words, and weighing the ſyllables, which compoſed his fluctuating creeds. The ſubject of his meditations ſtill purſued and occupied his ſlumbers; the incoherent dreams of the emperor were received as celeſtial viſions; and he accepted with complacency the lofty title of biſhop of biſhops, from thoſe eccleſiaſtics who forgot the intereſt of their order for the gratification of their paſſions. The deſign of eſtabliſhing an uniformity of doctrine, which had engaged him to convene ſo many ſynods in Gaul, Italy, Illyricum, and Aſia, was repeatedly baffled by his own levity, by the diviſions of the Arians, and by the reſiſtance of the Catholics; and he reſolved, as the laſt and deciſive effort, imperiouſly to dictate the decrees of a general council. The deſtructive earthquake of Nicomedia, the difficulty of finding a convenient place, and perhaps ſome ſecret motives of policy, produced an alteration in the ſummons. The biſhops of the Eaſt were directed to meet at Seleucia, in Iſauria; while thoſe of the Weſt held their deliberations at Rimini, on the coaſt of the

[94] Sozomen, l. iv. c. 23. Athanaſ. tom. i. p. 831. Tillemont (Mem. Eccleſ. tom. vii. p. 947.) has collected ſeveral inſtances of the haughty fanaticiſm of Conſtantius from the detached treatiſes of Lucifer of Cagliari. The very titles of theſe treatiſes inſpire zeal and terror; "Moriendum pro Dei Filio." "De Regibus Apoſtaticis." "De non conveniendo cum Hæretico." "De non parcendo in Deum delinquentibus."

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Hadriatic; and, inſtead of two or three deputies from each province, the whole epiſcopal body was ordered to march. The Eaſtern council, after conſuming four days in fierce and unavailing debate, ſeparated without any definitive concluſion. The council of the Weſt was protracted till the ſeventh month. Taurus, the Prætorian præfect, was inſtructed not to diſmiſs the prelates till they ſhould all be united in the ſame opinion; and his efforts were ſupported by a power of baniſhing fifteen of the moſt refractory, and a promiſe of the conſulſhip, if he atchieved ſo difficult an adventure. His prayers and threats, the authority of the ſovereign, the ſophiſtry of Valens and Urſacius, the diſtreſs of cold and hunger, and the tedious melancholy of a hopeleſs exile, at length extorted the reluctant conſent of the biſhops of Rimini. The deputies of the Eaſt and of the Weſt attended the emperor in the palace of Conſtantinople, and he enjoyed the ſatisfaction of impoſing on the world a profeſſion of faith which eſtabliſhed the *likeneſs*, without expreſſing the *conſubſtantiality*, of the Son of God [89]. But the triumph of Arianiſm had been preceded by the removal of the orthodox clergy, whom it was impoſſible either to intimidate or to corrupt; and the reign of Conſtantius was diſgraced by the unjuſt and ineffectual perſecution of the great Athanaſius.

A. D. 360.

Character and adventures of Athanaſius.

We have ſeldom an opportunity of obſerving, either in active or ſpeculative life, what effect may be produced, or what obſtacles may be ſurmounted, by the force of a ſingle mind, when it is inflexibly applied to the purſuit of a ſingle object. The immortal name of Athanaſius [90] will never be ſeparated from the Catholic doctrine of the

[89] Sulp. Sever. Hiſt. Sacra, l. ii. p. 418—430. The Greek hiſtorians were very ignorant of the affairs of the Weſt.

[90] We may regret that Gregory Nazianzen compoſed a panegyric inſtead of a life of Athanaſius; but we ſhould enjoy and improve the advantage of drawing our moſt authentic materials from the rich fund of his own epiſtles and apologies (tom. i. p. 670—951.). I ſhall not imitate the example of Socrates (l. ii. c. 1.), who publiſhed the firſt edition of his hiſtory without giving himſelf the trouble to conſult the writings of Athanaſius. Yet even Socrates, the more curious Sozomen,

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the Trinity, to whoſe defence he conſecrated every moment and every faculty of his being. Educated in the family of Alexander, he had vigorouſly oppoſed the early progreſs of the Arian hereſy: he exerciſed the important functions of ſecretary under the aged prelate; and the fathers of the Nicene council beheld with ſurpriſe and reſpect, the riſing virtues of the young deacon. In a time of public danger, the dull claims of age and of rank are ſometimes ſuperſeded; and within five months after his return from Nice, the deacon Athanaſius was ſeated on the archiepiſcopal throne of Egypt. He filled that eminent ſtation above forty-ſix years, and his long adminiſtration was ſpent in a perpetual combat againſt the powers of Arianiſm. Five times was Athanaſius expelled from his throne; twenty years he paſſed as an exile or a fugitive; and almoſt every province of the Roman empire was ſucceſſively witneſs to his merit, and his ſufferings in the cauſe of the Homoouſion, which he conſidered as the ſole pleaſure and buſineſs, as the duty, and as the glory, of his life. Amidſt the ſtorms of perſecution, the archbiſhop of Alexandria was patient of labour, jealous of fame, careleſs of ſafety; and although his mind was tainted by the contagion of fanaticiſm, Athanaſius diſplayed a ſuperiority of character and abilities, which would have qualified him, far better than the degenerate ſons of Conſtantine, for the government of a great monarchy. His learning was much leſs profound and extenſive than that of Euſebius of Cæſarea, and his rude eloquence could not be compared with the poliſhed oratory of Gregory or Baſil; but whenever the primate of Egypt was called upon to juſtify his ſentiments or his conduct, his unpremeditated ſtyle, either of ſpeaking or writing, was clear, forcible, and perſuaſive. He has always been revered in the orthodox

A. D. 326—373.

Sozomen, and the learned Theodoret, connect the life of Athanaſius with the ſeries of eccleſiaſtical hiſtory. The diligence of Tillemont (tom. viii.) and of the Benedictine editors, has collected every fact, and examined every difficulty.

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ſchool, as one of the moſt accurate maſters of the Chriſtian theology; and he was ſuppoſed to poſſeſs two profane ſciences, leſs adapted to the epiſcopal character; the knowledge of juriſprudence[91], and that of divination[92]. Some fortunate conjectures of future events, which impartial reaſoners might aſcribe to the experience and judgment of Athanaſius, were attributed by his friends to heavenly inſpiration, and imputed by his enemies to infernal magic.

But as Athanaſius was continually engaged with the prejudices and paſſions of every order of men from the monk to the emperor, the knowledge of human nature was his firſt and moſt important ſcience. He preſerved a diſtinct and unbroken view of a ſcene which was inceſſantly ſhifting; and never failed to improve thoſe deciſive moments which are irrecoverably paſt before they are perceived by a common eye. The archbiſhop of Alexandria was capable of diſtinguiſhing how far he might boldly command, and where he muſt dexterouſly inſinuate; how long he might contend with power, and when he muſt withdraw from perſecution; and while he directed the thunders of the church againſt hereſy and rebellion, he could aſſume, in the boſom of his own party, the flexible and indulgent temper of a prudent leader. The election of Athanaſius has not eſcaped the reproach of irregularity and precipitation[93]; but the propriety of his behaviour conciliated the affections both of the clergy and of the people. The Alexandrians were impatient to

[91] Sulpicius Severus (Hiſt. Sacra, l. ii. p. 396.) calls him a lawyer, a juriſconſult. This character cannot now be diſcovered, either in the life or writings of Athanaſius.

[92] Dicebatur enim fatidicarum ſortium fidem, quæve augurales portenderent alites ſcientiſſime callens aliquoties prædixiſſe futura. Ammianus, xv. 7. A prophecy, or rather a joke, is related by Sozomen (l. iv. c. 10.), which evidently proves (if the crows ſpeak Latin) that Athanaſius underſtood the language of the crows.

[93] The irregular ordination of Athanaſius was ſlightly mentioned in the councils which were held againſt him. See Philoſtorg. l. ii. c. 11. and Godefroy, p. 71.: but it can ſcarcely be ſuppoſed that the aſſembly of the biſhops of Egypt would ſolemnly atteſt a *public* falſehood. Athanaſ. tom. i. p. 726.

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rise in arms for the defence of an eloquent and liberal pastor. In his distress he always derived support, or at least consolation, from the faithful attachment of his parochial clergy; and the hundred bishops of Egypt adhered, with unshaken zeal, to the cause of Athanasius. In the modest equipage, which pride and policy would affect, he frequently performed the episcopal visitation of his provinces, from the mouth of the Nile to the confines of Ethiopia; familiarly conversing with the meanest of the populace, and humbly saluting the saints and hermits of the desert [94]. Nor was it only in ecclesiastical assemblies, among men whose education and manners were similar to his own, that Athanasius displayed the ascendancy of his genius. He appeared with easy and respectful firmness in the courts of princes; and in the various turns of his prosperous and adverse fortune, he never lost the confidence of his friends, or the esteem of his enemies.

Persecution against Athanasius, A. D. 330.

In his youth, the primate of Egypt resisted the great Constantine, who had repeatedly signified his will, that Arius should be restored to the Catholic communion [95]. The emperor respected, and might forgive, this inflexible resolution; and the faction who considered Athanasius as their most formidable enemy, were constrained to dissemble their hatred, and silently to prepare an indirect and distant assault. They scattered rumours and suspicions, represented the archbishop as a proud and oppressive tyrant, and boldly accused him of violating the treaty which had been ratified in the Nicene council,

[94] See the History of the Fathers of the Desert, published by Rosweide: and Tillemont, Mem. Eccles. tom. vii. in the lives of Antony, Pachomius, &c. Athanasius himself, who did not disdain to compose the life of his friend Antony, has carefully observed how often the holy monk deplored and prophesied the mischiefs of the Arian heresy. Athanas. tom. ii. p. 492. 498, &c.

[95] At first Constantine threatened in *speaking*, but requested in *writing*, και αγραφως μεν επιλει, γραφων δε, αξιω. His letters gradually assumed a menacing tone; but while he required that the entrance of the church should be open to *all*, he avoided the odious name of Arius. Athanasius, like a skilful politician, has accurately marked these distinctions (tom. i. p. 788.), which allowed him some scope for excuse and delay.

with

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with the ſchiſmatic followers of Meletius[96]. Athanaſius had openly diſapproved that ignominious peace, and the emperor was diſpoſed to believe, that he had abuſed his eccleſiaſtical and civil power, to perſecute thoſe odious ſectaries; that he had ſacrilegiouſly broken a chalice in one of their churches of Maræotis; that he had whipped or impriſoned ſix of their biſhops; and that Arſenius, a ſeventh biſhop of the ſame party, had been murdered, or at leaſt mutilated, by the cruel hand of the primate[97]. Theſe charges, which affected his honour and his life, were referred by Conſtantine to his brother Dalmatius the cenſor, who reſided at Antioch; the ſynods of Cæſarea and Tyre were ſucceſſively convened; and the biſhops of the Eaſt were inſtructed to judge the cauſe of Athanaſius, before they proceeded to conſecrate the new church of the Reſurrection at Jeruſalem. The primate might be conſcious of his innocence; but he was ſenſible that the ſame implacable ſpirit which had dictated the accuſation, would direct the proceeding, and pronounce the ſentence. He prudently declined the tribunal of his enemies, deſpiſed the ſummons of the ſynod of Cæſarea; and, after a long and artful delay, ſubmitted to the peremptory commands of the emperor, who threatened to puniſh his criminal diſobedience if he refuſed to appear in the council of Tyre[98].

A. D. 335. Before Athanaſius, at the head of fifty Egyptian prelates, ſailed from Alexandria, he had wiſely ſecured the alliance of the Meletians;

[96] The Meletians in Egypt, like the Donatiſts in Africa, were produced by an epiſcopal quarrel which aroſe from the perſecution. I have not leiſure to purſue the obſcure controverſy, which ſeems to have been miſrepreſented by the partiality of Athanaſius, and the ignorance of Epiphanius. See Moſheim's General Hiſtory of the Church, vol. i. p. 201.

[97] The treatment of the ſix biſhops is ſpecified by Sozomen (l. ii. c. 25.); but Athanaſius himſelf, ſo copious on the ſubject of Arſenius and the chalice, leaves this grave accuſation without a reply.

[98] Athanaſ. tom. i. p. 788. Socrates, l. i. c. 28. Sozomen, l. ii. c. 25. The emperor, in his Epiſtle of Convocation (Euſeb. in Vit. Conſtant. l. iv. c. 42.), ſeems to prejudge ſome members of the clergy, and it was more than probable that the ſynod would apply thoſe reproaches to Athanaſius.

and

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and Arſenius himſelf, his imaginary victim, and his ſecret friend, was privately concealed in his train. The ſynod of Tyre was conducted by Euſebius of Cæſarea, with more paſſion, and with leſs art, than his learning and experience might promiſe; his numerous faction repeated the names of homicide and tyrant; and their clamours were encouraged by the ſeeming patience of Athanaſius; who expected the deciſive moment to produce Arſenius alive and unhurt in the midſt of the aſſembly. The nature of the other charges did not admit of ſuch clear and ſatisfactory replies; yet the archbiſhop was able to prove, that, in the village, where he was accuſed of breaking a conſecrated chalice, neither church nor altar nor chalice could really exiſt. The Arians, who had ſecretly determined the guilt and condemnation of their enemy, attempted, however, to diſguiſe their injuſtice by the imitation of judicial forms: the ſynod appointed an epiſcopal commiſſion of ſix delegates to collect evidence on the ſpot; and this meaſure, which was vigorouſly oppoſed by the Egyptian biſhops, opened new ſcenes of violence and perjury[99]. After the return of the deputies from Alexandria, the majority of the council pronounced the final ſentence of degradation and exile againſt the primate of Egypt. The decree, expreſſed in the fierceſt language of malice and revenge, was communicated to the emperor and the Catholic church; and the biſhops immediately reſumed a mild and devout aſpect, ſuch as became their holy pilgrimage to the Sepulchre of Chriſt[100].

His firſt exile, A. D. 336.

But the injuſtice of theſe eccleſiaſtical judges had not been countenanced by the ſubmiſſion, or even by the preſence, of Athanaſius. He reſolved to make a bold and dangerous experiment, whether the throne was inacceſſible to the voice of truth; and before the final

[99] See, in particular, the ſecond Apology of Athanaſius (tom. i. p. 763—808.), and his Epiſtles to the Monks (p. 808—866.). They are juſtified by original and authentic documents; but they would inſpire more confidence, if he appeared leſs innocent, and his enemies leſs abſurd.

[100] Euſebius in Vit. Conſtantin. l. iv. c. 41—47.

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ſentence could be pronounced at Tyre, the intrepid primate threw himſelf into a bark, which was ready to hoiſt ſail for the Imperial city. The requeſt of a formal audience might have been oppoſed or eluded; but Athanaſius concealed his arrival; watched the moment of Conſtantine's return from an adjacent villa, and boldly encountered his angry ſovereign as he paſſed on horſeback through the principal ſtreet of Conſtantinople. So ſtrange an apparition excited his ſurpriſe and indignation; and the guards were ordered to remove the importunate ſuitor; but his reſentment was ſubdued by involuntary reſpect; and the haughty ſpirit of the emperor was awed by the courage and eloquence of a biſhop, who implored his juſtice and awakened his conſcience[101]. Conſtantine liſtened to the complaints of Athanaſius with impartial and even gracious attention; the members of the ſynod of Tyre were ſummoned to juſtify their proceedings; and the arts of the Euſebian faction would have been confounded, if they had not aggravated the guilt of the primate by the dexterous ſuppoſition of an unpardonable offence; a criminal deſign to intercept and detain the corn-fleet of Alexandria, which ſupplied the ſubſiſtence of the new capital[102]. The emperor was ſatisfied that the peace of Egypt would be ſecured by the abſence of a popular leader; but he refuſed to fill the vacancy of the archiepiſcopal throne; and the ſentence, which, after long heſitation, he pronounced, was that of a jealous oſtraciſm, rather than of an ignominious exile. In the remote province of Gaul, but in the hoſpitable court of Treves,

[101] Athanaſ. tom. i. p. 804. In a church dedicated to St. Athanaſius, this ſituation would afford a better ſubject for a picture, than moſt of the ſtories of miracles and martyrdoms.

[102] Athanaſ. tom. i. p. 729. Eunapius has related (in Vit. Sophiſt. p. 36, 37. edit. Commelin) a ſtrange example of the cruelty and credulity of Conſtantine on a ſimilar occaſion. The eloquent Sopater, a Syrian philoſopher, enjoyed his friendſhip, and provoked the reſentment of Ablavius, his Prætorian præfect. The corn-fleet was detained for want of a ſouth wind: the people of Conſtantinople were diſcontented; and Sopater was beheaded on a charge that he had *bound* the winds by the power of magic. Suidas adds, that Conſtantine wiſhed to prove, by this execution, that he had abſolutely renounced the ſuperſtition of the Gentiles.

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Athanaſius paſſed about twenty-eight months. The death of the emperor changed the face of public affairs; and, amidſt the general indulgence of a young reign, the primate was reſtored to his country by an honourable edict of the younger Conſtantine, who expreſſed a deep ſenſe of the innocence and merit of his venerable gueſt [103].

and reſtoration, A. D. 338.

The death of that prince expoſed Athanaſius to a ſecond perſecution; and the feeble Conſtantius, the ſovereign of the Eaſt, ſoon became the ſecret accomplice of the Euſebians. Ninety biſhops of that ſect or faction aſſembled at Antioch, under the ſpecious pretence of dedicating the cathedral. They compoſed an ambiguous creed, which is faintly tinged with the colours of Semi-Arianiſm, and twenty-five canons, which ſtill regulate the diſcipline of the orthodox Greeks [104]. It was decided, with ſome appearance of equity, that a biſhop deprived by a ſynod, ſhould not reſume his epiſcopal functions, till he had been abſolved by the judgment of an equal ſynod; the law was immediately applied to the caſe of Athanaſius; the council of Antioch pronounced, or rather confirmed, his degradation: a ſtranger named Gregory was ſeated on his throne; and Philagrius [105], the præfect of Egypt, was inſtructed to ſupport the new primate with the civil and military powers of the province. Oppreſſed by the conſpiracy of the Aſiatic prelates, Athanaſius withdrew from Alexandria, and paſſed three years [106] as an exile and a ſuppliant on the holy

His ſecond exile, A. D. 341.

[103] In his return he ſaw Conſtantius twice, at Viminiacum and at Cæſarea, in Cappadocia (Athanaſ. tom. i. p. 676.). Tillemont ſuppoſes that Conſtantine introduced him to the meeting of the three royal brothers in Pannonia (Memoires Eccleſ. tom. viii. p. 69.).

[104] See Beveridge Pandect. tom. i. p. 429—452., and tom. ii. Annotation. p. 182. Tillemont Mem. Eccleſ. tom. vi. p. 310—324. St. Hilary of Poitiers has mentioned this ſynod of Antioch with too much favour and reſpect. He reckons ninety-ſeven biſhops.

[105] This magiſtrate, ſo odious to Athanaſius, is praiſed by Gregory Nazianzen, tom. i. Orat. xxi. p. 390, 391.

Sæpe premente Deo fert Deus alter opem.

For the credit of human nature, I am always pleaſed to diſcover ſome good qualities in thoſe men whom party has repreſented as tyrants and monſters.

[106] The chronological difficulties which perplex the reſidence of Athanaſius at Rome,

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holy threſhold of the Vatican [107]. By the aſſiduous ſtudy of the Latin language, he ſoon qualified himſelf to negotiate with the weſtern clergy; his decent flattery ſwayed and directed the haughty Julius: the Roman Pontiff was perſuaded to conſider his appeal as the peculiar intereſt of the Apoſtolic ſee; and his innocence was unanimouſly declared in a council of fifty biſhops of Italy. At the end of three years, the primate was ſummoned to the court of Milan by the emperor Conſtans, who, in the indulgence of unlawful pleaſures, ſtill profeſſed a lively regard for the orthodox faith. The cauſe of truth and juſtice was promoted by the influence of gold [108], and the miniſters of Conſtans adviſed their ſovereign to require the convocation of an eccleſiaſtical aſſembly, which might act as the repreſentatives of the Catholic church. Ninety-four biſhops of the Weſt, ſeventy-ſix biſhops of the Eaſt, encountered each other at Sardica, on the verge of the two empires, but in the dominions of the protector of Athanaſius. Their debates ſoon degenerated into hoſtile altercations; the Aſiatics, apprehenſive for their perſonal ſafety, retired to Philippopolis in Thrace; and the rival ſynods reciprocally hurled their ſpiritual thunders againſt their enemies, whom they piouſly condemned as the enemies of the true God. Their decrees

A. D. 346.

are ſtrenuouſly agitated by Valeſius (Obſervat. ad Calcem, tom. ii. Hiſt. Eccleſ. l. i. c. 1—5.) and Tillemont (Mem. Eccleſ. tom. viii. p. 674, &c.). I have followed the ſimple hypotheſis of Valeſius, who allows only one journey, after the intruſion of Gregory.

[107] I cannot forbear tranſcribing a judicious obſervation of Wetſtein (Prolegomen. N. T. p. 19.): Si tamen Hiſtoriam Eccleſiaſticam velimus conſulere, patebit jam inde a ſeculo quarto, cum, ortis controverſiis, eccleſiæ Græciæ doctores in duas partes ſcinderentur, ingenio, eloquentiâ, numero, tantum non æquales, eam partem quæ vincere cupiebat Romam confugiſſe, majeſtatemque pontificis comiter coluiſſe, eoque pacto oppreſſis per pontificem et epiſcopos Latinos adverſariis prævaluiſſe, atque orthodoxiam in conciliis ſtabiliviſſe. Eam ob cauſam Athanaſius, non ſine comitatu, Romam petiit, pluresque annos ibi hæſit.

[108] Philoſtorgius, l. iii. c. 12. If any corruption was uſed to promote the intereſt of religion, an advocate of Athanaſius might juſtify or excuſe this queſtionable conduct, by the example of Cato and Sidney; the former of whom is *ſaid* to have given, and the latter to have received, a bribe, in the cauſe of liberty.

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were publiſhed and ratified in their reſpective provinces; and Athanaſius, who in the Weſt was revered as a ſaint, was expoſed as a criminal to the abhorrence of the Eaſt [109]. The council of Sardica reveals the firſt ſymptoms of diſcord and ſchiſm between the Greek and Latin churches, which were ſeparated by the accidental difference of faith, and the permanent diſtinction of language.

and reſtoration, A. D. 349.

During his ſecond exile in the Weſt, Athanaſius was frequently admitted to the Imperial preſence; at Capua, Lodi, Milan, Verona, Padua, Aquileia, and Treves. The biſhop of the dioceſe uſually aſſiſted at theſe interviews; the maſter of the offices ſtood before the veil or curtain of the ſacred apartment; and the uniform moderation of the primate might be atteſted by theſe reſpectable witneſſes, to whoſe evidence he ſolemnly appeals [110]. Prudence would undoubtedly ſuggeſt the mild and reſpectful tone that became a ſubject and a biſhop. In theſe familiar conferences with the ſovereign of the Weſt, Athanaſius might lament the error of Conſtantius; but he boldly arraigned the guilt of his eunuchs and his Arian prelates; deplored the diſtreſs and danger of the Catholic church; and excited Conſtans to emulate the zeal and glory of his father. The emperor declared his reſolution of employing the troops and treaſures of Europe in the orthodox cauſe; and ſignified, by a conciſe and peremptory epiſtle to his brother Conſtantius, that unleſs he conſented to the immediate reſtoration of Athanaſius, he himſelf, with a fleet and army, would ſeat the archbiſhop on the throne of Alexandria [111].

But

[109] The Canon, which allows appeals to the Roman pontiffs, has almoſt raiſed the council of Sardica to the dignity of a general council; and its acts have been ignorantly or artfully confounded with thoſe of the Nicene ſynod. See Tillemont, tom. viii. p. 689. and Geddes's Tracts, vol. ii. p. 419—460.

[110] As Athanaſius diſperſed ſecret invectives againſt Conſtantius (ſee the Epiſtle to the Monks), at the ſame time that he aſſured him of his profound reſpect, we might diſtruſt the profeſſions of the archbiſhop. Tom. i. p. 677.

[111] Notwithſtanding the diſcreet ſilence of Athanaſius, and the manifeſt forgery of a letter inſerted by Socrates, theſe menaces are proved by the unqueſtionable evidence of Lucifer

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But this religious war, ſo horrible to nature, was prevented by the timely compliance of Conſtantius; and the emperor of the Eaſt condeſcended to ſolicit a reconciliation with a ſubject whom he had injured. Athanaſius waited with decent pride, till he had received three ſucceſſive epiſtles full of the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of the protection, the favour, and the eſteem of his ſovereign; who invited him to reſume his epiſcopal ſeat, and who added the humiliating precaution of engaging his principal miniſters to atteſt the ſincerity of his intentions. They were manifeſted in a ſtill more public manner, by the ſtrict orders which were diſpatched into Egypt to recall the adherents of Athanaſius, to reſtore their privileges, to proclaim their innocence, and to eraze from the public regiſters the illegal proceedings which had been obtained during the prevalence of the Euſebian faction. After every ſatisfaction and ſecurity had been given, which juſtice or even delicacy could require, the primate proceeded, by ſlow journies, through the provinces of Thrace, Aſia, and Syria; and his progreſs was marked by the abject homage of the Oriental biſhops, who excited his contempt without deceiving his penetration [112]. At Antioch he ſaw the emperor Conſtantius; ſuſtained, with modeſt firmneſs, the embraces and proteſtations of his maſter, and eluded the propoſal of allowing the Arians a ſingle church at Alexandria, by claiming, in the other cities of the empire, a ſimilar toleration for his own party; a reply which might have appeared juſt and moderate in the mouth of an independent prince. The entrance of the archbiſhop into his capital was a triumphal proceſſion; abſence and perſecution had endeared him to the Alexandrians;

Lucifer of Cagliari, and even of Conſtantius himſelf. See Tillemont, tom. viii. p. 693.

[112] I have always entertained ſome doubts concerning the retractation of Urſacius and Valens (Athanaſ. tom. i. p. 776.). Their epiſtles to Julius biſhop of Rome, and to Athanaſius himſelf, are of ſo different a caſt from each other, that they cannot both be genuine. The one ſpeaks the language of criminals who confeſs their guilt and infamy; the other of enemies, who ſolicit on equal terms an honourable reconciliation.

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his authority, which he exerciſed with rigour, was more firmly eſtabliſhed; and his fame was diffuſed from Æthiopia to Britain, over the whole extent of the Chriſtian world [113].

Reſentment of Conſtantius, A. D. 351.

But the ſubject who has reduced his prince to the neceſſity of diſſembling, can never expect a ſincere and laſting forgiveneſs; and the tragic fate of Conſtans ſoon deprived Athanaſius of a powerful and generous protector. The civil war between the aſſaſſin and the only ſurviving brother of Conſtans, which afflicted the empire above three years, ſecured an interval of repoſe to the Catholic church; and the two contending parties were deſirous to conciliate the friendſhip of a biſhop, who, by the weight of his perſonal authority, might determine the fluctuating reſolutions of an important province. He gave audience to the ambaſſadors of the tyrant, with whom he was afterwards accuſed of holding a ſecret correſpondence [114]; and the emperor Conſtantius repeatedly aſſured his deareſt father, the moſt reverend Athanaſius, that, notwithſtanding the malicious rumours which were circulated by their common enemies, he had inherited the ſentiments, as well as the throne, of his deceaſed brother [115]. Gratitude and humanity would have diſpoſed the primate of Egypt to deplore the untimely fate of Conſtans, and to abhor the guilt of Magnentius; but as he clearly underſtood that the apprehenſions of Conſtantius were his only ſafeguard, the fervour of his prayers for the ſucceſs of the righteous cauſe might perhaps be ſomewhat abated. The ruin of Athanaſius was no longer contrived by the obſcure malice of a few bigotted or angry biſhops, who

[113] The circumſtances of his ſecond return may be collected from Athanaſius himſelf, tom. i. p. 769 and 822. 843. Socrates, l. ii. c. 18. Sozomen, l. iii. c. 19. Theodoret, l. ii. c. 11, 12. Philoſtorgius, l. iii. c. 12.

[114] Athanaſius (tom. i. p. 677, 678.) defends his innocence by pathetic complaints, ſolemn aſſertions, and ſpecious arguments. He admits that letters had been forged in his name, but he requeſts that his own ſecretaries, and thoſe of the tyrant, may be examined, whether thoſe letters had been written by the former or received by the latter.

[115] Athanaſ. tom. i. p. 825—844.

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abuſed the authority of a credulous monarch. The monarch himſelf avowed the reſolution, which he had ſo long ſuppreſſed, of avenging his private injuries [116]; and the firſt winter after his victory, which he paſſed at Arles, was employed againſt an enemy more odious to him than the vanquiſhed tyrant of Gaul.

Councils of Arles and Milan, A.D. 353—355.

If the emperor had capriciouſly decreed the death of the moſt eminent and virtuous citizen of the republic, the cruel order would have been executed without heſitation, by the miniſters of open violence or of ſpecious injuſtice. The caution, the delay, the difficulty with which he proceeded in the condemnation and puniſhment of a popular biſhop, diſcovered to the world that the privileges of the church had already revived a ſenſe of order and freedom in the Roman government. The ſentence which was pronounced in the ſynod of Tyre, and ſubſcribed by a large majority of the eaſtern biſhops, had never been expreſsly repealed; and as Athanaſius had been once degraded from his epiſcopal dignity by the judgment of his brethren, every ſubſequent act might be conſidered as irregular, and even criminal. But the memory of the firm and effectual ſupport which the primate of Egypt had derived from the attachment of the weſtern church, engaged Conſtantius to ſuſpend the execution of the ſentence, till he had obtained the concurrence of the Latin biſhops. Two years were conſumed in eccleſiaſtical negociations; and the important cauſe between the emperor and one of his ſubjects was ſolemnly debated, firſt in the ſynod of Arles, and afterwards in the great council of Milan [117], which conſiſted of above three hundred biſhops. Their integrity was gradually undermined by the arguments of the Arians, the dexterity of

[116] Athanaſ. tom. i. p. 861. Theodoret, l. ii. c. 16. The emperor declared, that he was more deſirous to ſubdue Athanaſius, than he had been to vanquiſh Magnentius or Sylvanus.

[117] The affairs of the council of Milan are ſo imperfectly and erroneouſly related by the Greek writers, that we muſt rejoice in the ſupply of ſome letters of Euſebius, extracted by Baronius, from the archives of the church of Vercellæ, and of an old life of Dionyſius of Milan, publiſhed by Bollandus. See Baronius, A. D. 355. and Tillemont, tom. vii. p. 1415.

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the eunuchs, and the preſſing ſolicitations of a prince, who gratified his revenge at the expence of his dignity; and expoſed his own paſſions, whilſt he influenced thoſe of the clergy. Corruption, the moſt infallible ſymptom of conſtitutional liberty, was ſucceſsfully practiſed: honours, gifts, and immunities were offered and accepted as the price of an epiſcopal vote [118]; and the condemnation of the Alexandrian primate was artfully repreſented as the only meaſure which could reſtore the peace and union of the Catholic church. The friends of Athanaſius were not, however, wanting to their leader or to their cauſe. With a manly ſpirit, which the ſanctity of their character rendered leſs dangerous, they maintained, in public debate, and in private conference with the emperor, the eternal obligation of religion and juſtice. They declared, that neither the hope of his favour, nor the fear of his diſpleaſure, ſhould prevail on them to join in the condemnation of an abſent, an innocent, a reſpectable brother [119]. They affirmed, with apparent reaſon, that the illegal and obſolete decrees of the council of Tyre had long ſince been tacitly aboliſhed by the Imperial edicts, the honourable re-eſtabliſhment of the archbiſhop of Alexandria, and the ſilence or recantation of his moſt clamorous adverſaries. They alleged, that his innocence had been atteſted by the unanimous biſhops of Egypt, and had been acknowledged in the councils of Rome and Sardica [120], by the im-

[118] The honours, preſents, feaſts, which ſeduced ſo many biſhops, are mentioned with indignation by thoſe who were too pure or too proud to accept them. "We combat "(ſays Hilary of Poitiers) againſt Conſtan- "tius the antichriſt; who ſtrokes the belly "inſtead of ſcourging the back;" qui non dorſa cædit, ſed ventrem palpat. Hilarius contra Conſtant. c. 5. p. 1240.

[119] Something of this oppoſition is mentioned by Ammianus (xv. 7.), who had a very dark and ſuperficial knowledge of eccleſiaſtical hiſtory. Liberius . . . perſeveranter renitebatur, nec viſum hominem, nec audi-tum damnare nefas ultimum ſæpe exclamans; aperte ſcilicet recalcitrans Imperatoris arbitrio. Id enim ille Athanaſio ſemper infeſtus, &c.

[120] More properly by the orthodox part of the council of Sardica. If the biſhops of both parties had fairly voted, the diviſion would have been 94 to 76. M. de Tillemont (ſee tom. viii. p. 1147—1158.) is juſtly ſurpriſed that ſo ſmall a majority ſhould have proceeded ſo vigorouſly againſt their adverſaries, the principal of whom they immediately depoſed.

MUSEUM BRITANNICUM

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partial judgment of the Latin church. They deplored the hard condition of Athanaſius, who, after enjoying ſo many years his ſeat, his reputation, and the ſeeming confidence of his ſovereign, was again called upon to confute the moſt groundleſs and extravagant accuſations. Their language was ſpecious; their conduct was honourable: but in this long and obſtinate conteſt, which fixed the eyes of the whole empire on a ſingle biſhop, the eccleſiaſtical factions were prepared to ſacrifice truth and juſtice, to the more intereſting object of defending, or removing, the intrepid champion of the Nicene faith. The Arians ſtill thought it prudent to diſguiſe in ambiguous language, their real ſentiments and deſigns: but the orthodox biſhops, armed with the favour of the people, and the decrees of a general council, inſiſted on every occaſion, and particularly at Milan, that their adverſaries ſhould purge themſelves from the ſuſpicion of hereſy, before they preſumed to arraign the conduct of the great Athanaſius [121].

Condemnation of Athanaſius, A. D. 355.

But the voice of reaſon (if reaſon was indeed on the ſide of Athanaſius) was ſilenced by the clamours of a factious or venal majority; and the councils of Arles and Milan were not diſſolved till the archbiſhop of Alexandria had been ſolemnly condemned and depoſed by the judgment of the Weſtern, as well as of the Eaſtern, church. The biſhops who had oppoſed, were required to ſubſcribe, the ſentence; and to unite in religious communion with the ſuſpected leaders of the adverſe party. A formulary of conſent was tranſmitted by the meſſengers of ſtate to the abſent biſhops: and all thoſe who refuſed to ſubmit their private opinion to the public and inſpired wiſdom of the councils of Arles and Milan, were immediately baniſhed by the emperor, who affected to execute the decrees of the Catholic church. Among thoſe prelates who led the honourable band of

[121] Sulp. Severus in Hiſt. Sacra, l. ii. p. 412.

confeſſors

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confeſſors and exiles, Liberius of Rome, Oſius of Cordova, Paulinus of Treves, Dionyſius of Milan, Euſebius of Vercellæ, Lucifer of Cagliari, and Hilary of Poitiers, may deſerve to be particularly diſtinguiſhed. The eminent ſtation of Liberius, who governed the capital of the empire; the perſonal merit and long experience of the venerable Oſius, who was revered as the favourite of the great Conſtantine, and the father of the Nicene faith; placed thoſe prelates at the head of the Latin church: and their example, either of ſubmiſſion or reſiſtance, would probably be imitated by the epiſcopal crowd. But the repeated attempts of the emperor to ſeduce or to intimidate the biſhops of Rome and Cordova, were for ſome time ineffectual. The Spaniard declared himſelf ready to ſuffer under Conſtantius, as he had ſuffered threeſcore years before under his grandfather Maximian. The Roman, in the preſence of his ſovereign, aſſerted the innocence of Athanaſius, and his own freedom. When he was baniſhed to Beræa in Thrace, he ſent back a large ſum which had been offered for the accommodation of his journey; and inſulted the court of Milan by the haughty remark, that the emperor and his eunuchs might want that gold to pay their ſoldiers and their biſhops [122]. The reſolution of Liberius and Oſius was at length ſubdued by the hardſhips of exile and confinement. The Roman pontiff purchaſed his return by ſome criminal compliances; and afterwards expiated his guilt by a ſeaſonable repentance. Perſuaſion and violence were employed to extort the reluctant ſignature of the decrepid biſhop of Cordova, whoſe ſtrength was broken, and whoſe faculties were perhaps impaired, by the weight of an hundred years; and the inſolent triumph of the Arians provoked ſome of the orthodox party to treat with inhuman ſeverity the character, or rather the memory, of an unfortunate old

[122] The exile of Liberius is mentioned by Ammianus, xv. 7. See Theodoret, l. ii. c. 16. Athanaſ. tom. i. p. 834—837. Hilar. Fragment. i.

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man, to whoſe former ſervices Chriſtianity itſelf was ſo deeply indebted [123].

Exiles.

The fall of Liberius and Oſius reflected a brighter luſtre on the firmneſs of thoſe biſhops who ſtill adhered, with unſhaken fidelity, to the cauſe of Athanaſius and religious truth. The ingenious malice of their enemies had deprived them of the benefit of mutual comfort and advice, ſeparated thoſe illuſtrious exiles into diſtant provinces, and carefully ſelected the moſt inhoſpitable ſpots of a great empire [124]. Yet they ſoon experienced that the deſerts of Libya, and the moſt barbarous tracts of Cappadocia, were leſs inhoſpitable than the reſidence of thoſe cities in which an Arian biſhop could ſatiate, without reſtraint, the exquiſite rancour of theological hatred [125]. Their conſolation was derived from the conſciouſneſs of rectitude and independence, from the applauſe, the viſits, the letters, and the liberal alms of their adherents [126]; and from the ſatisfaction which they ſoon enjoyed of obſerving the inteſtine diviſions of the adverſaries of the Nicene faith. Such was the nice and capricious taſte of the emperor Conſtantius, and ſo eaſily was he offended by the ſlighteſt deviation from his imaginary ſtandard of Chriſtian truth, that he perſecuted with equal zeal, thoſe who defended the *conſubſtantiality*, thoſe who aſſerted the *ſimilar ſubſtance*, and thoſe who denied the *likeneſs*, of the Son of God. Three biſhops, degraded

[123] The life of Oſius is collected by Tillemont (tom. vii, p. 524—561.), who in the moſt extravagant terms firſt admires, and then reprobates, the biſhop of Cordova. In the midſt of their lamentations on his fall, the prudence of Athanaſius may be diſtinguiſhed from the blind and intemperate zeal of Hilary.

[124] The confeſſors of the Weſt were ſucceſſively baniſhed to the deſerts of Arabia or Thebais, the lonely places of Mount Taurus, the wildeſt parts of Phrygia, which were in the poſſeſſion of the impious Montaniſts, &c. When the heretic Ætius was too favourably entertained at Mopſueſtia in Cilicia, the place of his exile was changed, by the advice of Acacius, to Amblada, a diſtrict inhabited by ſavages, and infeſted by war and peſtilence. Philoſtorg. l. v. c. 2.

[125] See the cruel treatment and ſtrange obſtinacy of Euſebius, in his own letters, publiſhed by Baronius, A. D. 356. N° 92—102.

[126] Cæterum exules ſatis conſtat, totius orbis ſtudiis celebratos pecuniaſque eis in ſumptum affatim congeſtas legationibus quoque eos plebis Catholicæ ex omnibus fere provinciis frequentatos. Sulp. Sever. Hiſt. Sacra, p. 414. Athanaſ. tom. i. p. 836. 840.

and

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and baniſhed for thoſe adverſe opinions, might poſſibly meet in the ſame place of exile; and, according to the difference of their temper, might either pity or inſult the blind enthuſiaſm of their antagoniſts, whoſe preſent ſufferings would never be compenſated by future happineſs.

Third expulſion of Athanaſius from Alexandria, A. D. 356.

The diſgrace and exile of the orthodox biſhops of the Weſt were deſigned as ſo many preparatory ſteps to the ruin of Athanaſius himſelf[128]. Six-and-twenty months had elapſed, during which the Imperial court ſecretly laboured, by the moſt inſidious arts, to remove him from Alexandria, and to withdraw the allowance which ſupplied his popular liberality. But when the primate of Egypt, deſerted and proſcribed by the Latin church, was left deſtitute of any foreign ſupport, Conſtantius diſpatched two of his ſecretaries with a verbal commiſſion to announce and execute the order of his baniſhment. As the juſtice of the ſentence was publicly avowed by the whole party, the only motive which could reſtrain Conſtantius from giving his meſſengers the ſanction of a written mandate, muſt be imputed to his doubt of the event; and to a ſenſe of the danger to which he might expoſe the ſecond city, and the moſt fertile province of the empire, if the people ſhould perſiſt in the reſolution of defending, by force of arms, the innocence of their ſpiritual father. Such extreme caution afforded Athanaſius a ſpecious pretence reſpectfully to diſpute the truth of an order, which he could not reconcile, either with the equity, or with the former declarations, of his gracious maſter. The civil powers of Egypt found themſelves inadequate to the taſk of perſuading or compelling the primate to abdicate his epiſcopal throne; and they were obliged to conclude a treaty with the popular leaders of Alexandria, by which it was

[128] Ample materials for the hiſtory of this third perſecution of Athanaſius may be found in his own works. See particularly his very able Apology to Conſtantius (tom. i. p. 673.), his firſt Apology for his flight (p. 701.), his prolix Epiſtle to the Solitaries (p. 808.), and the original Proteſt of the People of Alexandria againſt the violences committed by Syrianus (p. 866.). Sozomen (l. iv. c. 9.) has thrown into the narrative two or three luminous and important circumſtances.

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ſtipulated, that all proceedings and all hoſtilities ſhould be ſuſpended till the emperor's pleaſure had been more diſtinctly aſcertained. By this ſeeming moderation, the Catholics were deceived into a falſe and fatal ſecurity; while the legions of the Upper Egypt, and of Libya, advanced, by ſecret orders and haſty marches, to beſiege, or rather to ſurpriſe, a capital, habituated to ſedition, and inflamed by religious zeal [129]. The poſition of Alexandria, between the ſea and the lake Mareotis, facilitated the approach and landing of the troops; who were introduced into the heart of the city, before any effectual meaſures could be taken, either to ſhut the gates, or to occupy the important poſts of defence. At the hour of midnight, twenty-three days after the ſignature of the treaty, Syrianus duke of Egypt, at the head of five thouſand ſoldiers, armed and prepared for an aſſault, unexpectedly inveſted the church of St. Theonas, where the archbiſhop, with a party of his clergy and people, performed their nocturnal devotions. The doors of the ſacred edifice yielded to the impetuoſity of the attack, which was accompanied with every horrid circumſtance of tumult and bloodſhed; but, as the bodies of the ſlain, and the fragments of military weapons, remained the next day an unexceptionable evidence in the poſſeſſion of the Catholics, the enterpriſe of Syrianus may be conſidered as a ſucceſsful irruption, rather than as an abſolute conqueſt. The other churches of the city were profaned by ſimilar outrages; and, during at leaſt four months, Alexandria was expoſed to the inſults of a licentious army, ſtimulated by the eccleſiaſtics of an hoſtile faction. Many of the faithful were killed; who may deſerve the name of martyrs, if their deaths were neither provoked nor revenged; biſhops and preſbyters were treated with cruel ignominy; conſecrated virgins were ſtripped naked,

[129] Athanaſius had lately ſent for Antony, and ſome of his choſen monks. They deſcended from their mountain, announced to the Alexandrians the ſanctity of Athanaſius, and were honourably conducted by the archbiſhop as far as the gates of the city. Athanaſ. tom. ii. p. 491, 492. See likewiſe Rufinus, iii. 164. in Vit. Patr. p. 524.

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ſcourged, and violated; the houſes of wealthy citizens were plundered; and, under the maſk of religious zeal, luſt, avarice, and private reſentment, were gratified with impunity, and even with applauſe. The Pagans of Alexandria, who ſtill formed a numerous and diſcontented party, were eaſily perſuaded to deſert a biſhop whom they feared and eſteemed. The hopes of ſome peculiar favours, and the apprehenſion of being involved in the general penalties of rebellion, engaged them to promiſe their ſupport to the deſtined ſucceſſor of Athanaſius, the famous George of Cappadocia. The uſurper, after receiving the conſecration of an Arian ſynod, was placed on the epiſcopal throne by the arms of Sebaſtian, who had been appointed count of Egypt for the execution of that important deſign. In the uſe, as well as in the acquiſition, of power, the tyrant George diſregarded the laws of religion, of juſtice, and of humanity; and the ſame ſcenes of violence and ſcandal which had been exhibited in the capital, were repeated in more than ninety epiſcopal cities of Egypt. Encouraged by ſucceſs, Conſtantius ventured to approve the conduct of his miniſters. By a public and paſſionate epiſtle, the emperor congratulates the deliverance of Alexandria from a popular tyrant, who deluded his blind votaries by the magic of his eloquence; expatiates on the virtues and piety of the moſt reverend George, the elected biſhop; and aſpires, as the patron and benefactor of the city, to ſurpaſs the fame of Alexander himſelf. But he ſolemnly declares his unalterable reſolution to purſue with fire and ſword the ſeditious adherents of the wicked Athanaſius, who, by flying from juſtice, has confeſſed his guilt, and eſcaped the ignominious death which he had ſo often deſerved [130].

Athanaſius had indeed eſcaped from the moſt imminent dangers; and the adventures of that extraordinary man deſerve and fix our attention.

His behaviour.

[130] Athanaſ. tom. i. p. 694. The emperor, or his Arian ſecretaries, while they expreſs their reſentment, betray their fears and eſteem of Athanaſius.

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attention. On the memorable night when the church of St. Theonas was inveſted by the troops of Syrianus, the archbiſhop, ſeated on his throne, expected, with calm and intrepid dignity, the approach of death. While the public devotion was interrupted by ſhouts of rage, and cries of terror, he animated his trembling congregation to expreſs their religious confidence, by chanting one of the pſalms of David, which celebrates the triumph of the God of Iſrael over the haughty and impious tyrant of Egypt. The doors were at length burſt open; a cloud of arrows was diſcharged among the people; the ſoldiers, with drawn ſwords, ruſhed forwards into the ſanctuary; and the dreadful gleam of their armour was reflected by the holy luminaries which burnt round the altar [131]. Athanaſius ſtill rejected the pious importunity of the monks and preſbyters, who were attached to his perſon; and nobly refuſed to deſert his epiſcopal ſtation, till he had diſmiſſed in ſafety the laſt of the congregation. The darkneſs and tumult of the night favoured the retreat of the archbiſhop; and though he was oppreſſed by the waves of an agitated multitude, though he was thrown to the ground, and left without ſenſe or motion, he ſtill recoved his undaunted courage; and eluded the eager ſearch of the ſoldiers, who were inſtructed by their Arian guides, that the head of Athanaſius would be the moſt acceptable preſent to the emperor. From that moment the primate of Egypt diſappeared from the eyes of his enemies, and remained above ſix years concealed in impenetrable obſcurity [132].

His retreat, A. D. 356—362.

The deſpotic power of his implacable enemy filled the whole extent of the Roman world; and the exaſperated monarch had endeavoured, by a very preſſing epiſtle to the Chriſtian princes of Æthio-

[131] Theſe minute circumſtances are curious, as they are literally tranſcribed from the proteſt, which was publicly preſented three days afterwards by the Catholics of Alexandria. See Athanaſ. tom. i. p. 867.

[132] The Janſeniſts have often compared Athanaſius and Arnauld, and have expatiated with pleaſure on the faith and zeal, the merit and exile, of thoſe celebrated doctors. This concealed parallel is very dexterouſly managed by the Abbé de la Bleterie, Vie de Jovien, tom. i. p. 130.

pia,

pia, to exclude Athanaſius from the moſt remote and ſequeſtered regions of the earth. Counts, præfects, tribunes, whole armies, were ſucceſſively employed to purſue a biſhop and a fugitive; the vigilance of the civil and military powers was excited by the Imperial edicts; liberal rewards were promiſed to the man who ſhould produce Athanaſius, either alive or dead; and the moſt ſevere penalties were denounced againſt thoſe who ſhould dare to protect the public enemy [133]. But the deſerts of Thebaïs were now peopled by a race of wild, yet ſubmiſſive fanatics, who preferred the commands of their abbot to the laws of their ſovereign. The numerous diſciples of Antony and Pachomius received the fugitive primate as their father, admired the patience and humility with which he conformed to their ſtricteſt inſtitutions, collected every word which dropt from his lips as the genuine effuſions of inſpired wiſdom; and perſuaded themſelves, that their prayers, their faſts, and their vigils, were leſs meritorious than the zeal which they expreſſed, and the dangers which they braved, in the defence of truth and innocence [134]. The monaſteries of Egypt were ſeated in lonely and deſolate places, on the ſummit of mountains, or in the iſlands of the Nile; and the ſacred horn or trumpet of Tabenne was the well-known ſignal which aſſembled ſeveral thouſand robuſt and determined monks, who, for the moſt part, had been the peaſants of the adjacent country. When their dark retreats were invaded by a military force, which it was impoſſible to reſiſt, they ſilently ſtretched out their necks to the executioner; and ſupported their national character, that tortures could never wreſt from an Egyptian the confeſſion of a ſecret which he

[133] Hinc jam toto orbe profugus Athanaſius, nec ullus ei tutus ad latendum ſupererat locus. Tribuni, Præfecti, Comites, exercitus quoque, ad perveſtigandum eum moventur edictis Imperialibus; præmia delatoribus proponuntur, ſi quis eum vivum, ſi id minus, caput certe Athanaſii detuliſſet. Rufin. l. i. c. 16.

[134] Gregor. Nazianzen. tom. i. Orat. xxi. p. 384, 385. See Tillemont, Mem. Eccleſ. tom. vii. p. 176—410. 820—880.

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was reſolved not to diſcloſe[135]. The archbiſhop of Alexandria, for whoſe ſafety they eagerly devoted their lives, was loſt among a uniform and well-diſciplined multitude; and on the nearer approach of danger, he was ſwiftly removed, by their officious hands, from one place of concealment to another, till he reached the formidable deſerts, which the gloomy and credulous temper of ſuperſtition had peopled with dæmons and ſavage monſters. The retirement of Athanaſius, which ended only with the life of Conſtantius, was ſpent, for the moſt part, in the ſociety of the monks, who faithfully ſerved him as guards, as ſecretaries, and as meſſengers; but the importance of maintaining a more intimate connection with the Catholic party, tempted him, whenever the diligence of the purſuit was abated, to emerge from the deſert, to introduce himſelf into Alexandria, and to truſt his perſon to the diſcretion of his friends and adherents. His various adventures might have furniſhed the ſubject of a very entertaining romance. He was once ſecreted in a dry ciſtern, which he had ſcarcely left before he was betrayed by the treachery of a female ſlave[136]; and he was once concealed in a ſtill more extraordinary aſylum, the houſe of a virgin, only twenty years of age, and who was celebrated in the whole city for her exquiſite beauty. At the hour of midnight, as ſhe related the ſtory many years afterwards, ſhe was ſurpriſed by the appearance of the archbiſhop in a looſe undreſs, who, advancing with haſty ſteps, conjured her to afford him the protection which he had been directed by a celeſtial viſion to ſeek under her hoſpitable roof. The pious maid accepted and preſerved the ſacred pledge which was entruſted to her prudence and courage. Without imparting the ſecret to any one, ſhe inſtantly conducted Athanaſius into her moſt ſecret chamber, and watched

[135] Et nulla tormentorum vis inveniri adhuc potuit; quæ obdurato illius tractus latroni invito elicere potuit, ut nomen proprium dicat. Ammian. xxii. 16. and Valeſius ad locum.

[136] Rufin. l. i. c. 18. Sozomen, l. iv. c. 10. This and the following ſtory will be rendered impoſſible, if we ſuppoſe that Athanaſius always inhabited the aſylum which he accidentally or occaſionally had uſed.

over

over his ſafety with the tenderneſs of a friend and the aſſiduity of a ſervant. As long as the danger continued, ſhe regularly ſupplied him with books and proviſions, waſhed his feet, managed his correſpondence, and dexterouſly concealed from the eye of ſuſpicion, this familiar and ſolitary intercourſe between a ſaint whoſe character required the moſt unblemiſhed chaſtity, and a female whoſe charms might excite the moſt dangerous emotions [137]. During the ſix years of perſecution and exile, Athanaſius repeated his viſits to his fair and faithful companion: and the formal declaration, that he *ſaw* the councils of Rimini and Seleucia [138], forces us to believe that he was ſecretly preſent at the time and place of their convocation. The advantage of perſonally negociating with his friends, and of obſerving and improving the diviſions of his enemies, might juſtify, in a prudent ſtateſman, ſo bold and dangerous an enterpriſe: and Alexandria was connected by trade and navigation with every ſea-port of the Mediterranean. From the depth of his inacceſſible retreat, the intrepid primate waged an inceſſant and offenſive war againſt the protector of the Arians; and his ſeaſonable writings, which were diligently circulated, and eagerly peruſed, contributed to unite and animate the orthodox party. In his public apologies, which he addreſſed to the emperor himſelf, he ſometimes affected the praiſe of moderation; whilſt at the ſame time, in ſecret and vehement invectives, he expoſed Conſtantius as a weak and wicked prince, the executioner of his family, the tyrant of the republic, and the antichriſt of the church. In the height of his proſperity, the victorious monarch, who had chaſtiſed the raſhneſs of Gallus, and ſuppreſſed the revolt of Sylvanus,

[137] Palladius (Hiſt. Lauſiac. c. 136. in Vit. Patrum, p. 776.), the original author of this anecdote, had converſed with the damſel, who in her old age ſtill remembered with pleaſure ſo pious and honourable a connection. I cannot indulge the delicacy of Baronius, Valeſius, Tillemont, &c. who almoſt reject a ſtory ſo unworthy, as they deem it, of the gravity of eccleſiaſtical hiſtory.

[138] Athanaſ. tom. i. p. 869. I agree with Tillemont (tom. viii. p. 1197.), that his expreſſions imply a perſonal, though perhaps ſecret, viſit to the ſynods.

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who had taken the diadem from the head of Vetranio, and vanquiſhed in the field the legions of Magnentius, received from an inviſible hand a wound, which he could neither heal nor revenge; and the ſon of Conſtantine was the firſt of the Chriſtian princes who experienced the ſtrength of thoſe principles, which, in the cauſe of religion, could reſiſt the moſt violent exertions of the civil power [139].

Arian biſhops.

The perſecution of Athanaſius, and of ſo many reſpectable biſhops who ſuffered for the truth of their opinions, or at leaſt for the integrity of their conſcience, was a juſt ſubject of indignation and diſcontent to all Chriſtians, except thoſe who were blindly devoted to the Arian faction. The people regretted the loſs of their faithful paſtors, whoſe baniſhment was uſually followed by the intruſion of a ſtranger [140] into the epiſcopal chair; and loudly complained, that the right of election was violated, and that they were condemned to obey a mercenary uſurper, whoſe perſon was unknown, and whoſe principles were ſuſpected. The Catholics might prove to the world, that they were not involved in the guilt and hereſy of their eccleſiaſtical governor, by publicly teſtifying their diſſent, or by totally ſeparating themſelves from his communion. The firſt of theſe methods was invented at Antioch, and practiſed with ſuch ſucceſs, that it was ſoon diffuſed over the Chriſtian world. The doxology, or ſacred hymn, which celebrates the *glory* of the Trinity, is ſuſceptible of very nice, but material, inflexions; and the ſubſtance of an orthodox, or an heretical, creed, may be expreſſed by the difference

Diviſions.

[139] The Epiſtle of Athanaſius to the Monks is filled with reproaches, which the public muſt feel to be true (vol. i. p. 834. 856.); and, in compliment to his readers, he has introduced the compariſons of Pharaoh, Ahab, Belſhazzar, &c. The boldneſs of Hilary was attended with leſs danger, if he publiſhed his invective in Gaul after the revolt of Julian; but Lucifer ſent his libels to Conſtantius, and almoſt challenged the reward of martyrdom. See Tillemont, tom. vii. p. 905.

[140] Athanaſius (tom. i. p. 811.) complains in general of this practice, which he afterwards exemplifies (p. 861.) in the pretended election of Fælix. Three eunuchs repreſented the Roman people, and three prelates, who followed the court, aſſumed the functions of the biſhops of the Suburbicarian provinces.

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of a disjunctive, or a copulative, particle. Alternate responses, and a more regular psalmody [141], were introduced into the public service by Flavianus and Diodorus, two devout and active laymen, who were attached to the Nicene faith. Under their conduct, a swarm of monks issued from the adjacent desert, bands of well-disciplined singers were stationed in the cathedral of Antioch, the Glory to the Father, AND the Son, AND the Holy Ghost [142], was triumphantly chanted by a full chorus of voices; and the Catholics insulted, by the purity of their doctrine, the Arian prelate, who had usurped the throne of the venerable Eustathius. The same zeal which inspired their songs, prompted the more scrupulous members of the orthodox party to form separate assemblies, which were governed by the presbyters, till the death of their exiled bishop allowed the election and consecration of a new episcopal pastor [143]. The revolutions of the court multiplied the number of pretenders; and the same city was often disputed, under the reign of Constantius, by two, or three, or even four bishops, who exercised their spiritual jurisdiction over their respective followers, and alternately lost and regained the temporal possessions of the church. The abuse of Christianity introduced into the Roman government new causes of tyranny and sedition; the bands of civil society were torn asunder by the fury of religious factions; and the obscure citizen, who might calmly have surveyed the

[141] Thomassin (Discipline de l'Eglise, tom. i. l. ii. c. 72, 73. p. 966—984.) has collected many curious facts concerning the origin and progress of church-singing, both in the East and West.

[142] Philostorgius, l. iii. c. 13. Godefroy has examined this subject with singular accuracy (p. 147, &c.). There were three heterodox forms: "To the Father *by* the Son, *and* in "the Holy Ghost:" "To the Father *and* the "Son *in* the Holy Ghost:" and "To the Father *in* the Son *and* the Holy Ghost."

[143] After the exile of Eustathius, under the reign of Constantine, the rigid party of the orthodox formed a separation, which afterwards degenerated into a schism, and lasted above fourscore years. See Tillemont, Mem. Eccles. tom. vii. p. 35—54. 1137—1158. tom. viii. p. 537—632. 1314—1332. In many churches, the Arians and Homoousians, who had renounced each other's *communion*, continued for some time to join in prayer. Philostorgius, l. iii. c. 14.

elevation

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elevation and fall of ſucceſſive emperors, imagined and experienced, that his own life and fortune were connected with the intereſts of a popular eccleſiaſtic. The example of the two capitals, Rome and Conſtantinople, may ſerve to repreſent the ſtate of the empire, and the temper of mankind, under the reign of the ſons of Conſtantine.

Rome.

I. The Roman pontiff, as long as he maintained his ſtation and his principles, was guarded by the warm attachment of a great people; and could reject with ſcorn the prayers, the menaces, and the oblations of an heretical prince. When the eunuchs had ſecretly pronounced the exile of Liberius, the well-grounded apprehenſion of a tumult engaged them to uſe the utmoſt precautions in the execution of the ſentence. The capital was inveſted on every ſide, and the Præfect was commanded to ſeize the perſon of the biſhop, either by ſtratagem or by open force. The order was obeyed: and Liberius, with the greateſt difficulty, at the hour of midnight, was ſwiftly conveyed beyond the reach of the Roman people, before their conſternation was turned into rage. As ſoon as they were informed of his baniſhment into Thrace, a general aſſembly was convened, and the clergy of Rome bound themſelves, by a public and ſolemn oath, never to deſert their biſhop, never to acknowledge the uſurper Fælix; who, by the influence of the eunuchs, had been irregularly choſen and conſecrated within the walls of a profane palace. At the end of two years, their pious obſtinacy ſubſiſted entire and unſhaken; and when Conſtantius viſited Rome, he was aſſailed by the importunate ſolicitations of a people, who had preſerved, as the laſt remnant of their ancient freedom, the right of treating their ſovereign with familiar inſolence. The wives of many of the ſenators and moſt honourable citizens, after preſſing their huſbands to intercede in favour of Liberius, were adviſed to undertake a commiſſion, which, in their hands, would be leſs dangerous, and might prove more ſucceſsful. The emperor received with politeneſs theſe female deputies,

deputies, whoſe wealth and dignity were diſplayed in the magnificence of their dreſs and ornaments: he admired their inflexible reſolution of following their beloved paſtor to the moſt diſtant regions of the earth; and conſented that the two biſhops, Liberius and Felix, ſhould govern in peace their reſpective congregations. But the ideas of toleration were ſo repugnant to the practice, and even to the ſentiments, of thoſe times, that when the anſwer of Conſtantius was publicly read in the Circus of Rome, ſo reaſonable a project of accommodation was rejected with contempt and ridicule. The eager vehemence which animated the ſpectators in the deciſive moment of a horſe-race, was now directed towards a different object; and the Circus reſounded with the ſhout of thouſands, who repeatedly exclaimed, "One God, One Chriſt, One Biſhop." The zeal of the Roman people in the cauſe of Liberius, was not confined to words alone; and the dangerous and bloody ſedition which they excited ſoon after the departure of Conſtantius, determined that prince to accept the ſubmiſſion of the exiled prelate, and to reſtore him to the undivided dominion of the capital. After ſome ineffectual reſiſtance, his rival was expelled from the city by the permiſſion of the emperor, and the power of the oppoſite faction; the adherents of Fælix were inhumanly murdered in the ſtreets, in the public places, in the baths, and even in the churches; and the face of Rome, upon the return of a Chriſtian biſhop, renewed the horrid image of the maſſacres of Marius, and the proſcriptions of Sylla [144].

II. Notwithſtanding the rapid increaſe of Chriſtians under the reign of the Flavian family, Rome, Alexandria, and the other great cities of the empire, ſtill contained a ſtrong and powerful faction of

Conſtantinople.

[144] See, on this eccleſiaſtical revolution of Rome, Ammianus, xv. 7. Athanaſ. tom. i. p. 834. 861. Sozomen, l. iv. c. 15. Theodoret, l. ii. c. 17. Sulp. Sever. Hiſt. Sacra, l. ii. p. 413. Hieronym. Chron. Marcellin. et Fauſtin. Libell. p. 3, 4. Tillemont, Mem. Eccleſ. tom. vi. p. 336.

Infidels,

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Infidels, who envied the prosperity, and who ridiculed, even on their theatres, the theological disputes of the church. Constantinople alone enjoyed the advantage of being born and educated in the bosom of the faith. The capital of the East had never been polluted by the worship of Idols; and the whole body of the people had deeply imbibed the opinions, the virtues, and the passions, which distinguished the Christians of that age from the rest of mankind. After the death of Alexander, the episcopal throne was disputed by Paul and Macedonius. By their zeal and abilities they both deserved the eminent station to which they aspired; and if the moral character of Macedonius was less exceptionable, his competitor had the advantage of a prior election, and a more orthodox doctrine. His firm attachment to the Nicene creed, which has given Paul a place in the Calendar among saints and martyrs, exposed him to the resentment of the Arians. In the space of fourteen years he was five times driven from his throne; to which he was more frequently restored by the violence of the people, than by the permission of the prince; and the power of Macedonius could be secured only by the death of his rival. The unfortunate Paul was dragged in chains from the sandy deserts of Mesopotamia to the most desolate places of Mount Taurus [145], confined in a dark and narrow dungeon, left six days without food, and at length strangled, by the order of Philip, one of the principal ministers of the emperor Constantius [146]. The first blood which stained the new

[145] Cucusus was the last stage of his life and sufferings. The situation of that lonely town, on the confines of Cappadocia, Cilicia, and the lesser Armenia, has occasioned some geographical perplexity; but we are directed to the true spot by the course of the Roman road from Cæsarea to Anazarbus. See Cellarii Geograph. tom. ii. p. 213. Wesseling ad Itinerar. p. 179. 703.

[146] Athanasius (tom. i. p. 703. 813, 814.) affirms, in the most positive terms, that Paul was murdered; and appeals, not only to common fame, but even to the unsuspicious testimony of Philagrius, one of the Arian persecutors. Yet he acknowledges, that the heretics attributed to disease the death of the bishop of Constantinople. Athanasius is servilely copied by Socrates (l. ii. c. 26.); but Sozomen, who discovers a more liberal temper, presumes (l. iv. c. 2.) to insinuate a prudent doubt.

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capital was ſpilt in this eccleſiaſtical conteſt; and many perſons were ſlain on both ſides, in the furious and obſtinate ſeditions of the people. The commiſſion of enforcing a ſentence of baniſhment againſt Paul, had been entruſted to Hermogenes, the maſter-general of the cavalry; but the execution of it was fatal to himſelf. The Catholics roſe in the defence of their biſhop; the palace of Hermogenes was conſumed; the firſt military officer of the empire was dragged by the heels through the ſtreets of Conſtantinople, and, after he expired, his lifeleſs corpſe was expoſed to their wanton inſults[147]. The fate of Hermogenes inſtructed Philip, the Prætorian præfect, to act with more precaution on a ſimilar occaſion. In the moſt gentle and honourable terms, he required the attendance of Paul in the baths of Zeuxippus, which had a private communication with the palace and the ſea. A veſſel, which lay ready at the garden-ſtairs, immediately hoiſted ſail; and, while the people were ſtill ignorant of the meditated ſacrilege, their biſhop was already embarked on his voyage to Theſſalonica. They ſoon beheld, with ſurpriſe and indignation, the gates of the palace thrown open, and the uſurper Macedonius ſeated by the ſide of the præfect on a lofty chariot, which was ſurrounded by troops of guards with drawn ſwords. The military proceſſion advanced towards the cathedral; the Arians and the Catholics eagerly ruſhed to occupy that important poſt; and three thouſand one hundred and fifty perſons loſt their lives in the confuſion of the tumult. Macedonius, who was ſupported by a regular force, obtained a deciſive victory; but his reign was diſturbed by clamour and ſedition; and the cauſes which appeared the leaſt connected with the ſubject of diſpute, were ſufficient to nouriſh and to kindle the flame of civil diſcord. As the chapel in which the body of the great Conſtantine had been depoſited was in a ruinous condition, the biſhop tranſported thoſe venerable remains

[147] Ammianus (xiv. 10.) refers to his own account of this tragic event. But we no longer poſſeſs that part of his hiſtory.

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into the church of St. Acacius. This prudent and even pious meaſure was repreſented as a wicked profanation by the whole party which adhered to the Homoouſian doctrine. The factions immediately flew to arms, the conſecrated ground was uſed as their field of battle; and one of the eccleſiaſtical hiſtorians has obſerved, as a real fact, not as a figure of rhetoric, that the well before the church overflowed with a ſtream of blood, which filled the porticoes and the adjacent courts. The writer who ſhould impute theſe tumults ſolely to a religious principle, would betray a very imperfect knowledge of human nature; yet it muſt be confeſſed, that the motive which miſled the ſincerity of zeal, and the pretence which diſguiſed the licentiouſneſs of paſſion, ſuppreſſed the remorſe which, in another cauſe, would have ſucceeded to the rage of the Chriſtians of Conſtantinople [148].

Cruelty of the Arians.

The cruel and arbitrary diſpoſition of Conſtantius, which did not always require the provocations of guilt and reſiſtance, was juſtly exaſperated by the tumults of his capital, and the criminal behaviour of a faction, which oppoſed the authority and religion of their ſovereign. The ordinary puniſhments of death, exile, and confiſcation were inflicted with partial rigour; and the Greeks ſtill revere the holy memory of two clerks, a reader and a ſub-deacon, who were accuſed of the murder of Hermogenes, and beheaded at the gates of Conſtantinople. By an edict of Conſtantius againſt the Catholics, which has not been judged worthy of a place in the Theodoſian code, thoſe who refuſed to communicate with the Arian biſhops, and particularly with Macedonius, were deprived of the immunities of eccleſiaſtics, and of the rights of Chriſtians; they were compelled

[148] See Socrates, l. ii. c. 6, 7. 12, 13. 15, 16. 26, 27. 38. and Sozomen, l. iii. 3, 4. 7. 9. l. iv. c. ii. 21. The acts of St. Paul of Conſtantinople, of which Photius has made an abſtract (Phot. Bibliot. p. 1419—1430.), are an indifferent copy of theſe hiſtorians; but a modern Greek, who could write the life of a ſaint without adding fables and miracles, is entitled to ſome commendation.

to

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to relinquiſh the poſſeſſion of the churches; and were ſtrictly prohibited from holding their aſſemblies within the walls of the city. The execution of this unjuſt law in the provinces of Thrace and Aſia Minor was committed to the zeal of Macedonius; the civil and military powers were directed to obey his commands; and the cruelties exerciſed by this Semi-Arian tyrant in the ſupport of the *Homoiouſion*, exceeded the commiſſion, and diſgraced the reign, of Conſtantius. The ſacraments of the church were adminiſtered to the reluctant victims, who denied the vocation, and abhorred the principles, of Macedonius. The rites of baptiſm were conferred on women and children, who, for that purpoſe, had been torn from the arms of their friends and parents; the mouths of the communicants were held open, by a wooden engine, while the conſecrated bread was forced down their throat; the breaſts of tender virgins were either burnt with red-hot egg-ſhells, or inhumanly compreſſed between ſharp and heavy boards[149]. The Novatians of Conſtantinople, and the adjacent country, by their firm attachment to the Homoouſian ſtandard, deſerved to be confounded with the Catholics themſelves. Macedonius was informed, that a large diſtrict of Paphlagonia[150] was almoſt entirely inhabited by thoſe ſectaries. He reſolved either to convert or to extirpate them; and as he diſtruſted, on this occaſion, the efficacy of an eccleſiaſtical miſſion, he commanded a body of four thouſand legionaries to march againſt the rebels, and to reduce the territory of Mantinium under his ſpiritual dominion. The Novatian peaſants,

[149] Socrates, l. ii. c. 27. 38. Sozomen, l. iv. c. 21. The principal aſſiſtants of Macedonius, in the work of perſecution, were the two biſhops of Nicomedia and Cyzicus, who were eſteemed for their virtues, and eſpecially for their charity. I cannot forbear reminding the reader, that the difference between the *Homoouſion* and *Homoiouſion*, is almoſt inviſible to the niceſt theological eye.

[150] We are ignorant of the preciſe ſituation of Mantinium. In ſpeaking of theſe *four* bands of legionaries, Socrates, Sozomen, and the author of the Acts of St. Paul, uſe the indefinite terms of αριθμοι, φαλαγγες, ταγματα, which Nicephorus very properly tranſlates *thouſands*. Valeſ. ad Socrat. l. ii. c. 38.

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animated by deſpair and religious fury, boldly encountered the invaders of their country; and though many of the Paphlagonians were ſlain, the Roman legions were vanquiſhed by an irregular multitude, armed only with ſcythes and axes; and except a few who eſcaped by an ignominious flight, four thouſand ſoldiers were left dead on the field of battle. The ſucceſſor of Conſtantius has expreſſed, in a conciſe but lively manner, ſome of the theological calamities which afflicted the empire, and more eſpecially the Eaſt, in the reign of a prince who was the ſlave of his own paſſions, and of thoſe of his eunuchs. "Many were impriſoned, and perſecuted, and "driven into exile. Whole troops of thoſe who are ſtyled here-"tics were maſſacred, particularly at Cyzicus, and at Samoſata. In "Paphlagonia, Bithynia, Galatia, and in many other provinces, "towns and villages were laid waſte, and utterly deſtroyed[131]."

The revolt and fury of the Donatiſt Circumcellions, A. D. 345, &c.

While the flames of the Arian controverſy conſumed the vitals of the empire, the African provinces were infeſted by their peculiar enemies the ſavage fanatics, who, under the name of *Circumcellions*, formed the ſtrength and ſcandal of the Donatiſt party[132]. The ſevere execution of the laws of Conſtantine had excited a ſpirit of diſcontent and reſiſtance; the ſtrenuous efforts of his ſon Conſtans, to reſtore the unity of the church, exaſperated the ſentiments of mutual hatred, which had firſt occaſioned the ſeparation; and the methods of force and corruption employed by the two Imperial commiſſioners, Paul and Macarius, furniſhed the ſchiſmatics with a ſpecious contraſt between the maxims of the apoſtles and the con-

[131] Julian, Epiſtol. lii. p. 436. edit. Spanheim.

[132] See Optatus Milevitanus (particularly iii. 4.), with the Donatiſt hiſtory, by M. Dupin, and the original pieces at the end of his edition. The numerous circumſtances which Auguſtin has mentioned, of the fury of the Circumcellions againſt others, and againſt themſelves, have been laboriouſly collected by Tillemont, Mem. Eccleſ. tom. vi. p. 147—165.; and he has often, though without deſign, expoſed the injuries which had provoked thoſe fanatics.

duct

duct of their pretended ſucceſſors [153]. The peaſants who inhabited the villages of Numidia and Mauritania, were a ferocious race, who had been imperfectly reduced under the authority of the Roman laws; who were imperfectly converted to the Chriſtian faith; but who were actuated by a blind and furious enthuſiaſm in the cauſe of their Donatiſt teachers. They indignantly ſupported the exile of their biſhops, the demolition of their churches, and the interruption of their ſecret aſſemblies. The violence of the officers of juſtice, who were uſually ſuſtained by a military guard, was ſometimes repelled with equal violence; and the blood of ſome popular eccleſiaſtics, which had been ſhed in the quarrel, inflamed their rude followers with an eager deſire of revenging the death of theſe holy martyrs. By their own cruelty and raſhneſs, the miniſters of perſecution ſometimes provoked their fate; and the guilt of an accidental tumult precipitated the criminals into deſpair and rebellion. Driven from their native villages, the Donatiſt peaſants aſſembled in formidable gangs on the edge of the Getulian deſert; and readily exchanged the habits of labour for a life of idleneſs and rapine, which was conſecrated by the name of religion, and faintly condemned by the doctors of the ſect. The leaders of the Circumcellions aſſumed the title of captains of the ſaints; their principal weapon, as they were indifferently provided with ſwords and ſpears, was a huge and weighty club,

[153] It is amuſing enough to obſerve the language of oppoſite parties, when they ſpeak of the ſame men and things. Gratus, biſhop of Carthage, begins the acclamations of an orthodox ſynod, "Gratias Deo omnipotenti "et Chriſto Jeſu . . . qui imperavit religioſiſſimo Conſtanti Imperatori, ut votum gereret unitatis, et mitteret miniſtros ſancti "operis *famulos Dei* Paulum et Macarium." Monument. Vet. ad calcem Optati, p. 313. "Ecce ſubito" (ſays the Donatiſt author of the Paſſion of Marculus) "de Conſtantis regis tyrannicâ domo . . . . pollutum Macarianæ perſecutionis murmur increpuit, et "*duabus beſtiis* ad Africam miſſis, eodem "ſcilicet Macario et Paulo execrandum "prorſus ac dirum eccleſiæ certamen indictum eſt; ut populus Chriſtianus ad unionem cum traditoribus faciendam, nudatis "militum gladiis et draconum preſentibus "ſignis, et tubarum vocibus cogeretur." Monument. p. 304.

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which they termed an *Iſraelite;* and the well-known ſound of "Praiſe be to God," which they uſed as their cry of war, diffuſed conſternation over the unarmed provinces of Africa. At firſt their depredations were coloured by the plea of neceſſity; but they ſoon exceeded the meaſure of ſubſiſtence, indulged without control their intemperance and avarice, burnt the villages which they had pillaged, and reigned the licentious tyrants of the open country. The occupations of huſbandry, and the adminiſtration of juſtice, were interrupted; and as the Circumcellions pretended to reſtore the primitive equality of mankind, and to reform the abuſes of civil ſociety, they opened a ſecure aſylum for the ſlaves and debtors, who flocked in crowds to their holy ſtandard. When they were not reſiſted, they uſually contented themſelves with plunder, but the ſlighteſt oppoſition provoked them to acts of violence and murder; and ſome Catholic prieſts, who had imprudently ſignalized their zeal, were tortured by the fanatics with the moſt refined and wanton barbarity. The ſpirit of the Circumcellions was not always exerted againſt their defenceleſs enemies; they engaged, and ſometimes defeated, the troops of the province; and in the bloody action of Bagai, they attacked in the open field, but with unſucceſsful valour, an advanced guard of the Imperial cavalry. The Donatiſts who were taken in arms received, and they ſoon deſerved, the ſame treatment which might have been ſhewn to the wild beaſts of the deſert. The captives died, without a murmur, either by the ſword, the axe, or the fire; and the meaſures of retaliation were multiplied in a rapid proportion, which aggravated the horrors of rebellion, and excluded the hope of mutual forgiveneſs. In the beginning of the preſent century, the example of the Circumcellions has been renewed in the perſecution, the boldneſs, the crimes, and the enthuſiaſm of the Camiſards; and if the fanatics of Languedoc ſurpaſſed thoſe of Numidia, by their military

military atchievements, the Africans maintained their fierce independence with more reſolution and perſeverance [154].

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Such diſorders are the natural effects of religious tyranny; but the rage of the Donatiſts was inflamed by a frenzy of a very extraordinary kind; and which, if it really prevailed among them in ſo extravagant a degree, cannot ſurely be paralleled in any country, or in any age. Many of theſe fanatics were poſſeſſed with the horror of life, and the deſire of martyrdom; and they deemed it of little moment by what means, or by what hands they periſhed, if their conduct was ſanctified by the intention of devoting themſelves to the glory of the true faith, and the hope of eternal happineſs [155]. Sometimes they rudely diſturbed the feſtivals, and profaned the temples of paganiſm, with the deſign of exciting the moſt zealous of the idolaters to revenge the inſulted honour of their gods. They ſometimes forced their way into the courts of juſtice, and compelled the affrighted judge to give orders for their immediate execution. They frequently ſtopped travellers on the public highways, and obliged them to inflict the ſtroke of martyrdom, by the promiſe of a reward, if they conſented, and by the threat of inſtant death, if they refuſed to grant ſo very ſingular a favour. When they were diſappointed of every other reſource, they announced the day on which, in the preſence of their friends and brethren, they ſhould caſt themſelves headlong from ſome lofty rock; and many precipices were ſhewn, which had acquired fame by the number of religious ſuicides. In the actions of theſe deſperate enthuſiaſts, who were admired by one party as the martyrs of God, and abhorred by the other as the victims of Satan, an impartial philoſopher may diſcover the influence and the laſt abuſe of that inflexible ſpirit, which

Their religious ſuicides.

[154] The Hiſtoire des Camiſards, in 3 vol. 12mo. Villefranche, 1760, may be recommended as accurate and impartial. It requires ſome attention to diſcover the religion of the author.

[155] The Donatiſt ſuicides alleged in their juſtification the example of Razias, which is related in the 14th chapter of the ſecond book of the Maccabees.

was

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was originally derived from the character and principles of the Jewiſh nation.

General character of the Chriſtian ſects, A. D. 312—361.

The ſimple narrative of the inteſtine diviſions, which diſtracted the peace, and diſhonoured the triumph, of the church, will confirm the remark of a pagan hiſtorian, and juſtify the complaint of a venerable biſhop. The experience of Ammianus had convinced him, that the enmity of the Chriſtians towards each other, ſurpaſſed the fury of ſavage beaſts againſt man[156]; and Gregory Nazianzen moſt pathetically laments, that the kingdom of heaven was converted, by diſcord, into the image of chaos, of a nocturnal tempeſt, and of hell itſelf[157]. The fierce and partial writers of the times, aſcribing *all* virtue to themſelves, and imputing *all* guilt to their adverſaries, have painted the battle of the angels and dæmons. Our calmer reaſon will reject ſuch pure and perfect monſters of vice or ſanctity, and will impute an equal, or at leaſt an indiſcriminate, meaſure of good and evil to the hoſtile ſectaries, who aſſumed and beſtowed the appellations of orthodox and heretics. They had been educated in the ſame religion, and the ſame civil ſociety. Their hopes and fears in the preſent, or in a future, life, were balanced in the ſame proportion. On either ſide, the error might be innocent, the faith ſincere, the practice meritorious or corrupt. Their paſſions were excited by ſimilar objects; and they might alternately abuſe the favour of the court, or of the people. The metaphyſical opinions of the Athanaſians and the Arians, could not influence their moral character; and they were alike actuated by the intolerant ſpirit, which has been extracted from the pure and ſimple maxims of the goſpel.

Toleration of paganiſm

A modern writer, who, with a juſt confidence, has prefixed to his own hiſtory the honourable epithets of political and philoſophical[158],

[156] Nullas infeſtas hominibus beſtias, ut ſunt ſibi ferales plerique Chriſtianorum expertus. Ammian. xxii. 5.

[157] Gregor. Nazianzen, Orat. i. p. 33. See Tillemont, tom. vi. p. 501. quarto edit.

[158] Hiſtoire Politique et Philoſophique des Etabliſſemens des Européens dans les deux Indes, tom. i. p. 9.

accuſes

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accuſes the timid prudence of Monteſquieu, for neglecting to enumerate, among the cauſes of the decline of the empire, a law of Conſtantine, by which the exerciſe of the pagan worſhip was abſolutely ſuppreſſed, and a conſiderable part of his ſubjects was left deſtitute of prieſts, of temples, and of any public religion. The zeal of the philoſophic hiſtorian for the rights of mankind, has induced him to acquieſce in the ambiguous teſtimony of thoſe eccleſiaſtics, who have too lightly aſcribed to their favourite hero the *merit* of a general perſecution [159]. Inſtead of alleging this imaginary law, which would have blazed in the front of the Imperial codes, we may ſafely appeal to the original epiſtle, which Conſtantine addreſſed to the followers of the ancient religion; at a time when he no longer diſguiſed his converſion, nor dreaded the rivals of his throne. He invites and exhorts, in the moſt preſſing terms, the ſubjects of the Roman empire to imitate the example of their maſter; but he declares, that thoſe who ſtill refuſe to open their eyes to the celeſtial light, may freely enjoy their temples, and their fancied gods. A report, that the ceremonies of paganiſm were ſuppreſſed, is formally contradicted by the emperor himſelf, who wiſely aſſigns, as the principle of his moderation, the invincible force of habit, of prejudice, and of ſuperſtition [160]. Without violating the ſanctity of his promiſe, without alarming the fears of the pagans, the artful monarch advanced, by ſlow and cautious ſteps, to undermine the irregular and decayed fabric of polytheiſm. The partial acts of ſeverity which

by Conſtantine,

[159] According to Euſebius (in Vit. Conſtantin. l. ii. c. 45.) the emperor prohibited, both in cities and in the country, τα μυσαρα . . . της Ειδωλολατρειας; the abominable acts or parts of idolatry. Socrates (l. i. c. 17.) and Sozomen (l. ii. c. 4, 5.) have repreſented the conduct of Conſtantine with a juſt regard to truth and hiſtory; which has been neglected by Theodoret (l. v. c. 21.) and Oroſius (vii. 28.). Tum deinde (ſays the latter) primus Conſtantinus *juſto* ordine et *pio* vicem vertit edicto; ſiquidem ſtatuit citra ullam hominum cædem, paganorum templa claudi.

[160] See Euſebius in Vit. Conſtantin. l. ii. c. 56. 60. In the ſermon to the aſſembly of ſaints, which the emperor pronounced when he was mature in years and piety, he declares to the idolaters (c. xi.), that they are permitted to offer ſacrifices, and to exerciſe every part of their religious worſhip.

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he occaſionally exerciſed, though they were ſecretly prompted by a Chriſtian zeal, were coloured by the faireſt pretences of juſtice, and the public good; and while Conſtantine deſigned to ruin the foundations, he ſeemed to reform the abuſes, of the ancient religion. After the example of the wiſeſt of his predeceſſors, he condemned, under the moſt rigorous penalties, the occult and impious arts of divination; which excited the vain hopes, and ſometimes the criminal attempts, of thoſe who were diſcontented with their preſent condition. An ignominious ſilence was impoſed on the oracles, which had been publicly convicted of fraud and falſehood; the effeminate prieſts of the Nile were aboliſhed; and Conſtantine diſcharged the duties of a Roman cenſor, when he gave orders for the demolition of ſeveral temples of Phœnicia; in which every mode of proſtitution was devoutly practiſed in the face of day, and to the honour of Venus [161]. The Imperial city of Conſtantinople was, in ſome meaſure, raiſed at the expence, and was adorned with the ſpoils, of the opulent temples of Greece and Aſia; the ſacred property was confiſcated; the ſtatues of gods and heroes were tranſported, with rude familiarity, among a people who conſidered them as objects, not of adoration, but of curioſity: the gold and ſilver were reſtored to circulation; and the magiſtrates, the biſhops, and the eunuchs, improved the fortunate occaſion of gratifying, at once, their zeal, their avarice, and their reſentment. But theſe depredations were confined to a ſmall part of the Roman world; and the provinces had been long ſince accuſtomed to endure the ſame ſacrilegious rapine, from the tyranny of princes and proconſuls, who could not be ſuſpected of any deſign to ſubvert the eſtabliſhed religion [162].

The

[161] See Euſebius in Vit. Conſtantin. l. iii. c. 54—58. and l. iv. c. 23. 25. Theſe acts of authority may be compared with the ſuppreſſion of the Bacchanals, and the demolition of the temple of Iſis, by the magiſtrates of pagan Rome.

[162] Euſebius (in Vit. Conſtant. l. iii. c. 54.) and Libanius (Orat. pro Templis, p. 9, 10. edit.

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The ſons of Conſtantine trod in the footſteps of their father, with more zeal, and with leſs diſcretion. The pretences of rapine and oppreſſion were inſenſibly multiplied [163]; every indulgence was ſhewn to the illegal behaviour of the Chriſtians; every doubt was explained to the diſadvantage of paganiſm; and the demolition of the temples was celebrated as one of the auſpicious events of the reign of Conſtans and Conſtantius [164]. The name of Conſtantius is prefixed to a conciſe law, which might have ſuperſeded the neceſſity of any future prohibitions. "It is our plea-"ſure, that in all places, and in all cities, the temples be imme-"diately ſhut, and carefully guarded, that none may have the power "of offending. It is likewiſe our pleaſure, that all our ſubjects "ſhould abſtain from ſacrifices. If any one ſhould be guilty of ſuch "an act, let him feel the ſword of vengeance; and after his exe-"cution, let his property be confiſcated to the public uſe. We "denounce the ſame penalties againſt the governors of the provinces, "if they neglect to puniſh the criminals [165]." But there is the

edit. Gothofred.) both mention the pious ſacrilege of Conſtantine, which they viewed in very different lights. The latter expreſsly declares, that "he made uſe of the ſacred money, "but made no alteration in the legal worſhip; "the temples indeed were impoveriſhed, but "the ſacred rites were performed there." Lardner's Jewiſh and Heathen Teſtimonies, vol. iv. p. 140.

[163] Ammianus (xxii. 4.) ſpeaks of ſome court eunuchs, who were ſpoliis templorum paſti. Libanius ſays (Orat. pro Templ. p. 23.), that the emperor often gave away a temple, like a dog, or a horſe, or a ſlave, or a gold cup: but the devout philoſopher takes care to obſerve, that theſe ſacrilegious favourites very ſeldom proſpered.

[164] See Gothofred. Cod. Theodoſ. tom. vi. p. 262. Liban. Orat. Parental. c. x. in Fabric. Bibl. Græc. tom. vii. p. 235.

[165] Placuit omnibus locis atque urbibus univerſis claudi protinus templa, et acceſſu vetitis omnibus licentiam delinquendi perditis abnegari. Volumus etiam cunctos a ſacrificiis abſtinere. Quod ſiquis aliquid forte hujuſmodi perpetraverit, gladio ſternatur: facultates etiam perempti fiſco decernimus vindicari: et ſimiliter adfligi rectores provinciarum ſi facinora vindicari neglexerint. Cod. Theodoſ. l. xvi. tit. x. leg. 4. Chronology has diſcovered ſome contradiction in the date of this extravagant law; the only one, perhaps, by which the negligence of magiſtrates is puniſhed by death and confiſcation. M. de la Baſtie (Mem. de l'Academie, tom. xv. p. 98.) conjectures, with a ſhew of reaſon, that this was no more than the minutes of a law, the heads of an intended bill, which were found in Scriniis Memoriæ, among the papers of Conſtantius, and afterwards inſerted, as a worthy model, in the Theodoſian Code.

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ſtrongeſt reaſon to believe, that this formidable edict was either compoſed without being publiſhed, or was publiſhed without being executed. The evidence of facts, and the monuments which are ſtill extant of braſs and marble, continue to prove the public exerciſe of the pagan worſhip during the whole reign of the ſons of Conſtantine. In the Eaſt as well as in the Weſt, in cities as well as in the country, a great number of temples were reſpected, or at leaſt were ſpared; and the devout multitude ſtill enjoyed the luxury of ſacrifices, of feſtivals, and of proceſſions, by the permiſſion, or by the connivance, of the civil government. About four years after the ſuppoſed date of his bloody edict, Conſtantius viſited the temples of Rome; and the decency of his behaviour is recommended by a pagan orator as an example worthy of the imitation of ſucceeding princes. "That emperor," ſays Symmachus, "ſuffered the privileges of the veſtal virgins to remain inviolate; "he beſtowed the ſacerdotal dignities on the nobles of Rome, granted "the cuſtomary allowance to defray the expences of the public "rites and ſacrifices: and, though he had embraced a different re- "ligion, he never attempted to deprive the empire of the ſacred "worſhip of antiquity [166]." The ſenate ſtill preſumed to conſecrate, by ſolemn decrees, the *divine* memory of their ſovereigns; and Conſtantine himſelf was aſſociated, after his death, to thoſe gods whom he had renounced and inſulted during his life. The title, the enſigns, the prerogatives of SOVEREIGN PONTIFF, which had been inſtituted by Numa, and aſſumed by Auguſtus, were accepted, without heſitation, by ſeven Chriſtian emperors; who were inveſted with a more abſolute authority over the religion which they had deſerted, than over that which they profeſſed [167].

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[166] Symmach. Epiſtol. x. 54.

[167] The fourth Diſſertation of M. de la Baſtie, ſur le Souverain Pontificat des Empereurs Romains (in the Mem. de l'Acad. tom.

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The diviſions of Chriſtianity ſuſpended the ruin of *paganiſm* [168]; and the holy war againſt the infidels was leſs vigorouſly proſecuted by princes and biſhops, who were more immediately alarmed by the guilt and danger of domeſtic rebellion. The extirpation of *idolatry* [169] might have been juſtified by the eſtabliſhed principles of intolerance: but the hoſtile ſects, which alternately reigned in the

tom. xv. p. 75—144.), is a very learned and judicious performance, which explains the ſtate, and proves the toleration, of paganiſm from Conſtantine to Gratian. The aſſertion of Zoſimus, that Gratian was the firſt who refuſed the pontifical robe, is confirmed beyond a doubt: and the murmurs of bigotry, on that ſubject, are almoſt ſilenced.

[168] As I have freely anticipated the uſe of *pagans* and paganiſm, I ſhall now trace the ſingular revolutions of thoſe celebrated words. 1. Παγη, in the Doric dialect, ſo familiar to the Italians, ſignifies a fountain; and the rural neighbourhood which frequented the ſame fountain, derived the common appellation of *pagus* and *pagani* (Feſtus ſub voce, and Servius ad Virgil. Georgic. ii. 382.). 2. By an eaſy extenſion of the word, *pagan* and rural became almoſt ſynonymous (Plin. Hiſt. Natur. xxviii. 5.); and the meaner ruſtics acquired that name, which has been corrupted into *peaſants* in the modern languages of Europe. 3. The amazing increaſe of the military order introduced the neceſſity of a correlative term (Hume's Eſſays, vol. i. p. 555.); and all the *people* who were not enliſted in the ſervice of the prince were branded with the contemptuous epithet of pagans (Tacit. Hiſt. iii. 24. 43. 77. Juvenal. Satir. xvi. Tertullian de Pallio, c. 4.). 4. The Chriſtians were the ſoldiers of Chriſt; their adverſaries, who refuſed his *ſacrament*, or military oath of baptiſm, might deſerve the metaphorical name of pagans; and this popular reproach was introduced as early as the reign of Valentinian (A. D. 365) into Imperial laws (Cod. Theodoſ. l. xvi. tit. ii. leg. 18.) and theological writings. 5. Chriſtianity gradually filled the cities of the empire: the old religion, in the time of Prudentius (adverſ. Symmachum, l. i. ad fin.) and Oroſius (in Præfat. Hiſt.), retired and languiſhed in obſcure villages; and the word *pagans*, with its new ſignification, reverted to its primitive origin. 6. Since the worſhip of Jupiter and his family has expired, the vacant title of pagans has been ſucceſſively applied to all the idolaters and polytheiſts of the old and new world. 7. The Latin Chriſtians beſtowed it, without ſcruple, on their mortal enemies the Mahometans; and the pureſt *unitarians* were branded with the unjuſt reproach of idolatry and paganiſm. See Gerard Voſſius Etymologicon Linguæ Latinæ, in his works, tom. i. p. 420. Godefroy's Commentary on the Theodoſian Code, tom. vi. p. 250. and Ducange, mediæ & infimæ Latinitat. Gloſſar.

[169] In the pure language of Ionia and Athens, Ειδωλον and Λατρεια were ancient and familiar words. The former expreſſed a likeneſs, an apparition (Homer. Odyſſ. xi. 601.), a repreſentation, an *image*, created either by fancy or art. The latter denoted any ſort of *ſervice* or ſlavery. The Jews of Egypt, who tranſlated the Hebrew ſcriptures, reſtrained the uſe of theſe words (Exod. xx. 4, 5.) to the religious worſhip of an image. The peculiar idiom of the Helleniſts, or Grecian Jews, has been adopted by the ſacred and eccleſiaſtical writers; and the reproach of *idolatry* (Ειδωλολατρεια) has ſtigmatized that viſible and abject mode of ſuperſtition, which ſome ſects of Chriſtianity ſhould not haſtily impute to the polytheiſts of Greece and Rome.

Imperial

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Imperial court, were mutually apprehenſive of alienating, and perhaps exaſperating, the minds of a powerful, though declining faction. Every motive of authority and faſhion, of intereſt and reaſon, now militated on the ſide of Chriſtianity; but two or three generations elapſed, before their victorious influence was univerſally felt. The religion which had ſo long and ſo lately been eſtabliſhed in the Roman empire was ſtill revered by a numerous people, leſs attached indeed to ſpeculative opinion, than to ancient cuſtom. The honours of the ſtate and army were indifferently beſtowed on all the ſubjects of Conſtantine and Conſtantius; and a conſiderable portion of knowledge and wealth and valour was ſtill engaged in the ſervice of polytheiſm. The ſuperſtition of the ſenator and of the peaſant, of the poet and the philoſopher, was derived from very different cauſes, but they met with equal devotion in the temples of the gods. Their zeal was inſenſibly provoked by the inſulting triumph of a proſcribed ſect; and their hopes were revived by the well-grounded confidence, that the preſumptive heir of the empire, a young and valiant hero, who had delivered Gaul from the arms of the Barbarians, had ſecretly embraced the religion of his anceſtors.

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Julian is declared Emperor by the Legions of Gaul.—His March and Succeſs.—The Death of Conſtantius.—Civil Adminiſtration of Julian.

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The jealouſy of Conſtantius againſt Julian.

WHILE the Romans languiſhed under the ignominious tyranny of eunuchs and biſhops, the praiſes of Julian were repeated with tranſport in every part of the empire, except in the palace of Conſtantius. The Barbarians of Germany had felt, and ſtill dreaded, the arms of the young Cæſar; his ſoldiers were the companions of his victory; the grateful provincials enjoyed the bleſſings of his reign; but the favourites, who had oppoſed his elevation, were offended by his virtues; and they juſtly conſidered the friend of the people as the enemy of the court. As long as the fame of Julian was doubtful, the buffoons of the palace, who were ſkilled in the language of ſatire, tried the efficacy of thoſe arts which they had ſo often practiſed with ſucceſs. They eaſily diſcovered, that his ſimplicity was not exempt from affectation: the ridiculous epithets of an hairy ſavage, of an ape inveſted with the purple, were applied to the dreſs and perſon of the philoſophic warrior; and his modeſt diſpatches were ſtigmatized as the vain and elaborate fictions of a loquacious Greek, a ſpeculative ſoldier, who had ſtudied the art of war amidſt the groves of the academy[a]. The voice

[a] Omnes qui plus poterant in palatio, adulandi profeſſores jam docti, recte conſulta, proſpereque completa vertebant in deridiculum: talia ſine modo ſtrepentes inſulſe; in odium

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voice of malicious folly was at length silenced by the shouts of victory; the conqueror of the Franks and Alemanni could no longer be painted as an object of contempt; and the monarch himself was meanly ambitious of stealing from his lieutenant the honourable reward of his labours. In the letters crowned with laurel, which, according to ancient custom, were addressed to the provinces, the name of Julian was omitted. "Constantius had made his disposi-" tions in person; *he* had signalized his valour in the foremost " ranks; *his* military conduct had secured the victory; and the cap-" tive king of the Barbarians was presented to *him* on the field of " battle," from which he was at that time distant above forty days journey [2]. So extravagant a fable was incapable, however, of deceiving the public credulity, or even of satisfying the pride of the emperor himself. Secretly conscious that the applause and favour of the Romans accompanied the rising fortunes of Julian, his discontented mind was prepared to receive the subtle poison of those artful sycophants, who coloured their mischievous designs with the fairest appearances of truth and candour [3]. Instead of depreciating the merits of Julian, they acknowledged, and even exaggerated, his popular fame, superior talents, and important services. But they darkly insinuated, that the virtues of the Cæsar might instantly be converted

odium venit cum victoriis suis; capella, non homo; ut hirsutum Julianum carpentes, appellantesque loquacem talpam, et purpuratam simiam, et litterionem Græcum: et his congruentia plurima atque vernacula principi resonantes, audire hæc taliaque gestienti, virtutes ejus obruere verbis impudentibus conabantur, ut segnem incessentes et timidum et umbratilem, gestaque secus verbis comptioribus exornantem. Ammianus, xvii. 11.

[2] Ammian. xvi. 12. The orator Themistius (iv. p. 56, 57.) believed whatever was contained in the Imperial letters, which were addressed to the senate of Constantinople. Aurelius Victor, who published his Abridgment in the last year of Constantius, ascribes the German victories to the *wisdom* of the emperor, and the *fortune* of the Cæsar. Yet the historian, soon afterwards, was indebted to the favour or esteem of Julian for the honour of a brass statue; and the important offices of consular of the second Pannonia, and præfect of the city. Ammian. xxi. 10.

[3] Callido nocendi artificio, accusatoriam diritatem laudum titulis peragebant. . . Hæ voces fuerunt ad inflammanda odia probris omnibus potentiores. See Mamertin. in Actione Gratiarum in Vet. Panegyr. xi. 5, 6.

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into the moſt dangerous crimes; if the inconſtant multitude ſhould prefer their inclinations to their duty; or if the general of a victorious army ſhould be tempted from his allegiance by the hopes of revenge, and independent greatneſs. The perſonal fears of Conſtantius were interpreted by his council as a laudable anxiety for the public ſafety; whilſt in private, and perhaps in his own breaſt, he diſguiſed, under the leſs odious appellation of fear, the ſentiments of hatred and envy, which he had ſecretly conceived for the inimitable virtues of Julian.

Fears and envy of Conſtantius.

The apparent tranquillity of Gaul, and the imminent danger of the eaſtern provinces, offered a ſpecious pretence for the deſign which was artfully concerted by the Imperial miniſters. They reſolved to diſarm the Cæſar; to recal thoſe faithful troops who guarded his perſon and dignity; and to employ in a diſtant war againſt the Perſian monarch, the hardy veterans who had vanquiſhed, on the banks of the Rhine, the fierceſt nations of Germany. While Julian uſed the laborious hours of his winter-quarters at Paris in the adminiſtration of power, which, in his hands, was the exerciſe of virtue, he was ſurpriſed by the haſty arrival of a tribune and a notary; with poſitive orders from the emperor, which *they* were directed to execute, and *he* was commanded not to oppoſe. Conſtantius ſignified his pleaſure, that four entire legions, the Celtæ, and Petulants, the Heruli, and the Batavians, ſhould be ſeparated from the ſtandard of Julian, under which they had acquired their fame and diſcipline; that in each of the remaining bands, three hundred of the braveſt youths ſhould be ſelected; and that this numerous detachment, the ſtrength of the Gallic army, ſhould inſtantly begin their march, and exert their utmoſt diligence to arrive, before the opening of the campaign, on the frontiers of Perſia [*]. The Cæſar foreſaw,

The legions of Gaul are ordered to march into the Eaſt, A. D. 360, April.

[*] The minute interval, which may be interpoſed between the *hyeme adultâ* and the *primo vere* of Ammianus (xx. 1. 4.), inſtead of allowing a ſufficient ſpace for a march of three

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foreſaw, and lamented, the conſequences of this fatal mandate. Moſt of the auxiliaries, who engaged their voluntary ſervice, had ſtipulated, that they ſhould never be obliged to paſs the Alps. The public faith of Rome, and the perſonal honour of Julian, had been pledged for the obſervance of this condition. Such an act of treachery and oppreſſion would deſtroy the confidence, and excite the reſentment, of the independent warriors of Germany, who conſidered truth as the nobleſt of their virtues, and freedom as the moſt valuable of their poſſeſſions. The legionaries, who enjoyed the title and privileges of Romans, were enliſted for the general defence of the republic; but thoſe mercenary troops heard with cold indifference the antiquated names of the republic and of Rome. Attached, either from birth or long habit, to the climate and manners of Gaul, they loved and admired Julian; they deſpiſed, and perhaps hated, the emperor; they dreaded the laborious march, the Perſian arrows, and the burning deſerts of Aſia. They claimed, as their own, the country which they had ſaved; and excuſed their want of ſpirit, by pleading the ſacred and more immediate duty of protecting their families and friends. The apprehenſions of the Gauls were derived from the knowledge of the impending and inevitable danger. As ſoon as the provinces were exhauſted of their military ſtrength, the Germans would violate a treaty which had been impoſed on their fears; and notwithſtanding the abilities and valour of Julian, the general of a nominal army, to whom the public calamities would be imputed, muſt find himſelf, after a vain reſiſtance, either a priſoner in the camp of the Barbarians, or a criminal in the palace of Conſtantius. If Julian complied with the orders which he had received, he ſubſcribed his own deſtruction,

three thouſand miles, would render the orders of Conſtantius as extravagant as they were unjuſt. The troops of Gaul could not have reached Syria till the end of autumn. The memory of Ammianus muſt have been inaccurate, and his language incorrect.

and

and that of a people who deſerved his affection. But a poſitive refuſal was an act of rebellion, and a declaration of war. The inexorable jealouſy of the emperor, the peremptory, and perhaps inſidious, nature of his commands, left not any room for a fair apology, or candid interpretation; and the dependent ſtation of the Cæſar ſcarcely allowed him to pauſe or to deliberate. Solitude increaſed the perplexity of Julian; he could no longer apply to the faithful counſels of Salluſt, who had been removed from his office by the judicious malice of the eunuchs: he could not even enforce his repreſentations by the concurrence of the miniſters, who would have been afraid, or aſhamed, to approve the ruin of Gaul. The moment had been choſen, when Lupicinus[5], the general of the cavalry, was diſpatched into Britain, to repulſe the inroads of the Scots and Picts; and Florentius was occupied at Vienna by the aſſeſſment of the tribute. The latter, a crafty and corrupt ſtateſman, declining to aſſume a reſponſible part on this dangerous occaſion, eluded the preſſing and repeated invitations of Julian, who repreſented to him, that in every important meaſure the preſence of the præfect was indiſpenſable in the council of the prince. In the mean while the Cæſar was oppreſſed by the rude and importunate ſolicitations of the Imperial meſſengers, who preſumed to ſuggeſt, that if he expected the return of his miniſters, he would charge himſelf with the guilt of the delay, and reſerve for them the merit of the execution. Unable to reſiſt, unwilling to comply, Julian expreſſed in the moſt ſerious terms, his wiſh, and even his intention, of reſigning the purple, which he could not preſerve with honour, but which he could not abdicate with ſafety.

[5] Ammianus, xx. 1. The valour of Lupicinus, and his military ſkill, are acknowledged by the hiſtorian, who, in his affected language, accuſes the general of exalting the horns of his pride, bellowing in a tragic tone, and exciting a doubt, whether he was more cruel or avaricious. The danger from the Scots and Picts was ſo ſerious, that Julian himſelf had ſome thoughts of paſſing over into the iſland.

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Their diſcontents.

After a painful conflict, Julian was compelled to acknowledge, that obedience was the virtue of the moſt eminent ſubject, and that the ſovereign alone was entitled to judge of the public welfare. He iſſued the neceſſary orders for carrying into execution the commands of Conſtantius; a part of the troops began their march for the Alps; and the detachments from the ſeveral garriſons moved towards their reſpective places of aſſembly. They advanced with difficulty through the trembling and affrighted crowds of provincials; who attempted to excite their pity by ſilent deſpair, or loud lamentations; while the wives of the ſoldiers, holding their infants in their arms, accuſed the deſertion of their huſbands in the mixed language of grief, of tenderneſs, and of indignation. This ſcene of general diſtreſs afflicted the humanity of the Cæſar; he granted a ſufficient number of poſt-waggons to tranſport the wives and families of the ſoldiers [6], endeavoured to alleviate the hardſhips which he was conſtrained to inflict, and increaſed by the moſt laudable arts, his own popularity, and the diſcontent of the exiled troops. The grief of an armed multitude is ſoon converted into rage; their licentious murmurs, which every hour were communicated from tent to tent with more boldneſs and effect, prepared their minds for the moſt daring acts of ſedition; and by the connivance of their tribunes, a ſeaſonable libel was ſecretly diſperſed, which painted, in lively colours, the diſgrace of the Cæſar, the oppreſſion of the Gallic army, and the feeble vices of the tyrant of Aſia. The ſervants of Conſtantius were aſtoniſhed and alarmed by the progreſs of this dangerous ſpirit. They preſſed the Cæſar to haſten the departure of the troops; but they imprudently rejected the honeſt and judicious advice of Julian; who propoſed that they ſhould not march through Paris, and ſuggeſted the danger and temptation of a laſt interview.

[6] He granted them the permiſſion of the *curſus clavularis*, or *clabularis*. Theſe poſt-waggons are often mentioned in the Code, and were ſuppoſed to carry fifteen hundred pounds weight. See Valeſ. ad Ammian. xx. 4.

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They proclaim Julian emperor.

As ſoon as the approach of the troops was announced, the Cæſar went out to meet them, and aſcended his tribunal, which had been erected in a plain before the gates of the city. After diſtinguiſhing the officers and ſoldiers, who by their rank or merit deſerved a peculiar attention, Julian addreſſed himſelf in a ſtudied oration to the ſurrounding multitude: he celebrated their exploits with grateful applauſe; encouraged them to accept, with alacrity, the honour of ſerving under the eyes of a powerful and liberal monarch; and admoniſhed them, that the commands of Auguſtus required an inſtant and cheerful obedience. The ſoldiers, who were apprehenſive of offending their general by an indecent clamour, or of belying their ſentiments by falſe and venal acclamations, maintained an obſtinate ſilence; and, after a ſhort pauſe, were diſmiſſed to their quarters. The principal officers were entertained by the Cæſar, who profeſſed, in the warmeſt language of friendſhip, his deſire and his inability to reward, according to their deſerts, the brave companions of his victories. They retired from the feaſt, full of grief and perplexity; and lamented the hardſhip of their fate, which tore them from their beloved general and their native country. The only expedient which could prevent their ſeparation was boldly agitated and approved; the popular reſentment was inſenſibly moulded into a regular conſpiracy; their juſt reaſons of complaint were heightened by paſſion, and their paſſions were inflamed by wine; as on the eve of their departure, the troops were indulged in licentious feſtivity. At the hour of midnight, the impetuous multitude, with ſwords, and bowls, and torches, in their hands, ruſhed into the ſuburbs; encompaſſed the palace[7]; and, careleſs of future dangers,

[7] Moſt probably the palace of the baths (*Thermarum*), of which a ſolid and lofty hall ſtill ſubſiſts in the *rue de la Harpe*. The buildings covered a conſiderable ſpace of the modern quarter of the univerſity; and the gardens under the Merovingian kings communicated with the abbey of St. Germain des Prez. By the injuries of time and the Normans,

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gers, pronounced the fatal and irrevocable words, JULIAN AUGUSTUS! The prince, whoſe anxious ſuſpenſe was interrupted by their diſorderly acclamations, ſecured the doors againſt their intruſion; and, as long as it was in his power, ſecluded his perſon and dignity from the accidents of a nocturnal tumult. At the dawn of day, the ſoldiers, whoſe zeal was irritated by oppoſition, forcibly entered the palace, ſeized, with reſpectful violence, the object of their choice, guarded Julian with drawn ſwords through the ſtreets of Paris, placed him on the tribunal, and with repeated ſhouts ſaluted him as their emperor. Prudence, as well as loyalty, inculcated the propriety of reſiſting their treaſonable deſigns; and of preparing for his oppreſſed virtue, the excuſe of violence. Addreſſing himſelf by turns to the multitude and to individuals, he ſometimes implored their mercy, and ſometimes expreſſed his indignation; conjured them not to ſully the fame of their immortal victories; and ventured to promiſe, that if they would immediately return to their allegiance, he would undertake to obtain from the emperor, not only a free and gracious pardon, but even the revocation of the orders which had excited their reſentment. But the ſoldiers, who were conſcious of their guilt, choſe rather to depend on the gratitude of Julian than on the clemency of the emperor. Their zeal was inſenſibly turned into impatience, and their impatience into rage. The inflexible Cæſar ſuſtained till the third hour of the day, their prayers, their reproaches, and their menaces; nor did he yield, till he had been repeatedly aſſured, that if he wiſhed to live, he muſt

Normans, this ancient palace was reduced, in the twelfth century, to a maze of ruins; whoſe dark receſſes were the ſcene of licentious love.

Explicat aula ſinus montemque amplectitur alis;
Multiplici latebrâ ſcelerum terſura ruborem.
- - - - - - - pereuntis ſæpe pudoris
Celatura nefas, Veneriſque accommoda *furtis*.

(Theſe lines are quoted from the Architrenius, l. iv. c. 8., a poetical work of John de Hanteville, or Hanville, a Monk of St. Albans, about the year 1190. See Warton's Hiſtory of Engliſh Poetry, vol. i. diſſert. ii.). Yet ſuch *thefts* might be leſs pernicious to mankind, than the theological diſputes of the Sorbonne, which have been ſince agitated on the ſame ground. Bonamy, Mem. de l'Academie, tom. xv. p. 678—682.

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consent to reign. He was exalted on a shield in the presence, and amidst the unanimous acclamations, of the troops; a rich military collar, which was offered by chance, supplied the want of a diadem[8]; the ceremony was concluded by the promise of a moderate donative[9]; and the new emperor, overwhelmed with real or affected grief, retired into the most secret recesses of his apartment[10].

His protestations of innocence.

The grief of Julian could proceed only from his innocence; but his innocence must appear extremely doubtful[11] in the eyes of those who have learned to suspect the motives and the professions of princes. His lively and active mind was susceptible of the various impressions of hope and fear, of gratitude and revenge, of duty and of ambition, of the love of fame and of the fear of reproach. But it is impossible for us to calculate the respective weight and operation of these sentiments; or to ascertain the principles of action, which might escape the observation, while they guided, or rather impelled, the steps of Julian himself. The discontent of the troops was produced by the malice of his enemies; their tumult was the natural effect of interest and of passion; and if Julian had tried to conceal a deep design under the appearances of chance, he must have employed the most consummate artifice without necessity, and probably without success. He solemnly declares, in the presence of Jupiter,

[8] Even in this tumultuous moment, Julian attended to the forms of superstitious ceremony; and obstinately refused the inauspicious use of a female necklace, or a horse-collar, which the impatient soldiers would have employed in the room of a diadem.

[9] An equal proportion of gold and silver, five pieces of the former, one pound of the latter; the whole amounting to about five pounds ten shillings of our money.

[10] For the whole narrative of this revolt, we may appeal to authentic and original materials; Julian himself (ad S. P. Q. Atheniensem, p. 282, 283, 284.), Libanius (Orat. Parental. c. 44—48. in Fabricius Bibliot. Græc. tom. vii. p. 269—273.), Ammianus (xx. 4.), and Zosimus (l. iii. p. 151, 152, 153.), who, in the reign of Julian, appears to follow the more respectable authority of Eunapius. With such guides, we *might* neglect the abbreviators and ecclesiastical historians.

[11] Eutropius, a respectable witness, uses a doubtful expression, "consensu militum" (x. 15.). Gregory Nazianzen, whose ignorance might excuse his fanaticism, directly charges the apostate with presumption, madness, and impious rebellion, ἀνδαδία, ἀνοσία, ἀσεβία. Orat. iii. p. 67.

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of the Sun, of Mars, of Minerva, and of all the other deities, that, till the close of the evening which preceded his elevation, he was utterly ignorant of the designs of the soldiers[12]; and it may seem ungenerous to distrust the honour of a hero, and the truth of a philosopher. Yet the superstitious confidence that Constantius was the enemy, and that he himself was the favourite, of the gods, might prompt him to desire, to solicit, and even to hasten the auspicious moment of his reign, which was predestined to restore the ancient religion of mankind. When Julian had received the intelligence of the conspiracy, he resigned himself to a short slumber; and afterwards related to his friends, that he had seen the Genius of the empire waiting with some impatience at his door, pressing for admittance, and reproaching his want of spirit and ambition[13]. Astonished and perplexed, he addressed his prayers to the great Jupiter; who immediately signified, by a clear and manifest omen, that he should submit to the will of heaven and of the army. The conduct which disclaims the ordinary maxims of reason, excites our suspicion and eludes our enquiry. Whenever the spirit of fanaticism, at once so credulous and so crafty, has insinuated itself into a noble mind, it insensibly corrodes the vital principles of virtue and veracity.

His embassy to Constantius.

To moderate the zeal of his party, to protect the persons of his enemies[14], to defeat and to despise the secret enterprises which were formed against his life and dignity, were the cares which employed

[12] Julian. ad S. P. Q. Athen. p. 284. The *devout* Abbé de la Bleterie (Vie de Julien, p. 159.) is almost inclined to respect the *devout* protestations of a Pagan.

[13] Ammian. xx. 5. with the note of Lindenbrogius on the Genius of the empire. Julian himself, in a confidential letter to his friend and physician, Oribasius (Epist. xvii. p. 384.), mentions another dream, to which, before the event, he gave credit; of a stately tree thrown to the ground, of a small plant striking a deep root into the earth. Even in his sleep, the mind of the Cæsar must have been agitated by the hopes and fears of his fortune. Zosimus (l. iii. p. 155.) relates a subsequent dream.

[14] The difficult situation of the prince of a rebellious army is finely described by Tacitus (Hist. i. 80—85.). But Otho had much more guilt, and much less abilities, than Julian.

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the first days of the reign of the new emperor. Although he was firmly resolved to maintain the station which he had assumed, he was still desirous of saving his country from the calamities of civil war, of declining a contest with the superior forces of Constantius, and of preserving his own character from the reproach of perfidy and ingratitude. Adorned with the ensigns of military and Imperial pomp, Julian shewed himself in the field of Mars to the soldiers, who glowed with ardent enthusiasm in the cause of their pupil, their leader, and their friend. He recapitulated their victories, lamented their sufferings, applauded their resolution, animated their hopes, and checked their impetuosity; nor did he dismiss the assembly, till he had obtained a solemn promise from the troops, that if the emperor of the East would subscribe an equitable treaty, they would renounce any views of conquest, and satisfy themselves with the tranquil possession of the Gallic provinces. On this foundation he composed, in his own name, and in that of the army, a specious and moderate epistle [31], which was delivered to Pentadius, his master of the offices, and to his chamberlain Eutherius; two ambassadors whom he appointed to receive the answer, and observe the dispositions, of Constantius. This epistle is inscribed with the modest appellation of Cæsar; but Julian solicits in a peremptory, though respectful manner, the confirmation of the title of Augustus. He acknowledges the irregularity of his own election, while he justifies, in some measure, the resentment and violence of the troops which had extorted his reluctant consent. He allows the supremacy of his brother Constantius; and engages to send him an annual present of Spanish horses, to recruit his army with a select number of Barbarian youths, and to accept from his choice a Prætorian præfect of

[31] To this ostensible epistle he added, says Ammianus, private letters, objurgatorias et mordaces, which the historian had not seen, and would not have published. Perhaps they never existed.

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approved diſcretion and fidelity. But he reſerves for himſelf the nomination of his other civil and military officers, with the troops, the revenue, and the ſovereignty of the provinces beyond the Alps. He admoniſhes the emperor to conſult the dictates of juſtice; to diſtruſt the arts of thoſe venal flatterers, who ſubſiſt only by the diſcord of princes; and to embrace the offer of a fair and honourable treaty, equally advantageous to the republic, and to the houſe of Conſtantine. In this negociation Julian claimed no more than he already poſſeſſed. The delegated authority which he had long exerciſed over the provinces of Gaul, Spain, and Britain, was ſtill obeyed under a name more independent and auguſt. The ſoldiers and the people rejoiced in a revolution which was not ſtained even with the blood of the guilty. Florentius was a fugitive; Lupicinus a priſoner. The perſons who were diſaffected to the new government were diſarmed and ſecured; and the vacant offices were diſtributed, according to the recommendation of merit, by a prince, who deſpiſed the intrigues of the palace, and the clamours of the ſoldiers[16].

His fourth and fifth expeditions beyond the Rhine. A. D. 360, 361.

The negotiations of peace were accompanied and ſupported by the moſt vigorous preparations for war. The army, which Julian held in readineſs for immediate action, was recruited and augmented by the diſorders of the times. The cruel perſecution of the faction of Magnentius had filled Gaul with numerous bands of outlaws and robbers. They cheerfully accepted the offer of a general pardon from a prince whom they could truſt, ſubmitted to the reſtraints of military diſcipline, and retained only their implacable hatred to the perſon and government of Conſtantius[17]. As ſoon as the ſeaſon of the year

[16] See the firſt tranſactions of his reign, in Julian ad S. P. Q. Athen. p. 285, 286. Ammianus, xx. 5. 8. Liban. Orat. Parent. c. 49, 50. p. 273—275.

[17] Liban. Orat. Parent. c. 50. p. 275, 276. A ſtrange diſorder, ſince it continued above ſeven years. In the factions of the Greek republics, the exiles amounted to 20,000

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year permitted Julian to take the field, he appeared at the head of his legions; threw a bridge over the Rhine in the neighbourhood of Cleves; and prepared to chaſtiſe the perfidy of the Attuarii, a tribe of Franks, who preſumed that they might ravage, with impunity, the frontiers of a divided empire. The difficulty, as well as glory, of this enterpriſe, conſiſted in a laborious march; and Julian had conquered, as ſoon as he could penetrate into a country, which former princes had conſidered as inacceſſible. After he had given peace to the Barbarians, the emperor carefully viſited the fortifications along the Rhine from Cleves to Baſil; ſurveyed, with peculiar attention, the territories which he had recovered from the hands of the Alemanni, paſſed through Beſançon [18], which had ſeverely ſuffered from their fury, and fixed his head-quarters at Vienna for the enſuing winter. The barrier of Gaul was improved and ſtrengthened with additional fortifications; and Julian entertained ſome hopes, that the Germans, whom he had ſo often vanquiſhed, might, in his abſence, be reſtrained, by the terror of his name. Vadomair [19] was the only prince of the Alemanni, whom he eſteemed or feared; and while the ſubtle Barbarian affected to obſerve the faith of treaties, the progreſs of his arms threatened the ſtate with an unſeaſonable and dangerous war. The policy of Julian condeſcended to ſurpriſe the prince of the Alemanni by his own arts; and Vadomair, who, in the character of a friend, had incautiouſly accepted an invitation from the Roman go-

20,000 perſons; and Iſocrates aſſures Philip, that it would be eaſier to raiſe an army from the vagabonds than from the cities. See Hume's Eſſays, tom. i. p. 426, 427.

[18] Julian (Epiſt. xxxviii. p. 414.) gives a ſhort deſcription of Veſontio, or Beſançon: a rocky peninſula almoſt encircled by the river Doux; once a magnificent city, filled with temples, &c. now reduced to a ſmall town, emerging however from its ruins.

[19] Vadomair entered into the Roman ſervice, and was promoted from a Barbarian kingdom to the military rank of duke of Phœnicia. He ſtill retained the ſame artful character (Ammian. xxi. 4.); but, under the reign of Valens, he ſignaliſed his valour in the Armenian war (xxix. 1.).

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vernors, was seized in the midst of the entertainment, and sent away prisoner into the heart of Spain. Before the Barbarians were recovered from their amazement, the emperor appeared in arms on the banks of the Rhine, and, once more crossing the river, renewed the deep impressions of terror and respect which had been already made by four preceding expeditions [20].

Fruitless treaty and declaration of war, A. D. 361.

The ambassadors of Julian had been instructed to execute, with the utmost diligence, their important commission. But, in their passage through Italy and Illyricum, they were detained by the tedious and affected delays of the provincial governors; they were conducted by slow journies from Constantinople to Cæsarea in Cappadocia; and when at length they were admitted to the presence of Constantius, they found that he had already conceived, from the dispatches of his own officers, the most unfavourable opinion of the conduct of Julian, and of the Gallic army. The letters were heard with impatience; the trembling messengers were dismissed with indignation and contempt; and the looks, the gestures, the furious language of the monarch, expressed the disorder of his soul. The domestic connection, which might have reconciled the brother and the husband of Helena, was recently dissolved by the death of that princess, whose pregnancy had been several times fruitless, and was at last fatal to herself [21]. The empress Eusebia had preserved to the last moment of her life the warm, and even jealous, affection which she had conceived for Julian; and her mild influence might have moderated the

[20] Ammian. xx. 10. xxi. 3, 4. Zosimus, l. iii. p. 155.

[21] Her remains were sent to Rome, and interred near those of her sister Constantina, in the suburb of the *Via Nomentana*. Ammian. xxi. 1. Libanius has composed a very weak apology to justify his hero from a very absurd charge; of poisoning his wife, and rewarding her physician with his mother's jewels. (See the seventh of seventeen new orations, published at Venice 1754, from a MS. in St. Mark's library, p. 117—127.) Elpidius, the Prætorian præfect of the East, to whose evidence the accuser of Julian appeals, is arraigned by Libanius, as *effeminate* and ungrateful; yet the religion of Elpidius is praised by Jerom (tom. i. p. 243.), and his humanity by Ammianus (xxi. 6.).

resentment

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resentment of a prince, who, since her death, was abandoned to his own passions, and to the arts of his eunuchs. But the terror of a foreign invasion obliged him to suspend the punishment of a private enemy; he continued his march towards the confines of Persia, and thought it sufficient to signify the conditions which might entitle Julian and his guilty followers to the clemency of their offended sovereign. He required, that the presumptuous Cæsar should expressly renounce the appellation and rank of Augustus, which he had accepted from the rebels; that he should descend to his former station of a limited and dependent minister; that he should vest the powers of the state and army in the hands of those officers who were appointed by the Imperial court; and that he should trust his safety to the assurances of pardon, which were announced by Epictetus, a Gallic bishop, and one of the Arian favourites of Constantius. Several months were ineffectually consumed in a treaty which was negociated at the distance of three thousand miles between Paris and Antioch; and, as soon as Julian perceived that his moderate and respectful behaviour served only to irritate the pride of an implacable adversary, he boldly resolved to commit his life and fortune to the chance of a civil war. He gave a public and military audience to the quæstor Leonas: the haughty epistle of Constantius was read to the attentive multitude; and Julian protested, with the most flattering deference, that he was ready to resign the title of Augustus, if he could obtain the consent of those whom he acknowledged as the authors of his elevation. The faint proposal was impetuously silenced; and the acclamations of "Julian Augustus, continue to reign, by the "authority of the army, of the people, of the republic, which you "have saved," thundered at once from every part of the field, and terrified the pale ambassador of Constantius. A part of the letter was afterwards read, in which the emperor arraigned the ingratitude of Julian, whom he had invested with the honours of the purple;

whom

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whom he had educated with ſo much care and tenderneſs; whom he had preſerved in his infancy, when he was left a helpleſs orphan; "an orphan!" interrupted Julian, who juſtified his cauſe by indulging his paſſions: "Does the aſſaſſin of my family reproach me "that I was left an orphan? He urges me to revenge thoſe injuries, which I have long ſtudied to forget." The aſſembly was diſmiſſed; and Leonas, who, with ſome difficulty, had been protected from the popular fury, was ſent back to his maſter, with an epiſtle, in which Julian expreſſed, in a ſtrain of the moſt vehement eloquence, the ſentiments of contempt, of hatred, and of reſentment, which had been ſuppreſſed and embittered by the diſſimulation of twenty years. After this meſſage, which might be conſidered as a ſignal of irreconcilable war, Julian, who, ſome weeks before, had celebrated the Chriſtian feſtival of the Epiphany [22], made a public declaration that he committed the care of his ſafety to the IMMORTAL GODS; and thus publicly renounced the religion, as well as the friendſhip, of Conſtantius [23].

Julian prepares to attack Conſtantius.

The ſituation of Julian required a vigorous and immediate reſolution. He had diſcovered, from intercepted letters, that his adverſary, ſacrificing the intereſt of the ſtate to that of the monarch, had again excited the Barbarians to invade the provinces of the Weſt,

[22] Feriarum die quem celebrantes menſe Januario, Chriſtiani *Epiphania* dictitant, progreſſus in eorum eccleſiam, ſolemniter numine orato diſceſſit. Ammian. xxi. 2. Zonaras obſerves, that it was on Chriſtmas-day, and his aſſertion is not inconſiſtent; ſince the churches of Egypt, Aſia, and perhaps Gaul, celebrated on the ſame day (the ſixth of January), the nativity and the baptiſm of their Saviour. The Romans, as ignorant as their brethren of the real date of his birth, fixed the ſolemn feſtival to the 25th of December, the *Brumalia*, or winter ſolſtice, when the Pagans annually celebrated the birth of the Sun. See Bingham's Antiquities of the Chriſtian Church, l. xx. c. 4. and Beauſobre Hiſt. Critique du Manicheiſme, tom. ii. p. 690—700.

[23] The public and ſecret negociations between Conſtantius and Julian, muſt be extracted, with ſome caution, from Julian himſelf (Orat. ad S. P. Q. Athen. p. 286.), Libanius (Orat. Parent. c. 51. p. 276.), Ammianus (xx. 9.), Zoſimus (l. iii. p. 154.), and even Zonaras (tom. ii. l. xiii. p. 20, 21, 22.), who, on this occaſion, appears to have poſſeſſed and uſed ſome valuable materials.

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The position of two magazines, one of them collected on the banks of the lake of Constance, the other formed at the foot of the Cottian Alps, seemed to indicate the march of two armies; and the size of those magazines, each of which consisted of six hundred thousand quarters of wheat, or rather flour [24], was a threatening evidence of the strength and numbers of the enemy, who prepared to surround him. But the Imperial legions were still in their distant quarters of Asia; the Danube was feebly guarded; and if Julian could occupy, by a sudden incursion, the important provinces of Illyricum, he might expect that a people of soldiers would resort to his standard, and that the rich mines of gold and silver would contribute to the expences of the civil war. He proposed this bold enterprise to the assembly of the soldiers; inspired them with a just confidence in their general, and in themselves; and exhorted them to maintain their reputation, of being terrible to the enemy, moderate to their fellow-citizens, and obedient to their officers. His spirited discourse was received with the loudest acclamations, and the same troops which had taken up arms against Constantius, when he summoned them to leave Gaul, now declared with alacrity, that they would follow Julian to the farthest extremities of Europe or Asia. The oath of fidelity was administered; and the soldiers, clashing their shields, and pointing their drawn swords to their throats, devoted themselves, with horrid imprecations, to the service of a leader whom they celebrated as the deliverer of Gaul, and the conqueror of the Germans [25]. This solemn engagement, which seemed to be dictated by affection, rather than by duty, was singly opposed by Nebridius, who had been admitted to the office of Prætorian præfect. That

[24] Three hundred myriads, or three millions of *medimni*, a corn-measure familiar to the Athenians, and which contained six Roman *modii*. Julian explains, like a soldier and a statesman, the danger of his situation, and the necessity and advantages of an offensive war (ad S. P. Q. Athen. p. 286, 287.).

[25] See his oration, and the behaviour of the troops, in Ammian. xxi. 5.

faithful

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faithful miniſter, alone and unaſſiſted, aſſerted the rights of Conſtantius in the midſt of an armed and angry multitude, to whoſe fury he had almoſt fallen an honourable, but uſeleſs, ſacrifice. After loſing one of his hands by the ſtroke of a ſword, he embraced the knees of the prince whom he had offended. Julian covered the præfect with his Imperial mantle, and protecting him from the zeal of his followers, diſmiſſed him to his own houſe, with leſs reſpect than was perhaps due to the virtue of an enemy [26]. The high office of Nebridius was beſtowed on Salluſt; and the provinces of Gaul, which were now delivered from the intolerable oppreſſion of taxes, enjoyed the mild and equitable adminiſtration of the friend of Julian, who was permitted to practiſe thoſe virtues which he had inſtilled into the mind of his pupil [27].

His march from the Rhine into Illyricum.

The hopes of Julian depended much leſs on the number of his troops, than on the celerity of his motions. In the execution of a daring enterpriſe, he availed himſelf of every precaution, as far as prudence could ſuggeſt; and where prudence could no longer accompany his ſteps, he truſted the event to valour and to fortune. In the neighbourhood of Baſil he aſſembled and divided his army [28]. One body, which conſiſted of ten thouſand men, was directed, under the command of Nevitta, general of the cavalry, to advance through the midland parts of Rhætia and Noricum. A ſimilar diviſion of troops, under the orders of Jovius and Jovinus, prepared to follow the oblique courſe of the highways, through the Alps and the

[26] He ſternly refuſed his hand to the ſuppliant præfect, whom he ſent into Tuſcany (Ammian. xxi. 5.). Libanius, with ſavage fury, inſults Nebridius, applauds the ſoldiers, and almoſt cenſures the humanity of Julian (Orat. Parent. c. 53. p. 278.).

[27] Ammian. xxi. 8. In this promotion, Julian obeyed the law which he publicly impoſed on himſelf. Neque civilis quiſquam judex nec miſitaris rector, alio quodam præter merita ſuffragante, ad potiorum veniat gradum (Ammian. xx. 5.). Abſence did not weaken his regard for Salluſt, with whoſe name (A. D. 363) he honoured the conſulſhip.

[28] Ammianus (xxi. 8.) aſcribes the ſame practice, and the ſame motive, to Alexander the Great, and other ſkilful generals.

northern

northern confines of Italy. The inſtructions to the generals were conceived with energy and preciſion: to haſten their march in cloſe and compact columns, which, according to the diſpoſition of the ground, might readily be changed into any order of battle; to ſecure themſelves againſt the ſurpriſes of the night by ſtrong poſts and vigilant guards; to prevent reſiſtance by their unexpected arrival; to elude examination by their ſudden departure; to ſpread the opinion of their ſtrength, and the terror of his name; and to join their ſovereign under the walls of Sirmium. For himſelf, Julian had reſerved a more difficult and extraordinary part. He ſelected three thouſand brave and active volunteers, reſolved, like their leader, to caſt behind them every hope of a retreat: at the head of this faithful band, he fearleſsly plunged into the receſſes of the Marcian, or black foreſt, which conceals the ſources of the Danube[29]; and, for many days, the fate of Julian was unknown to the world. The ſecrecy of his march, his diligence, and vigour, ſurmounted every obſtacle; he forced his way over mountains and moraſſes, occupied the bridges or ſwam the rivers, purſued his direct courſe[30], without reflecting whether he traverſed the territory of the Romans or of the Barbarians, and at length emerged, between Ratiſbon and Vienna, at the place where he deſigned to embark his troops on the Danube. By a well-concerted ſtratagem, he ſeized a fleet of light brigantines[31], as it lay

[29] This wood was a part of the great Hercynian foreſt, which, in the time of Cæſar, ſtretched away from the country of the Rauraci (Baſil) into the boundleſs regions of the North. See Cluver. Germania Antiqua, l. iii. c. 47.

[30] Compare Libanius, Orat. Parent. c. 53. p. 278, 279. with Gregory Nazianzen, Orat. iii. p. 68. Even the ſaint admires the ſpeed and ſecrecy of this march. A modern divine might apply to the progreſs of Julian the lines which were originally deſigned for another apoſtate:

——So eagerly the fiend,
O'er bog, or ſteep, through ſtrait, rough, denſe, or rare,
With head, hands, wings, or feet, purſues his way,
And ſwims, or ſinks, or wades, or creeps, or flies.

[31] In that interval the *Notitia* places two or three fleets, the Lauriacenſis (at Lauriacum, or Lorch), the Arlapenſis, the Maginenſis; and mentions five legions, or cohorts, of Liburnarii, who ſhould be a ſort of marines. Sect. lviii. edit. Labb.

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at anchor; ſecured a ſupply of coarſe proviſions ſufficient to ſatisfy the indelicate, but voracious, appetite of a Gallic army; and boldly committed himſelf to the ſtream of the Danube. The labours of his mariners, who plied their oars with inceſſant diligence, and the ſteady continuance of a favourable wind, carried his fleet above ſeven hundred miles in eleven days[32]; and he had already diſembarked his troops at Bononia, only nineteen miles from Sirmium, before his enemies could receive any certain intelligence that he had left the banks of the Rhine. In the courſe of this long and rapid navigation, the mind of Julian was fixed on the object of his enterpriſe; and though he accepted the deputations of ſome cities, which haſtened to claim the merit of an early ſubmiſſion, he paſſed before the hoſtile ſtations, which were placed along the river, without indulging the temptation of ſignalizing an uſeleſs and ill-timed valour. The banks of the Danube were crowded on either ſide with ſpectators, who gazed on the military pomp, anticipated the importance of the event, and diffuſed through the adjacent country the fame of a young hero, who advanced with more than mortal ſpeed at the head of the innumerable forces of the Weſt. Lucilian, who, with the rank of general of the cavalry, commanded the military powers of Illyricum, was alarmed and perplexed by the doubtful reports, which he could neither reject nor believe. He had taken ſome ſlow and irreſolute meaſures for the purpoſe of collecting his troops; when he was ſurpriſed by Dagalaiphus, an active officer, whom Julian, as ſoon as he landed at Bononia, had puſhed forwards with ſome light infantry. The captive general, uncertain of his life or death, was haſtily thrown upon a horſe, and conducted to the preſence of Julian; who kindly raiſed him from the ground, and diſ-

[32] Zoſimus alone (l. iii. p. 156.) has ſpecified this intereſting circumſtance. Mamertinus (in Panegyr. Vet. xi. 6, 7, 8.), who accompanied Julian, as count of the ſacred largeſſes, deſcribes this voyage in a florid and picturesque manner, challenges Triptolemus and the Argonauts of Greece, &c.

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pelled the terror and amazement which ſeemed to ſtupify his faculties. But Lucilian had no ſooner recovered his ſpirits, than he betrayed his want of diſcretion, by preſuming to admoniſh his conqueror, that he had raſhly ventured, with a handful of men, to expoſe his perſon in the midſt of his enemies. "Reſerve for your "maſter Conſtantius theſe timid remonſtrances," replied Julian, with a ſmile of contempt; "when I gave you my purple to kiſs, I re- "ceived you not as a counſellor, but as a ſuppliant." Conſcious that ſucceſs alone could juſtify his attempt, and that boldneſs only could command ſucceſs, he inſtantly advanced, at the head of three thouſand ſoldiers, to attack the ſtrongeſt and moſt populous city of the Illyrian provinces. As he entered the long ſuburb of Sirmium, he was received by the joyful acclamations of the army and people; who, crowned with flowers, and holding lighted tapers in their hands, conducted their acknowledged ſovereign to his Imperial reſidence. Two days were devoted to the public joy, which was celebrated by the games of the Circus; but, early on the morning of the third day, Julian marched to occupy the narrow paſs of Succi, in the defiles of mount Hæmus; which, almoſt in the mid-way between Sirmium and Conſtantinople, ſeparates the provinces of Thrace and Dacia, by an abrupt deſcent towards the former, and a gentle declivity on the ſide of the latter [33]. The defence of this important poſt was entruſted to the brave Nevitta; who, as well as the generals of the Italian diviſion, ſucceſsfully executed the plan of the march and junction, which their maſter had ſo ably conceived [34].

[33] The deſcription of Ammianus, which might be ſupported by collateral evidence, aſcertains the preciſe ſituation of the *Angustiæ Succorum*, or paſſes of *Succi*. M. d'Anville, from the trifling reſemblance of names, has placed them between Sardica and Naiſſus. For my own juſtification, I am obliged to mention the only error which I have diſcovered in the maps or writings of that admirable geographer.

[34] Whatever circumſtances we may borrow elſewhere, Ammianus (xxi. 8, 9, 10.) ſtill ſupplies the ſeries of the narrative.

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He juſtifies his cauſe.

The homage which Julian obtained, from the fears or the inclination of the people, extended far beyond the immediate effect of his arms[35]. The præfectures of Italy and Illyricum were adminiſtered by Taurus and Florentius, who united that important office with the vain honours of the conſulſhip; and as thoſe magiſtrates had retired with precipitation to the court of Aſia, Julian, who could not always reſtrain the levity of his temper, ſtigmatized their flight by adding, in all the acts of the year, the epithet of *fugitive* to the names of the two conſuls. The provinces which had been deſerted by their firſt magiſtrates acknowledged the authority of an emperor, who, conciliating the qualities of a ſoldier with thoſe of a philoſopher, was equally admired in the camps of the Danube, and in the cities of Greece. From his palace, or, more properly, from his head-quarters of Sirmium and Naiſſus, he diſtributed to the principal cities of the empire, a laboured apology for his own conduct; publiſhed the ſecret diſpatches of Conſtantius; and ſolicited the judgment of mankind between two competitors, the one of whom had expelled, and the other had invited, the Barbarians[36]. Julian, whoſe mind was deeply wounded by the reproach of ingratitude, aſpired to maintain, by argument as well as by arms, the ſuperior merits of his cauſe; and to excel, not only in the arts of war, but in thoſe of compoſition. His epiſtle to the ſenate and people of Athens[37] ſeems

[35] Ammian. xxi. 9, 10. Libanius, Orat. Parent. c. 54. p. 279, 280. Zoſimus, l. iii. p. 156, 157.

[36] Julian (ad S. P. Q. Athen. p. 286.) poſitively aſſerts, that he intercepted the letters of Conſtantius to the Barbarians: and Libanius as poſitively affirms, that he read them on his march to the troops and the cities. Yet Ammianus (xxi. 4.) expreſſes himſelf with cool and candid heſitation, ſi *famæ ſolius* admittenda eſt fides. He ſpecifies, however, an intercepted letter from Vadomair to Conſtantius, which ſuppoſes an intimate correſpondence between them: "Cæſar tuus "diſciplinam non habet."

[37] Zoſimus mentions his epiſtles to the Athenians, the Corinthians, and the Lacedæmonians. The ſubſtance was probably the ſame, though the addreſs was properly varied. The epiſtle to the Athenians is ſtill extant (p. 268—287.), and has afforded much valuable information. It deſerves the praiſes of the Abbé de la Bleterie (Pref. à l'Hiſtoire de Jovien, p. 24, 25.), and is one of the beſt manifeſtoes to be found in any language.

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to have been dictated by an elegant enthuſiaſm; which prompted him to ſubmit his actions and his motives to the degenerate Athenians of his own times, with the ſame humble deference, as if he had been pleading, in the days of Ariſtides, before the tribunal of the Areopagus. His application to the ſenate of Rome, which was ſtill permitted to beſtow the titles of Imperial power, was agreeable to the forms of the expiring republic. An aſſembly was ſummoned by Tertullus, præfect of the city; the epiſtle of Julian was read; and, as he appeared to be maſter of Italy, his claims were admitted without a diſſenting voice. His oblique cenſure of the innovations of Conſtantine, and his paſſionate invective againſt the vices of Conſtantius, were heard with leſs ſatisfaction; and the ſenate, as if Julian had been preſent, unanimouſly exclaimed, "Reſpect, we "beſeech you, the author of your own fortune[38]." An artful expreſſion, which, according to the chance of war, might be differently explained; as a manly reproof of the ingratitude of the uſurper, or as a flattering confeſſion, that a ſingle act of ſuch benefit to the ſtate ought to atone for all the failings of Conſtantius.

Hoſtile preparations

The intelligence of the march and rapid progreſs of Julian was ſpeedily tranſmitted to his rival, who, by the retreat of Sapor, had obtained ſome reſpite from the Perſian war. Diſguiſing the anguiſh of his ſoul under the ſemblance of contempt, Conſtantius profeſſed his intention of returning into Europe, and of giving chace to Julian; for he never ſpoke of this military expedition in any other light than that of a hunting party[39]. In the camp of Hierapolis, in Syria, he communicated this deſign to his army; ſlightly mentioned the guilt and raſhneſs of the Cæſar; and ventured to aſſure them, that if the mutineers of Gaul preſumed to meet them in the field, they

[38] *Auctori tuo reverentiam rogamus.* Ammian. xxi. 10. It is amuſing enough to obſerve the ſecret conflicts of the ſenate between flattery and fear. See Tacit. Hiſt. i. 85.

[39] Tanquam venaticiam prædam caperet: hoc enim ad leniendum ſuorum metum ſubinde prædicabat. Ammian. xxi. 7.

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would be unable to ſuſtain the fire of their eyes, and the irreſiſtible weight of their ſhout of onſet. The ſpeech of the emperor was received with military applauſe, and Theodotus, the preſident of the council of Hierapolis, requeſted, with tears of adulation, that *his* city might be adorned with the head of the vanquiſhed rebel [40]. A choſen detachment was diſpatched away in poſt-waggons, to ſecure, if it were yet poſſible, the paſs of Succi; the recruits, the horſes, the arms, and the magazines which had been prepared againſt Sapor, were appropriated to the ſervice of the civil war; and the domeſtic victories of Conſtantius inſpired his partiſans with the moſt ſanguine aſſurances of ſucceſs. The notary Gaudentius had occupied in his name the provinces of Africa; the ſubſiſtence of Rome was intercepted; and the diſtreſs of Julian was increaſed, by an unexpected event, which might have been productive of fatal conſequences. Julian had received the ſubmiſſion of two legions and a cohort of archers, who were ſtationed at Sirmium; but he ſuſpected, with reaſon, the fidelity of thoſe troops, which had been diſtinguiſhed by the emperor; and it was thought expedient, under the pretence of the expoſed ſtate of the Gallic frontier, to diſmiſs them from the moſt important ſcene of action. They advanced, with reluctance, as far as the confines of Italy; but as they dreaded the length of the way, and the ſavage fierceneſs of the Germans, they reſolved, by the inſtigation of one of their tribunes, to halt at Aquileia, and to erect the banners of Conſtantius on the walls of that impregnable city. The vigilance of Julian perceived at once the extent of the miſchief, and the neceſſity of applying an immediate remedy. By his order, Jovinus led back a part of the army into Italy; and the ſiege of Aquileia was formed with diligence, and proſecuted with vigour. But the

[40] See the ſpeech and preparations in Ammianus, xxi. 13. The vile Theodotus afterwards implored and obtained his pardon from the merciful conqueror, who ſignified his wiſh of diminiſhing his enemies, and increaſing the number of his friends (xxii. 14.).

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legionaries, who ſeemed to have rejected the yoke of diſcipline, conducted the defence of the place with ſkill and perſeverance; invited the reſt of Italy to imitate the example of their courage and loyalty; and threatened the retreat of Julian, if he ſhould be forced to yield to the ſuperior numbers of the armies of the Eaſt [41].

and death of Conſtantius, A. D. 361, November 3.

But the humanity of Julian was preſerved from the cruel alternative, which he pathetically laments, of deſtroying or of being himſelf deſtroyed: and the ſeaſonable death of Conſtantius delivered the Roman empire from the calamities of civil war. The approach of winter could not detain the monarch at Antioch; and his favourites durſt not oppoſe his impatient deſire of revenge. A ſlight fever, which was perhaps occaſioned by the agitation of his ſpirits, was increaſed by the fatigues of the journey; and Conſtantius was obliged to halt at the little town of Mopſucrene, twelve miles beyond Tarſus, where he expired, after a ſhort illneſs, in the forty-fifth year of his age, and the twenty-fourth of his reign [42]. His genuine character, which was compoſed of pride and weakneſs, of ſuperſtition and cruelty, has been fully diſplayed in the preceding narrative of civil and eccleſiaſtical events. The long abuſe of power rendered him a conſiderable object in the eyes of his contemporaries; but as perſonal merit can alone deſerve the notice of poſterity, the laſt of the ſons of Conſtantine may be diſmiſſed from the world with

[41] Ammian. xxi. 7. 11, 12. He ſeems to deſcribe, with ſuperfluous labour, the operations of the ſiege of Aquileia, which, on this occaſion, maintained its impregnable fame. Gregory Nazianzen (Orat. iii. p. 68.) aſcribes this accidental revolt to the wiſdom of Conſtantius, whoſe aſſured victory he announces with ſome appearance of truth. Conſtantio quem credebat proculdubio, fore victorem: nemo enim omnium tunc ab hac conſtanti ſententia diſcrepebat. Ammian. xxi. 7.

[42] His death and character are faithfully delineated by Ammianus (xxi. 14, 15, 16.); and we are authoriſed to deſpiſe and deteſt the fooliſh calumny of Gregory (Orat. iii. p. 68.), who accuſes Julian of contriving the death of his benefactor. The private repentance of the emperor, that he had ſpared and promoted Julian (p. 69. and Orat. xxi. p. 389.), is not improbable in itſelf, nor incompatible with the public verbal teſtament, which prudential conſiderations might dictate in the laſt moments of his life.

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the remark, that he inherited the defects, without the abilities, of his father. Before Conſtantius expired, he is ſaid to have named Julian for his ſucceſſor; nor does it ſeem improbable, that his anxious concern for the fate of a young and tender wife, whom he left with child, may have prevailed, in his laſt moments, over the harſher paſſions of hatred and revenge. Euſebius, and his guilty aſſociates, made a faint attempt to prolong the reign of the eunuchs, by the election of another emperor: but their intrigues were rejected with diſdain, by an army which now abhorred the thought of civil diſcord; and two officers of rank were inſtantly diſpatched, to aſſure Julian, that every ſword in the empire would be drawn for his ſervice. The military deſigns of that prince, who had formed three different attacks againſt Thrace, were prevented by this fortunate event. Without ſhedding the blood of his fellow-citizens, he eſcaped the dangers of a doubtful conflict, and acquired the advantages of a complete victory. Impatient to viſit the place of his birth, and the new capital of the empire, he advanced from Naiſſus through the mountains of Hæmus, and the cities of Thrace. When he reached Heraclea, at the diſtance of ſixty miles, all Conſtantinople was poured forth to receive him; and he made his triumphal entry, amidſt the dutiful acclamations of the ſoldiers, the people, and the ſenate. An innumerable multitude preſſed around him with eager reſpect; and were perhaps diſappointed when they beheld the ſmall ſtature, and ſimple garb, of a hero, whoſe unexperienced youth had vanquiſhed the Barbarians of Germany, and who had now traverſed, in a ſucceſsful career, the whole continent of Europe, from the ſhores of the Atlantic to thoſe of the Boſphorus [43]. A few days afterwards, when the remains of the deceaſed emperor were landed

Julian enters Conſtantinople.

December 11.

[43] In deſcribing the triumph of Julian, Ammianus (xxii. 1, 2.) aſſumes the lofty tone of an orator or poet; while Libanius (Orat. Parent. c. 56. p. 281.) ſinks to the grave ſimplicity of an hiſtorian.

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in the harbour, the ſubjects of Julian applauded the real or affected humanity of their ſovereign. On foot, without his diadem, and clothed in a mourning habit, he accompanied the funeral as far as the church of the Holy Apoſtles, where the body was depoſited: and if theſe marks of reſpect may be interpreted as a ſelfiſh tribute to the birth and dignity of his Imperial kinſman, the tears of Julian profeſſed to the world, that he had forgot the injuries, and remembered only the obligations, which he had received from Conſtantius [44]. As ſoon as the legions of Aquileia were aſſured of the death of the emperor, they opened the gates of the city, and, by the ſacrifice of their guilty leaders, obtained an eaſy pardon from the prudence or lenity of Julian; who, in the thirty-ſecond year of his age, acquired the undiſputed poſſeſſion of the Roman empire [45].

and is acknowledged by the whole empire.

Philoſophy had inſtructed Julian to compare the advantages of action and retirement; but the elevation of his birth, and the accidents of his life, never allowed him the freedom of choice. He might perhaps ſincerely have preferred the groves of the academy, and the ſociety of Athens; but he was conſtrained, at firſt by the will, and afterwards by the injuſtice, of Conſtantius, to expoſe his perſon and fame to the dangers of Imperial greatneſs; and to make himſelf accountable to the world, and to poſterity, for the happineſs of millions [46]. Julian recollected with terror the ob-

His civil government and private life.

[44] The funeral of Conſtantius is deſcribed by Ammianus (xxi. 16.), Gregory Nazianzen (Orat. iv. p. 119.), Mamertinus (in Panegyr. Vet. xi. 27.), Libanius (Orat. Parent. c. lvi. p. 283.), and Philoſtorgius (l. vi. c. 6. with Godefroy's Diſſertations, p. 265.). Theſe writers, and their followers, Pagans, Catholics, Arians, beheld with very different eyes both the dead and the living emperor.

[45] The day and year of the birth of Julian are not perfectly aſcertained. The day is probably the ſixth of November, and the year muſt be either 331 or 332. Tillemont, Hiſt. des Empereurs, tom. iv. p. 693. Ducange, Fam. Byzantin. p. 50. I have preferred the earlier date.

[46] Julian himſelf (p. 253–267.) has expreſſed theſe philoſophical ideas, with much eloquence, and ſome affectation, in a very elaborate epiſtle to Themiſtius. The Abbé de la Bleterie (tom. ii. p. 146–193.), who has given an elegant tranſlation, is inclined to believe that it was the celebrated Themiſtius, whoſe orations are ſtill extant.

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ſervation of his maſter Plato[47], that the government of our flocks and herds is always committed to beings of a ſuperior ſpecies; and that the conduct of nations requires and deſerves the celeſtial powers of the Gods or of the Genii. From this principle he juſtly concluded, that the man who preſumes to reign, ſhould aſpire to the perfection of the divine nature; that he ſhould purify his ſoul from her mortal and terreſtrial part; that he ſhould extinguiſh his appetites, enlighten his underſtanding, regulate his paſſions, and ſubdue the wild beaſt, which, according to the lively metaphor of Ariſtotle[48], ſeldom fails to aſcend the throne of a deſpot. The throne of Julian, which the death of Conſtantius fixed on an independent baſis, was the ſeat of reaſon, of virtue, and perhaps of vanity. He deſpiſed the honours, renounced the pleaſures, and diſcharged with inceſſant diligence the duties, of his exalted ſtation; and there were few among his ſubjects who would have conſented to relieve him from the weight of the diadem, had they been obliged to ſubmit their time and their actions to the rigorous laws which their philoſophic emperor impoſed on himſelf. One of his moſt intimate friends[49], who had often ſhared the frugal ſimplicity of his table, has remarked, that his light and ſparing diet (which was uſually of the vegetable kind) left his mind and body always free and active, for the various and important buſineſs of an author, a pontiff, a magiſtrate, a general, and a prince. In one and the ſame day, he gave audience to ſeveral ambaſſadors, and wrote, or dictated, a great num-

[47] Julian ad Themiſt. p. 258. Petavius (not. p. 95.) obſerves, that this paſſage is taken from the fourth book de Legibus; but either Julian quoted from memory, or his MSS. were different from ours. Xenophon opens the Cyropædia with a ſimilar reflection.

[48] Ο δε ανθρωπος· κελευων αρχειν, προσιθησι και θηριον. Ariſtot. ap. Julian. p. 261. The MS. of Voſſius, unſatisfied with a ſingle beaſt, affords the ſtronger reading of θηρια, which the experience of deſpotiſm may warrant.

[49] Libanius (Orat. Parentalis, c. lxxxiv, lxxxv. p. 310, 311, 312.) has given this intereſting detail of the private life of Julian. He himſelf (in Miſopogon, p. 350.) mentions his vegetable diet, and upbraids the groſs and ſenſual appetite of the people of Antioch.

ber

ber of letters to his generals, his civil magiſtrates, his private friends, and the different cities of his dominions. He liſtened to the memorials which had been received, conſidered the ſubject of the petitions, and ſignified his intentions more rapidly than they could be taken in ſhort-hand by the diligence of his ſecretaries. He poſſeſſed ſuch flexibility of thought, and ſuch firmneſs of attention, that he could employ his hand to write, his ear to liſten, and his voice to dictate; and purſue at once three ſeveral trains of ideas, without heſitation, and without error. While his miniſters repoſed, the prince flew with agility from one labour to another, and, after a haſty dinner, retired into his library, till the public buſineſs, which he had appointed for the evening, ſummoned him to interrupt the proſecution of his ſtudies. The ſupper of the emperor was ſtill leſs ſubſtantial than the former meal; his ſleep was never clouded by the fumes of indigeſtion; and, except in the ſhort interval of a marriage which was the effect of policy rather than love, the chaſte Julian never ſhared his bed with a female companion[50]. He was ſoon awakened by the entrance of freſh ſecretaries, who had ſlept the preceding day; and his ſervants were obliged to wait alternately, while their indefatigable maſter allowed himſelf ſcarcely any other refreſhment than the change of occupations. The predeceſſors of Julian, his uncle, his brother, and his couſin, indulged their puerile taſte for the games of the circus, under the ſpecious pretence of complying with the inclinations of the people; and they frequently remained the greateſt part of the day, as idle ſpectators, and as a

[50] Lectulus . . . Veſtalium toris purior, is the praiſe which Mamertinus (Panegyr. Vet. xi. 13.) addreſſes to Julian himſelf, Libanius affirms, in ſober peremptory language, that Julian never knew a woman before his marriage, or after the death of his wife (Orat. Parent. c. lxxxviii. p. 313.). The chaſtity of Julian is confirmed by the impartial teſtimony of Ammianus (xxv. 4.), and the partial ſilence of the Chriſtians. Yet Julian ironically urges the reproach of the people of Antioch, that he *almoſt always* (ως σχεδον, in Miſopogon, p. 345.) lay alone. This ſuſpicious expreſſion is explained by the Abbé de la Bleterie (Hiſt. de Jovien, tom. ii. p. 103—109.) with candour and ingenuity.

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part of the ſplendid ſpectacle, till the ordinary round of twenty-four races[51] was completely finiſhed. On ſolemn feſtivals, Julian, who felt and profeſſed an unfaſhionable diſlike to theſe frivolous amuſements, condeſcended to appear in the circus; and after beſtowing a careleſs glance on five or ſix of the races, he haſtily withdrew, with the impatience of a philoſopher, who conſidered every moment as loſt, that was not devoted to the advantage of the public, or the improvement of his own mind[52]. By this avarice of time, he ſeemed to protract the ſhort duration of his reign; and if the dates were leſs ſecurely aſcertained, we ſhould refuſe to believe, that only ſixteen months elapſed between the death of Conſtantius and the departure of his ſucceſſor for the Perſian war. The actions of Julian can only be preſerved by the care of the hiſtorian; but the portion of his voluminous writings which is ſtill extant, remains as a monument of the application, as well as of the genius, of the emperor. The Miſopogon, the Cæſars, ſeveral of his orations, and his elaborate work againſt the Chriſtian religion, were compoſed in the long nights of the two winters, the former of which he paſſed at Conſtantinople, and the latter at Antioch.

December, A. D. 361. March, A.D. 363.

Reformation of the palace.

The reformation of the Imperial court was one of the firſt and moſt neceſſary acts of the government of Julian[53]. Soon after his

[51] See Salmaſius ad Sueton. in Claud. c. xxi. A twenty-fifth race, or *miſſus*, was added, to complete the number of one hundred chariots, four of which, the four colours, ſtarted each heat.

Centum quadrijugos agitabo ad flumina currus.

It appears, that they ran five or ſeven times round the *Meta* (Sueton. in Domitian. c. 4.); and (from the meaſure of the Circus Maximus at Rome, the Hippodrome at Conſtantinople, &c.) it might be about a four-mile courſe.

[52] Julian. in Miſopogon, p. 340. Julius Cæſar had offended the Roman people by reading his diſpatches during the actual race. Auguſtus indulged their taſte, or his own, by his conſtant attention to the important buſineſs of the circus, for which he profeſſed the warmeſt inclination. Sueton. in Auguſt. c. xlv.

[53] The reformation of the palace is deſcribed by Ammianus (xxii. 4.), Libanius (Orat. Parent. c. lxii. p. 288, &c.), Mamertinus (in Panegyr. Vet. xi. 11.), Socrates (l. iii. c. 1.), and Zonaras (tom. ii. l. xiii. p. 24.).

entrance

entrance into the palace of Conſtantinople, he had occaſion for the ſervice of a barber. An officer, magnificently dreſſed, immediately preſented himſelf. "It is a barber," exclaimed the prince, with affected ſurpriſe, "that I want, and not a receiver-general of the "finances [54]." He queſtioned the man concerning the profits of his employment; and was informed, that beſides a large ſalary, and ſome valuable perquiſites, he enjoyed a daily allowance for twenty ſervants, and as many horſes. A thouſand barbers, a thouſand cup-bearers, a thouſand cooks, were diſtributed in the ſeveral offices of luxury; and the number of eunuchs could be compared only with the inſects of a ſummer's day [55]. The monarch who reſigned to his ſubjects the ſuperiority of merit and virtue, was diſtinguiſhed by the oppreſſive magnificence of his dreſs, his table, his buildings, and his train. The ſtately palaces erected by Conſtantine and his ſons, were decorated with many coloured marbles, and ornaments of maſſy gold. The moſt exquiſite dainties were procured, to gratify their pride, rather than their taſte; birds of the moſt diſtant climates, fiſh from the moſt remote ſeas, fruits out of their natural ſeaſon, winter roſes, and ſummer ſnows [56]. The domeſtic crowd of the palace ſurpaſſed the expence of the legions; yet the ſmalleſt part of this coſtly multitude was ſubſervient to the uſe, or even to the ſplendour, of the throne. The monarch was diſgraced, and the people was injured, by the creation and ſale of an infinite number of obſcure, and even titular employments; and the moſt worthleſs of

[54] Ego non *rationalem* juſſi ſed tonſorem acciri. Zonaras uſes the leſs natural image of a *ſenator*. Yet an officer of the finances, who was ſatiated with wealth, might deſire and obtain the honours of the ſenate.

[55] Μαγειρους μεν χιλιους, κειρας δε ση χιλιαδι οινοχους, δε πλους, σιμνη τετραζοντιων, τοσουτους υπερ τας μυιας; παρα τοις ποιμασι ση πρι, are the original words of Libanius, which I have faithfully quoted, leſt I ſhould be ſuſpected of magnifying the abuſes of the royal houſehold.

[56] The expreſſions of Mamertinus are lively and forcible. Quin etiam prandiorum et cœnarum laboratas magnitudines Romanus populus ſenſit; cum quæſitiſſimæ dapes non guſtu ſed difficultatibus æſtimarentur; miracula avium, longinqui maris piſces, alieni temporis poma, æſtivæ nives, hybernæ roſæ.

mankind

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mankind might purchaſe the privilege of being maintained, without the neceſſity of labour, from the public revenue. The waſte of an enormous houſehold, the increaſe of fees and perquiſites, which were ſoon claimed as a lawful debt, and the bribes which they extorted from thoſe who feared their enmity, or ſolicited their favour, ſuddenly enriched theſe haughty menials. They abuſed their fortune, without conſidering their paſt, or their future, condition; and their rapine and venality could be equalled only by the extravagance of their diſſipations. Their ſilken robes were embroidered with gold, their tables were ſerved with delicacy and profuſion; the houſes which they built for their own uſe, would have covered the farm of an ancient conſul; and the moſt honourable citizens were obliged to diſmount from their horſes, and reſpectfully to ſalute an eunuch whom they met on the public highway. The luxury of the palace excited the contempt and indignation of Julian, who uſually ſlept on the ground, who yielded with reluctance to the indiſpenſable calls of nature; and who placed his vanity, not in emulating, but in deſpiſing, the pomp of royalty. By the total extirpation of a miſchief which was magnified even beyond its real extent, he was impatient to relieve the diſtreſs, and to appeaſe the murmurs, of the people; who ſupport with leſs uneaſineſs the weight of taxes, if they are convinced that the fruits of their induſtry are appropriated to the ſervice of the ſtate. But in the execution of this ſalutary work, Julian is accuſed of proceeding with too much haſte and inconſiderate ſeverity. By a ſingle edict, he reduced the palace of Conſtantinople to an immenſe deſert, and diſmiſſed with ignominy the whole train of ſlaves and dependents [57], without providing any

[57] Yet Julian himſelf was accuſed of beſtowing whole towns on the eunuchs (Orat. vii. againſt Polyclet. p. 117—127.). Libanius contents himſelf with a cold but poſitive denial of the fact, which ſeems indeed to belong more properly to Conſtantius. This charge, however, may allude to ſome unknown circumſtance.

juſt,

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juſt, or at leaſt benevolent, exceptions, for the age, the ſervices, or the poverty, of the faithful domeſtics of the Imperial family. Such indeed was the temper of Julian, who ſeldom recollected the fundamental maxim of Ariſtotle, that true virtue is placed at an equal diſtance between the oppoſite vices. The ſplendid and effeminate dreſs of the Aſiatics, the curls and paint, the collars and bracelets, which had appeared ſo ridiculous in the perſon of Conſtantine, were conſiſtently rejected by his philoſophic ſucceſſor. But with the fopperies, Julian affected to renounce the decencies, of dreſs; and ſeemed to value himſelf for his neglect of the laws of cleanlineſs. In a ſatirical performance, which was deſigned for the public eye, the emperor deſcants with pleaſure, and even with pride, on the length of his nails, and the inky blackneſs of his hands; proteſts, that although the greateſt part of his body was covered with hair, the uſe of the razor was confined to his head alone; and celebrates, with viſible complacency, the ſhaggy and *populous*[38] beard, which he fondly cheriſhed, after the example of the philoſophers of Greece. Had Julian conſulted the ſimple dictates of reaſon, the firſt magiſtrate of the Romans would have ſcorned the affectation of Diogenes, as well as that of Darius.

Chamber of juſtice.

But the work of public reformation would have remained imperfect, if Julian had only corrected the abuſes, without puniſhing the crimes, of his predeceſſor's reign. "We are now delivered," ſays he, in a familiar letter to one of his intimate friends, "we are "now ſurpriſingly delivered from the voracious jaws of the Hydra[39]."

[38] In the Miſopogon (p. 338, 339.) he draws a very ſingular picture of himſelf, and the following words are ſtrangely characteriſtic; αυτος προσιθικα τοι βαθυ τυτοι πωγωνα . . . ταυτα τοι διαθεοντων ανεχομαι των φθειρων οσπερ ει λοχμη των θηριων. The friends of the Abbé de la Bleterie adjured him, in the name of the French nation, not to tranſlate this paſſage, ſo offenſive to their delicacy (Hiſt. de Jovien, tom. ii. p. 94.). Like him, I have contented myſelf with a tranſient alluſion; but the little animal, which Julian *names*, is a beaſt familiar to man, and ſignifies love.

[39] Julian, epiſt. xxiii. p. 389. He uſes the words πολυκεφαλον υδραν, in writing to his friend Hermogenes, who, like himſelf, was converſant with the Greek poets.

"I do

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"I do not mean to apply that epithet to my brother Conſtantius. "He is no more; may the earth lie light on his head! But his "artful and cruel favourites ſtudied to deceive and exaſperate a "prince, whoſe natural mildneſs cannot be praiſed without ſome "efforts of adulation. It is not, however, my intention, that even "thoſe men ſhould be oppreſſed: they are accuſed, and they ſhall "enjoy the benefit of a fair and impartial trial." To conduct this enquiry, Julian named ſix judges of the higheſt rank in the ſtate and army; and as he wiſhed to eſcape the reproach of condemning his perſonal enemies, he fixed this extraordinary tribunal at Chalcedon, on the Aſiatic ſide of the Boſphorus; and transferred to the commiſſioners an abſolute power to pronounce and execute their final ſentence, without delay, and without appeal. The office of preſident was exerciſed by the venerable præfect of the Eaſt, a *ſecond* Salluſt [60], whoſe virtues conciliated the eſteem of Greek ſophiſts, and of Chriſtian biſhops. He was aſſiſted by the eloquent Mamertinus [61], one of the conſuls elect, whoſe merit is loudly celebrated by the doubtful evidence of his own applauſe. But the civil wiſdom of two magiſtrates was overbalanced by the ferocious violence of four generals, Nevitta, Agilo, Jovinus, and Arbetio. Arbetio, whom the public would have ſeen with leſs ſurpriſe at the bar than on the bench, was ſuppoſed to poſſeſs the ſecret of the commiſſion; the armed and angry leaders of the Jovian and Herculian bands encompaſſed the tribunal; and the judges were alternately ſwayed by the laws of juſtice, and by the clamours of faction [62].

[60] The two Salluſts, the præfect of Gaul, and the præfect of the Eaſt, muſt be carefully diſtinguiſhed (Hiſt. des Empereurs, tom. iv. p. 696.). I have uſed the ſurname of *Secundus*, as a convenient epithet. The ſecond Salluſt extorted the eſteem of the Chriſtians themſelves; and Gregory Nazianzen, who condemned his religion, has celebrated his virtues (Orat. iii. p. 90.). See a curious note of the Abbé de la Bleterie, Vie de Julien, p. 363.

[61] Mamertinus praiſes the emperor (xi. 1.) for beſtowing the offices of Treaſurer and Præfect on a man of wiſdom, firmneſs, integrity, &c. like himſelf. Yet Ammianus ranks him (xxi. 1.) among the miniſters of Julian, quorum merita nſirat et fidem.

[62] The proceedings of this chamber of juſtice are related by Ammianus (xxii. 3.), and praiſed by Libanius (Orat. Parent. c. 74. p. 299, 300.).

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Punishment of the innocent and the guilty.

The chamberlain Eusebius, who had so long abused the favour of Constantius, expiated, by an ignominious death, the insolence, the corruption, and cruelty of his servile reign. The executions of Paul and Apodemius (the former of whom was burnt alive) were accepted as an inadequate atonement by the widows and orphans of so many hundred Romans, whom those legal tyrants had betrayed and murdered. But Justice herself (if we may use the pathetic expression of Ammianus [63]) appeared to weep over the fate of Ursulus, the treasurer of the empire; and his blood accused the ingratitude of Julian, whose distress had been seasonably relieved by the intrepid liberality of that honest minister. The rage of the soldiers, whom he had provoked by his indiscretion, was the cause and the excuse of his death; and the emperor, deeply wounded by his own reproaches and those of the public, offered some consolation to the family of Ursulus, by the restitution of his confiscated fortunes. Before the end of the year in which they had been adorned with the ensigns of the præfecture and consulship [64], Taurus and Florentius were reduced to implore the clemency of the inexorable tribunal of Chalcedon. The former was banished to Vercellæ in Italy, and a sentence of death was pronounced against the latter. A wise prince should have rewarded the crime of Taurus; the faithful minister, when he was no longer able to oppose the progress of a rebel, had taken refuge in the court of his benefactor and his lawful sovereign. But the guilt of Florentius justified the severity of the judges; and his escape served to display the magnanimity of Julian; who nobly checked the interested diligence of an informer, and refused to learn what place

[63] Ursuli vero necem ipsa mihi videtur flêsse justitia. Libanius, who imputes his death to the soldiers, attempts to criminate the count of the largesses.

[64] Such respect was still entertained for the venerable names of the commonwealth, that the public was surprised and scandalized to hear Taurus summoned as a criminal under the consulship of Taurus. The summons of his colleague Florentius was probably delayed till the commencement of the ensuing year.

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concealed the wretched fugitive from his juſt reſentment [65]. Some months after the tribunal of Chalcedon had been diſſolved, the prætorian vicegerent of Africa, the notary Gaudentius, and Artemius [66] duke of Egypt, were executed at Antioch. Artemius had reigned the cruel and corrupt tyrant of a great province; Gaudentius had long practiſed the arts of calumny againſt the innocent, the virtuous, and even the perſon of Julian himſelf. Yet the circumſtances of their trial and condemnation were ſo unſkilfully managed, that theſe wicked men obtained, in the public opinion, the glory of ſuffering for the obſtinate loyalty with which they had ſupported the cauſe of Conſtantius. The reſt of his ſervants were protected by a general act of oblivion; and they were left to enjoy with impunity the bribes which they had accepted, either to defend the oppreſſed, or to oppreſs the friendleſs. This meaſure, which, on the ſoundeſt principles of policy, may deſerve our approbation, was executed in a manner which ſeemed to degrade the majeſty of the throne. Julian was tormented by the importunities of a multitude, particularly of Egyptians, who loudly redemanded the gifts which they had imprudently or illegally beſtowed; he foreſaw the endleſs proſecution of vexatious ſuits; and he engaged a promiſe which ought always to have been ſacred, that if they would repair to Chalcedon, he would meet them in perſon, to hear and determine their complaints. But as ſoon as they were landed, he iſſued an abſolute order, which prohibited the watermen from tranſporting any Egyptian to Conſtantinople; and thus detained his diſappointed clients on the Aſiatic ſhore, till their patience and money being utterly exhauſted, they were

[65] Ammian. xx. 7.

[66] For the guilt and puniſhment of Artemius, ſee Julian (Epiſt. x. p. 379.) and Ammianus (xxii. 6. and Valeſ. ad loc.). The merit of Artemius, who demoliſhed temples, and was put to death by an apoſtate, has tempted the Greek and Latin churches to honour him as a martyr. But as eccleſiaſtical hiſtory atteſts, that he was not only a tyrant, but an Arian, it is not altogether eaſy to juſtify this indiſcreet promotion. Tillemont, Mem. Eccleſ. tom. vii. p. 1319.

obliged

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obliged to return with indignant murmurs to their native country [67].

Clemency of Julian.

The numerous army of ſpies, of agents, and informers, enliſted by Conſtantius to ſecure the repoſe of one man, and to interrupt that of millions, was immediately diſbanded by his generous ſucceſſor. Julian was ſlow in his ſuſpicions, and gentle in his puniſhments; and his contempt of treaſon was the reſult of judgment, of vanity, and of courage. Conſcious of ſuperior merit, he was perſuaded that few among his ſubjects would dare to meet him in the field, to attempt his life, or even to ſeat themſelves on his vacant throne. The philoſopher could excuſe the haſty ſallies of diſcontent; and the hero could deſpiſe the ambitious projects, which ſurpaſſed the fortune or the abilities of the raſh conſpirators. A citizen of Ancyra had prepared for his own uſe a purple garment: and this indiſcreet action, which, under the reign of Conſtantius, would have been conſidered as a capital offence [68], was reported to Julian by the officious importunity of a private enemy. The monarch, after making ſome inquiry into the rank and character of his rival, diſpatched the informer with a preſent of a pair of purple ſlippers, to complete the magnificence of his Imperial habit. A more dangerous conſpiracy was formed by ten of the domeſtic guards, who had reſolved to aſſaſſinate Julian in the field of exerciſe near Antioch. Their intemperance revealed their guilt; and they were conducted in chains to the preſence of their injured ſovereign, who, after a lively repreſentation of the wickedneſs and folly of their enterpriſe, inſtead of a death of torture, which they deſerved and expected, pronounced a ſentence of

[67] See Ammian. xxii. 6. and Valeſ. ad locum; and the Codex Theodoſianus, l. ii. tit. xxxix. leg. 1.; and Godefroy's Commentary, tom. i. p. 218. ad locum.

[68] The preſident Monteſquieu (Conſiderations ſur la Grandeur, &c. des Romains, c. xiv. in his works, tom. iii. p. 448, 449.) excuſes this minute and abſurd tyranny, by ſuppoſing, that actions the moſt indifferent in our eyes might excite, in a Roman mind, the idea of guilt and danger. This ſtrange apology is ſupported by a ſtrange miſapprehenſion of the Engliſh laws, "chez une nation où il eſt defendu de boire à la ſante d'une certaine perſonne."

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exile againſt the two principal offenders. The only inſtance in which Julian ſeemed to depart from his accuſtomed clemency, was the execution of a raſh youth, who with a feeble hand had aſpired to ſeize the reins of empire. But that youth was the ſon of Marcellus, the general of cavalry, who, in the firſt campaign of the Gallic war, had deſerted the ſtandard of the Cæſar, and the republic. Without appearing to indulge his perſonal reſentment, Julian might eaſily confound the crime of the ſon and of the father; but he was reconciled by the diſtreſs of Marcellus, and the liberality of the emperor endeavoured to heal the wound which had been inflicted by the hand of juſtice [69].

His love of freedom and the republic.

Julian was not inſenſible of the advantages of freedom [70]. From his ſtudies he had imbibed the ſpirit of ancient ſages and heroes: his life and fortunes had depended on the caprice of a tyrant; and when he aſcended the throne, his pride was ſometimes mortified by the reflection, that the ſlaves who would not dare to cenſure his defects, were not worthy to applaud his virtues [71]. He ſincerely abhorred the ſyſtem of Oriental deſpotiſm, which Dioclefian, Conſtantine, and the patient habits of fourſcore years, had eſtabliſhed in the empire. A motive of ſuperſtition prevented the execution of the deſign which Julian had frequently meditated, of relieving his head from the weight of a coſtly diadem [72]: but he abſolutely refuſed the title of *Dominus*, or *Lord* [73], a word which was grown ſo familiar to the ears of

[69] The clemency of Julian, and the conſpiracy which was formed againſt his life at Antioch, are deſcribed by Ammianus (xxii. 9, 10. and Valeſ. ad loc.) and Libanius (Orat. Parent. c. 99. p. 323.).

[70] According to ſome, ſays Ariſtotle (as he is quoted by Julian ad Themiſt. p. 261.), the form of abſolute government, the παμβασιλεια, is contrary to nature. Both the prince and the philoſopher chuſe, however, to involve this eternal truth in artful and laboured obſcurity.

[71] That ſentiment is expreſſed almoſt in the words of Julian himſelf. Ammian. xxii. 10.

[72] Libanius (Orat. Parent. c. 95. p. 320.), who mentions the wiſh and deſign of Julian, inſinuates, in myſterious language (θειον ουτω γινομενον . . . . αλλ' ου παρεσται ὁ κωλυων), that the emperor was reſtrained by ſome particular revelation.

[73] Julian in Miſopogon, p. 343. As he never aboliſhed, by any public law, the proud appellations of *Deſpot*, or *Dominus*, they are ſtill

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of the Romans, that they no longer remembered its ſervile and humiliating origin. The office, or rather the name, of conſul, was cheriſhed by a prince who contemplated with reverence the ruins of the republic; and the ſame behaviour which had been aſſumed by the prudence of Auguſtus, was adopted by Julian from choice and inclination. On the calends of January, at break of day, the new conſuls, Mamertinus and Nevitta, haſtened to the palace to ſalute the emperor. As ſoon as he was informed of their approach, he leaped from his throne, eagerly advanced to meet them, and compelled the bluſhing magiſtrates to receive the demonſtrations of his affected humility. From the palace they proceeded to the ſenate. The emperor, on foot, marched before their litters; and the gazing multitude admired the image of ancient times, or ſecretly blamed a conduct, which, in their eyes, degraded the majeſty of the purple [74]. But the behaviour of Julian was uniformly ſupported. During the games of the Circus, he had, imprudently or deſignedly, performed the manumiſſion of a ſlave in the preſence of the conſul. The moment he was reminded that he had treſpaſſed on the juriſdiction of *another* magiſtrate, he condemned himſelf to pay a fine of ten pounds of gold; and embraced this public occaſion of declaring to the world, that he was ſubject, like the reſt of his fellow-citizens, to the laws [75], and even to the forms, of the republic. The ſpirit of his adminiſtration,

A. D. 363. January 1.

ſtill extant on his medals (Ducange, Fam. Byzantin. p. 38, 39.): and the private diſpleaſure which he affected to expreſs, only gave a different tone to the ſervility of the court. The Abbé de la Bleterie (Hiſt. de Jovien, tom. ii. p. 99—102.) has curiouſly traced the origin and progreſs of the word *Dominus* under the Imperial government.

74 Ammian. xxii. 7. The conſul Mamertinus (in Panegyr. Vet. xi. 28, 29, 30.) celebrates the auſpicious day, like an eloquent ſlave, aſtoniſhed and intoxicated by the condeſcenſion of his maſter.

75 Perſonal ſatire was condemned by the laws of the twelve tables;

Si male condiderit in quem quis carmina, jus eſt,
Judiciumque.———

Julian (in Miſopogon, p. 337.) owns himſelf ſubject to the law; and the Abbé de la Bleterie (Hiſt. de Jovien, tom. ii. p. 92.) has eagerly embraced a declaration ſo agreeable to his own ſyſtem, and indeed to the true ſpirit of the Imperial conſtitution.

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stration, and his regard for the place of his nativity, induced Julian to confer on the senate of Constantinople, the same honours, privileges, and authority, which were still enjoyed by the senate of ancient Rome[76]. A legal fiction was introduced, and gradually established, that one half of the national council had migrated into the East: and the despotic successors of Julian, accepting the title of Senators, acknowledged themselves the members of a respectable body, which was permitted to represent the majesty of the Roman name. From Constantinople, the attention of the monarch was extended to the municipal senates of the provinces. He abolished, by repeated edicts, the unjust and pernicious exemptions, which had withdrawn so many idle citizens from the service of their country; and by imposing an equal distribution of public duties, he restored the strength, the splendour, or, according to the glowing expression of Libanius[77], the soul of the expiring cities of his empire. The venerable age of Greece excited the most tender compassion in the mind of Julian; which kindled into rapture when he recollected the gods, the heroes, and the men, superior to heroes and to gods; who had bequeathed to the latest posterity the monuments of their genius, or the example of their virtues. He relieved the distress, and restored the beauty, of the cities of Epirus and Peloponnesus[78]. Athens acknowledged him for her benefactor; Argos, for her deliverer. The pride of Corinth, again rising from her ruins with the honours of a Roman colony,

His care of the Grecian cities.

[76] Zosimus, l. iii. p. 158.

[77] Ἡ τῆς βουλῆς ἰσχὺς ψυχὴ πόλεως ἐστιν. See Libanius (Orat. Parent. c. 71. p. 296.), Ammianus (xxii. 9.), and the Theodosian Code (l. xii. tit. i. leg. 50—55.), with Godefroy's Commentary (tom. iv. p. 390—402.). Yet the whole subject of the *Curiæ*, notwithstanding very ample materials, still remains the most obscure in the legal history of the empire.

[78] Quæ paulo ante arida et siti anhelantia visebantur, ea nunc perlui, mundari, madere; Fora, Deambulacra, Gymnasia, lætis et gaudentibus populis frequentari; dies festos, et celebrari veteres, et novos in honorem principis consecrari (Mamertin. xi. 9.). He particularly restored the city of Nicopolis, and the Actiac games, which had been instituted by Augustus.

exacted

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exacted a tribute from the adjacent republics, for the purpose of defraying the games of the Isthmus, which were celebrated in the amphitheatre with the hunting of bears and panthers. From this tribute the cities of Elis, of Delphi, and of Argos, which had inherited from their remote ancestors the sacred office of perpetuating the Olympic, the Pythian, and the Nemean games, claimed a just exemption. The immunity of Elis and Delphi was respected by the Corinthians; but the poverty of Argos tempted the insolence of oppression; and the feeble complaints of its deputies were silenced by the decree of a provincial magistrate, who seems to have consulted only the interest of the capital, in which he resided. Seven years after this sentence, Julian[79] allowed the cause to be referred to a superior tribunal; and his eloquence was interposed, most probably with success, in the defence of a city, which had been the royal seat of Agamemnon[80], and had given to Macedonia a race of kings and conquerors[81].

Julian, an orator and a judge.

The laborious administration of military and civil affairs, which were multiplied in proportion to the extent of the empire, exercised the abilities of Julian; but he frequently assumed the two characters of Orator[82] and of Judge[83], which are almost unknown to the modern

[79] Julian. Epist. xxxv. p. 407—411. This epistle, which illustrates the declining age of Greece, is omitted by the Abbé de la Bleterie; and strangely disfigured by the Latin translator, who, by rendering ατελεια, *tributum*, and λαοι, *populus*, directly contradicts the sense of the original.

[80] He reigned in Mycenæ, at the distance of fifty stadia, or six miles, from Argos: but those cities, which alternately flourished, are confounded by the Greek poets. Strabo, l. viii. p. 579. edit. Amstel. 1707.

[81] Marsham, Canon. Chron. p. 421. This pedigree from Temenus and Hercules may be suspicious; yet it was allowed, after a strict enquiry by the judges of the Olympic games (Herodot. l. v. c. 22.), at a time when the Macedonian kings were obscure and unpopular in Greece. When the Achæan league declared against Philip, it was thought decent that the deputies of Argos should retire (T. Liv. xxxii. 22.).

[82] His eloquence is celebrated by Libanius (Orat. Parent. c. 75, 76. p. 300, 301.), who distinctly mentions the orators of Homer. Socrates (l. iii. c. 1.) has rashly asserted that Julian was the only prince, since Julius Cæsar, who harangued the senate. All the predecessors

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dern ſovereigns of Europe. The arts of perſuaſion, ſo diligently cultivated by the firſt Cæſars, were neglected by the military ignorance and Aſiatic pride of their ſucceſſors; and if they condeſcended to harangue the ſoldiers, whom they feared, they treated with ſilent diſdain the ſenators, whom they deſpiſed. The aſſemblies of the ſenate, which Conſtantius had avoided, were conſidered by Julian as the place where he could exhibit, with the moſt propriety, the maxims of a republican, and the talents of a rhetorician. He alternately practiſed, as in a ſchool of declamation, the ſeveral modes of praiſe, of cenſure, of exhortation; and his friend Libanius has remarked, that the ſtudy of Homer taught him to imitate the ſimple, conciſe ſtyle of Menelaus, the copiouſneſs of Neſtor, whoſe words deſcended like the flakes of a winter's ſnow, or the pathetic and forcible eloquence of Ulyſſes. The functions of a judge, which are ſometimes incompatible with thoſe of a prince, were exerciſed by Julian, not only as a duty, but as an amuſement; and although he might have truſted the integrity and diſcernment of his Prætorian præfects, he often placed himſelf by their ſide on the ſeat of judgment. The acute penetration of his mind was agreeably occupied in detecting and defeating the chicanery of the advocates, who laboured to diſguiſe the truth of facts, and to pervert the ſenſe of the laws. He ſometimes forgot the gravity of his ſtation, aſked indiſcreet or unſeaſonable queſtions, and betrayed, by the loudneſs of his voice, and the agitation of his body, the earneſt vehemence with which he maintained his opinion againſt the judges, the advocates,

predeceſſors of Nero (Tacit. Annal. xiii. 3.), and many of his ſucceſſors, poſſeſſed the faculty of ſpeaking in public; and it might be proved by various examples, that they frequently exerciſed it in the ſenate.

[83] Ammianus (xxii. 10.) has impartially ſtated the merits and defects of his judicial proceedings. Libanius (Orat. Parent. c. 90, 91. p. 315, &c.) has ſeen only the fair ſide; and his picture, if it flatters the perſon, expreſſes at leaſt the duties, of the Judge. Gregory Nazianzen (Orat. iv. p. 120.), who ſuppreſſes the virtues, and exaggerates even the venial faults, of the apoſtate; triumphantly aſks, Whether ſuch a judge was fit to be ſeated between Minos and Rhadamanthus, in the Elyſian fields?

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and their clients. But his knowledge of his own temper prompted him to encourage, and even to ſolicit, the reproof of his friends and miniſters; and whenever they ventured to oppoſe the irregular ſallies of his paſſions, the ſpectators could obſerve the ſhame, as well as the gratitude, of their monarch. The decrees of Julian were almoſt always founded on the principles of juſtice; and he had the firmneſs to reſiſt the two moſt dangerous temptations which aſſault the tribunal of a ſovereign, under the ſpecious forms of compaſſion and equity. He decided the merits of the cauſe without weighing the circumſtances of the parties; and the poor, whom he wiſhed to relieve, were condemned to ſatisfy the juſt demands of a noble and wealthy adverſary. He carefully diſtinguiſhed the judge from the legiſlator[84]; and though he meditated a neceſſary reformation of the Roman juriſprudence, he pronounced ſentence according to the ſtrict and literal interpretation of thoſe laws, which the magiſtrates were bound to execute, and the ſubjects to obey.

His character.

The generality of princes, if they were ſtripped of their purple, and caſt naked into the world, would immediately ſink to the loweſt rank of ſociety, without a hope of emerging from their obſcurity. But the perſonal merit of Julian was, in ſome meaſure, independent of his fortune. Whatever had been his choice of life, by the force of intrepid courage, lively wit, and intenſe application, he would have obtained, or at leaſt he would have deſerved, the higheſt honours of his profeſſion; and Julian might have raiſed himſelf to the rank of miniſter, or general, of the ſtate in which he was born a private citizen. If the jealous caprice of power had diſappointed his expectations; if he had prudently declined the paths of greatneſs,

[84] Of the laws which Julian enacted in a reign of ſixteen months, fifty-four have been admitted into the Codes of Theodoſius and Juſtinian (Gothofred. Chron. Legum, p. 64–67.). The Abbé de la Bleterie (tom. ii. p. 329–336.) has choſen one of theſe laws to give an idea of Julian's Latin ſtyle, which is forcible and elaborate, but leſs pure than his Greek.

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the employment of the ſame talents in ſtudious ſolitude, would have placed, beyond the reach of kings, his preſent happineſs and his immortal fame. When we inſpect, with minute, or perhaps malevolent attention, the portrait of Julian, ſomething ſeems wanting to the grace and perfection of the whole figure. His genius was leſs powerful and ſublime than that of Cæſar; nor did he poſſeſs the conſummate prudence of Auguſtus. The virtues of Trajan appear more ſteady and natural, and the philoſophy of Marcus is more ſimple and conſiſtent. Yet Julian ſuſtained adverſity with firmneſs, and proſperity with moderation. After an interval of one hundred and twenty years from the death of Alexander Severus, the Romans beheld an emperor who made no diſtinction between his duties and his pleaſures; who laboured to relieve the diſtreſs, and to revive the ſpirit, of his ſubjects; and who endeavoured always to connect authority with merit, and happineſs with virtue. Even faction, and religious faction, was conſtrained to acknowledge the ſuperiority of his genius, in peace as well as in war; and to confeſs with a ſigh, that the apoſtate Julian was a lover of his country, and that he deſerved the empire of the world [85].

[85] - - - - Dactor fortiſſimus armis;
Conditor et legum celeberrimus; ore manûque
Conſultor patriæ; ſed non conſultor habendæ
Religionis; amans tercentûm millia Divûm.
Perfidus ille Deo, ſed non et perfidus orbi.
Prudent. Apotheoſis, 450, &c.
The conſciouſneſs of a generous ſentiment ſeems to have raiſed the Chriſtian poet above his uſual mediocrity.

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The Religion of Julian.—Universal Toleration.—He attempts to restore and reform the Pagan Worship—to rebuild the Temple of Jerusalem.—His artful Persecution of the Christians.—Mutual Zeal and Injustice.

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Religion of Julian.

THE character of Apostate has injured the reputation of Julian; and the enthusiasm which clouded his virtues, has exaggerated the real and apparent magnitude of his faults. Our partial ignorance may represent him as a philosophic monarch, who studied to protect, with an equal hand, the religious factions of the empire; and to allay the theological fever which had inflamed the minds of the people, from the edicts of Diocletian to the exile of Athanasius. A more accurate view of the character and conduct of Julian, will remove this favourable prepossession for a prince who did not escape the general contagion of the times. We enjoy the singular advantage of comparing the pictures which have been delineated by his fondest admirers, and his implacable enemies. The actions of Julian are faithfully related by a judicious and candid historian, the impartial spectator of his life and death. The unanimous evidence of his contemporaries is confirmed by the public and private declarations of the emperor himself; and his various writings express the uniform tenour of his religious sentiments, which policy would have prompted him to dissemble rather than to affect. A devout and sincere attachment for the gods of Athens and Rome, constituted the ruling passion

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of Julian[1]; the powers of an enlightened underſtanding were betrayed and corrupted by the influence of ſuperſtitious prejudice; and the phantoms which exiſted only in the mind of the emperor, had a real and pernicious effect on the government of the empire. The vehement zeal of the Chriſtians, who deſpiſed the worſhip, and overturned the altars, of thoſe fabulous deities, engaged their votary in a ſtate of irreconcilable hoſtility with a very numerous party of his ſubjects; and he was ſometimes tempted, by the deſire of victory, or the ſhame of a repulſe, to violate the laws of prudence, and even of juſtice. The triumph of the party, which he deſerted and oppoſed, has fixed a ſtain of infamy on the name of Julian; and the unſucceſsful apoſtate has been overwhelmed with a torrent of pious invectives, of which the ſignal was given by the ſonorous trumpet[2] of Gregory Nazianzen[3]. The intereſting nature of the events which were crowded into the ſhort reign of this active emperor, deſerve a juſt and circumſtantial narrative. His motives, his counſels, and his actions, as far as they are connected with the hiſtory of religion, will be the ſubject of the preſent chapter.

His education and apoſtacy.

The cauſe of his ſtrange and fatal apoſtacy, may be derived from the early period of his life, when he was left an orphan in the hands

[1] I ſhall tranſcribe ſome of his own expreſſions from a ſhort religious diſcourſe which the Imperial pontiff compoſed to cenſure the bold impiety of a Cynic: Αλλ' ομως ετω δη τι τῳ θεῳ πεφρικα, και φιλω, μαι σεβω, και αζομαι, και παιθ' απλως τα τοιαυτα πασχω, οστις αν τις και οια προς αγαθος δεσποτας, προς διδασκαλους, προς πατερας, προς κηδεμονας. Orat. vii. p. 212. The variety and copiouſneſs of the Greek tongue ſeems inadequate to the fervour of his devotion.

[2] The orator, with ſome eloquence, much enthuſiaſm, and more vanity, addreſſes his diſcourſe to heaven and earth, to men and angels, to the living and the dead; and above all, to the great Conſtantius (ει τις αισθησις, an odd Pagan expreſſion). He concludes with a bold aſſurance, that he has erected a monument not leſs durable, and much more portable, than the columns of Hercules. See Greg. Nazianzen, Orat. iii. p. 50. iv. p. 134.

[3] See this long invective, which has been injudiciouſly divided into two orations, in Gregory's Works, tom. i. p. 49—134. Paris, 1630. It was publiſhed by Gregory, and his friend Baſil (iv. p. 133.), about ſix months after the death of Julian, when his remains had been carried to Tarſus (iv. p. 120.); but while Jovian was ſtill on the throne (iii. p. 54. iv. p. 117.). I have derived much aſſiſtance from a French verſion, and remarks, printed at Lyons 1735.

of

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of the murderers of his family. The names of Chriſt and of Conſtantius, the ideas of ſlavery and of religion, were ſoon aſſociated in a youthful imagination, which was ſuſceptible of the moſt lively impreſſions. The care of his infancy was entruſted to Euſebius, biſhop of Nicomedia[4], who was related to him on the ſide of his mother; and till Julian reached the twentieth year of his age, he received from his Chriſtian preceptors, the education not of a hero, but of a ſaint. The emperor, leſs jealous of a heavenly, than of an earthly crown, contented himſelf with the imperfect character of a catechumen, while he beſtowed the advantages of baptiſm[5] on the nephews of Conſtantine[6]. They were even admitted to the inferior offices of the eccleſiaſtical order; and Julian publicly read the Holy Scriptures in the church of Nicomedia. The ſtudy of religion, which they aſſiduouſly cultivated, appeared to produce the faireſt fruits of faith and devotion[7]. They prayed, they faſted, they diſtributed alms to the poor, gifts to the clergy, and oblations to the tombs of the martyrs; and the ſplendid monument of St. Mamas, at Cæſarea, was erected, or at leaſt was undertaken, by the joint labour of Gallus and Julian[8]. They reſpectfully converſed with the biſhops who were eminent for ſuperior ſanctity, and ſolicited the

[4] Nicomediæ ab Euſebio educatus Epiſcopo, quem genere longius contingebat (Ammian. xxii. 9.). Julian never expreſſes any gratitude towards that Arian prelate; but he celebrates his preceptor, the eunuch Mardonius, and deſcribes his mode of education, which inſpired his pupil with a paſſionate admiration for the genius, and perhaps the religion, of Homer. Miſopogon, p. 351, 352.

[5] Greg. Naz. iii. p. 70. He laboured to efface that holy mark in the blood, perhaps of a Taurobolium. Baron. Annal. Eccleſ. A. D. 361. No. 3, 4.

[6] Julian himſelf (Epiſt. li. p. 454.) aſſures the Alexandrians that he had been a Chriſtian (he muſt mean a ſincere one) till the twentieth year of his age.

[7] See his Chriſtian, and even eccleſiaſtical education, in Gregory (iii. p. 58.), Socrates (l. iii. c. 1.), and Sozomen (l. v. c. 2.). He eſcaped very narrowly from being a biſhop, and perhaps a ſaint.

[8] The ſhare of the work which had been allotted to Gallus was proſecuted with vigour and ſucceſs; but the earth obſtinately rejected and ſubverted the ſtructures which were impoſed by the ſacrilegious hand of Julian. Greg. iii. p. 59, 60, 61. Such a partial earthquake, atteſted by many living ſpectators, would form one of the cleareſt miracles in eccleſiaſtical ſtory.

benediction.

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benediction of the monks and hermits, who had introduced into Cappadocia the voluntary hardſhips of the aſcetic life[9]. As the two princes advanced towards the years of manhood, they diſcovered, in their religious ſentiments, the difference of their characters. The dull and obſtinate underſtanding of Gallus embraced, with implicit zeal, the doctrines of Chriſtianity; which never influenced his conduct, or moderated his paſſions. The mild diſpoſition of the younger brother was leſs repugnant to the precepts of the Goſpel; and his active curioſity might have been gratified by a theological ſyſtem, which explains the myſterious eſſence of the Deity; and opens the boundleſs proſpect of inviſible and future worlds. But the independent ſpirit of Julian refuſed to yield the paſſive and unreſiſting obedience which was required, in the name of religion, by the haughty miniſters of the church. Their ſpeculative opinions were impoſed as poſitive laws, and guarded by the terrors of eternal puniſhments; but while they preſcribed the rigid formulary of the thoughts, the words, and the actions of the young prince; whilſt they ſilenced his objections, and ſeverely checked the freedom of his enquiries, they ſecretly provoked his impatient genius to diſclaim the authority of his eccleſiaſtical guides. He was educated in the Leſſer Aſia, amidſt the ſcandals of the Arian controverſy[10]. The fierce conteſts of the Eaſtern biſhops, the inceſſant alterations of their creeds, and the profane motives which appeared to actuate their conduct, inſenſibly ſtrengthened the prejudice of Julian, that they neither underſtood nor believed the religion for which they ſo

[9] The *philoſopher* (Fragment, p. 288.) ridicules the iron chains, &c. of theſe ſolitary fanatics (ſee Tillemont, Mem. Eccleſ. tom. ix. p. 661, 662.), who had forgot that man is by nature a gentle and ſocial animal, ἀνθρωπον φυσει πολιτικὸν ζωον καὶ ἡμερον. The *Pagan* ſuppoſes, that, becauſe they had renounced the gods, they were poſſeſſed and tormented by evil dæmons.

[10] See Julian apud Cyril. l. vi. p. 206. l. viii. p. 253. 262. "You perſecute," ſays he, "thoſe heretics who do not mourn "the dead man preciſely in the way which "you approve." He ſhews himſelf a tolerable theologian; but he maintains that the Chriſtian Trinity is not derived from the doctrine of Paul, of Jeſus, or of Moſes.

fiercely

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fiercely contended. Inſtead of liſtening to the proofs of Chriſtianity with that favourable attention which adds weight to the moſt reſpectable evidence, he heard with ſuſpicion, and diſputed with obſtinacy and acuteneſs, the doctrines for which he already entertained an invincible averſion. Whenever the young princes were directed to compoſe declamations on the ſubject of the prevailing controverſies, Julian always declared himſelf the advocate of Paganiſm; under the ſpecious excuſe that, in the defence of the weaker cauſe, his learning and ingenuity might be more advantageouſly exerciſed and diſplayed.

He embraces the mythology of Paganiſm.

As ſoon as Gallus was inveſted with the honours of the purple, Julian was permitted to breathe the air of freedom, of literature, and of Paganiſm [11]. The crowd of ſophiſts, who were attracted by the taſte and liberality of their royal pupil, had formed a ſtrict alliance between the learning and the religion of Greece; and the poems of Homer, inſtead of being admired as the original productions of human genius, were ſeriouſly aſcribed to the heavenly inſpiration of Apollo and the Muſes. The deities of Olympus, as they are painted by the immortal bard, imprint themſelves on the minds which are the leaſt addicted to ſuperſtitious credulity. Our familiar knowledge of their names and characters, their forms and attributes, *ſeems* to beſtow on thoſe airy beings a real and ſubſtantial exiſtence; and the pleaſing enchantment produces an imperfect and momentary aſſent of the imagination to thoſe fables, which are the moſt repugnant to our reaſon and experience. In the age of Julian, every circumſtance contributed to prolong and fortify the illuſion; the magnificent temples of Greece and Aſia, the works of thoſe artiſts who had expreſſed, in painting or in ſculpture, the divine conceptions of the poet; the pomp of feſtivals and ſacrifices; the ſucceſsful arts of

[11] Libanius, Orat. Parentalis, c. 9, 10. p. 61. Ennap. Vit. Sophiſt. in Maximo, p. p. 232, &c. Greg. Nazianzen, Orat. iii. 68, 69, 70. edit. Commelin.

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divination; the popular traditions of oracles and prodigies; and the ancient practice of two thouſand years. The weakneſs of polytheiſm was, in ſome meaſure, excuſed by the moderation of its claims; and the devotion of the Pagans was not incompatible with the moſt licentious ſcepticiſm [12]. Inſtead of an indiviſible and regular ſyſtem, which occupies the whole extent of the believing mind, the mythology of the Greeks was compoſed of a thouſand looſe and flexible parts, and the ſervant of the gods was at liberty to define the degree and meaſure of his religious faith. The creed which Julian adopted for his own uſe, was of the largeſt dimenſions; and, by a ſtrange contradiction, he diſdained the ſalutary yoke of the Goſpel, whilſt he made a voluntary offering of his reaſon on the altars of Jupiter and Apollo. One of the orations of Julian is conſecrated to the honour of Cybele, the mother of the gods, who required from her effeminate prieſts the bloody ſacrifice, ſo raſhly performed by the madneſs of the Phrygian boy. The pious emperor condeſcends to relate, without a bluſh, and without a ſmile, the voyage of the goddeſs from the ſhores of Pergamus to the mouth of the Tyber; and the ſtupendous miracle, which convinced the ſenate and people of Rome that the lump of clay, which their ambaſſadors had tranſported over the ſeas, was endowed with life, and ſentiment, and divine power [13]. For the truth of this prodigy, he appeals to the public monuments of the city; and cenſures, with ſome acrimony, the ſickly and affected taſte of thoſe men, who impertinently derided the ſacred traditions of their anceſtors [14].

But

[12] A modern philoſopher has ingeniouſly compared the different operation of theiſm and polytheiſm, with regard to the doubt or conviction which they produce in the human mind. See Hume's Eſſays, vol. ii. p. 444—457. in 8vo edit. 1777.

[13] The Idæan mother landed in Italy about the end of the ſecond Punic war. The miracle of Claudia, either virgin or matron, who cleared her fame by diſgracing the graver modeſty of the Roman ladies, is atteſted by a cloud of witneſſes. Their evidence is collected by Drakenborch (ad Silium Italicum, xvii. 33.): but we may obſerve that Livy (xxix. 14.) ſlides over the tranſaction with diſcreet ambiguity.

[14] I cannot refrain from tranſcribing the emphatical words of Julian: ἐμοὶ δὲ δοκεῖ τοὺς

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The allegories.

But the devout philoſopher, who ſincerely embraced, and warmly encouraged, the ſuperſtition of the people, reſerved for himſelf the privilege of a liberal interpretation; and ſilently withdrew from the foot of the altars into the ſanctuary of the temple. The extravagance of the Grecian mythology proclaimed with a clear and audible voice, that the pious enquirer, inſtead of being ſcandalized or ſatisfied with the literal ſenſe, ſhould diligently explore the occult wiſdom, which had been diſguiſed, by the prudence of antiquity, under the maſk of folly and of fable [15]. The philoſophers of the Platonic ſchool [16], Plotinus, Porphyry, and the divine Iamblichus, were admired as the moſt ſkilful maſters of this allegorical ſcience, which laboured to ſoften and harmonize the deformed features of paganiſm. Julian himſelf, who was directed in the myſterious purſuit by Ædeſius, the venerable ſucceſſor of Iamblichus, aſpired to the poſſeſſion of a treaſure, which he eſteemed, if we may credit his ſolemn aſſeverations, far above the empire of the world [17]. It was indeed a treaſure, which derived its value only from opinion; and every artiſt, who flattered himſelf that he had extracted the precious ore from the ſurrounding droſs, claimed an equal right of ſtamping the name and figure the moſt agreeable to his peculiar fancy. The fable of Atys and Cybele had been already explained by Porphyry; but his labours ſerved only

ταις πολεσι πιστευειν μαλλον τα τοιαυτα, η τουτοισι τοισι κομψοισι, ων το ψυχαριον δριμυ μιν, υγιες δε ουδεν εν βλεπει. Orat. v. p. 161. Julian likewiſe declares his firm belief in the *ancilia*, the holy ſhields, which dropt from heaven on the Quirinal hill; and pities the ſtrange blindneſs of the Chriſtians, who preferred the *croſs* to theſe celeſtial trophies. Apud Cyril. l. vi. p. 194.

[15] See the principles of Allegory, in Julian (Orat. vii. p. 216. 222.). His reaſoning is leſs abſurd than that of ſome modern theologians, who aſſert that an extravagant or contradictory doctrine *muſt* be divine; ſince no man alive could have thought of inventing it.

[16] Eunapius has made theſe ſophiſts the ſubject of a partial and fanatical hiſtory: and the learned Brucker (Hiſt. Philoſoph. tom. ii. p. 217—303.) has employed much labour to illuſtrate their obſcure lives, and incomprehenſible doctrines.

[17] Julian, Orat. vii. p. 222. He ſwears with the moſt fervent and enthuſiaſtic devotion; and trembles, leſt he ſhould betray too much of theſe holy myſteries, which the profane might deride with an impious Sardonic laugh.

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to animate the pious induſtry of Julian, who invented and publiſhed his own allegory of that ancient and myſtic tale. This freedom of interpretation, which might gratify the pride of the Platoniſts, expoſed the vanity of their art. Without a tedious detail, the modern reader could not form a juſt idea of the ſtrange alluſions, the forced etymologies, the ſolemn trifling, and the impenetrable obſcurity of theſe ſages, who profeſſed to reveal the ſyſtem of the univerſe. As the traditions of pagan mythology were variouſly related, the ſacred interpreters were at liberty to ſelect the moſt convenient circumſtances; and as they tranſlated an arbitrary cypher, they could extract from *any* fable *any* ſenſe which was adapted to their favourite ſyſtem of religion and philoſophy. The laſcivious form of a naked Venus was tortured into the diſcovery of ſome moral precept, or ſome phyſical truth; and the caſtration of Atys explained the revolution of the ſun between the tropics, or the ſeparation of the human ſoul from vice and error [18].

Theological ſyſtem of Julian.

The theological ſyſtem of Julian appears to have contained the ſublime and important principles of natural religion. But as the faith, which is not founded on revelation, muſt remain deſtitute of any firm aſſurance, the diſciple of Plato imprudently relapſed into the habits of vulgar ſuperſtition; and the popular and philoſophic notion of the Deity ſeems to have been confounded in the practice, the writings, and even in the mind of Julian [19]. The pious emperor acknowledged and adored the Eternal Cauſe of the univerſe, to

[18] See the fifth oration of Julian. But all the allegories which ever iſſued from the Platonic ſchool, are not worth the ſhort poem of Catullus on the ſame extraordinary ſubject. The tranſition of Atys, from the wildeſt enthuſiaſm to ſober pathetic complaint for his irretrievable loſs, muſt inſpire a man with pity, an eunuch with deſpair.

[19] The true religion of Julian may be deduced from the Cæſars, p. 308. with Spanheim's notes and illuſtrations, from the fragments in Cyril, l. ii. p. 57, 58. and eſpecially from the theological oration in Solem Regem, p. 130—158. addreſſed, in the confidence of friendſhip, to the præfect Salluſt.

whom

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whom he aſcribed all the perfections of an infinite nature, inviſible to the eyes, and inacceſſible to the underſtanding, of feeble mortals. The Supreme God had created, or rather, in the Platonic language, had generated, the gradual ſucceſſion of dependent ſpirits, of gods, of dæmons, of heroes, and of men; and every being which derived its exiſtence immediately from the Firſt Cauſe, received the inherent gift of immortality. That ſo precious an advantage might not be laviſhed upon unworthy objects, the Creator had entruſted to the ſkill and power of the inferior gods, the office of forming the human body, and of arranging the beautiful harmony of the animal, the vegetable, and the mineral kingdoms. To the conduct of theſe divine miniſters he delegated the temporal government of this lower world; but their imperfect adminiſtration is not exempt from diſcord or error. The earth, and its inhabitants, are divided among them, and the characters of Mars or Minerva, of Mercury or Venus, may be diſtinctly traced in the laws and manners of their peculiar votaries. As long as our immortal ſouls are confined in a mortal priſon, it is our intereſt, as well as our duty, to ſolicit the favour, and to deprecate the wrath, of the powers of heaven; whoſe pride is gratified by the devotion of mankind; and whoſe groſſer parts may be ſuppoſed to derive ſome nouriſhment from the fumes of ſacrifice[30]. The inferior gods might ſometimes condeſcend to animate the ſtatues, and to inhabit the temples, which were dedicated to their honour. They might occaſionally viſit the earth, but the heavens were the proper throne and ſymbol of their glory. The invariable order of the ſun, moon, and ſtars, was haſtily admitted by Julian, as a proof of their *eternal* duration; and their eternity was a ſufficient evidence

[30] Julian adopts this groſs conception, by aſcribing it to his favourite Marcus Antoninus (Cæſares, p. 335.). The Stoics and Platoniſts heſitated between the analogy of bodies, and the purity of ſpirits; yet the graveſt philoſophers inclined to the whimſical fancy of Ariſtophanes and Lucian, that an unbelieving age might ſtarve the immortal gods. See Obſervations de Spanheim, p. 284. 444. &c.

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that they were the workmanſhip, not of an inferior deity, but of the Omnipotent King. In the ſyſtem of the Platoniſts, the viſible, was a type of the inviſible, world. The celeſtial bodies, as they were informed by a divine ſpirit, might be conſidered as the objects the moſt worthy of religious worſhip. The SUN, whoſe genial influence pervades and ſuſtains the univerſe, juſtly claimed the adoration of mankind, as the bright repreſentative of the LOGOS, the lively, the rational, the beneficent image of the intellectual Father [21].

Fanaticiſm of the philoſophers.

In every age, the abſence of genuine inſpiration is ſupplied by the ſtrong illuſions of enthuſiaſm, and the mimic arts of impoſture. If, in the time of Julian, theſe arts had been practiſed only by the pagan prieſts, for the ſupport of an expiring cauſe, ſome indulgence might perhaps be allowed to the intereſt and habits of the ſacerdotal character. But it may appear a ſubject of ſurpriſe and ſcandal, that the philoſophers themſelves ſhould have contributed to abuſe the ſuperſtitious credulity of mankind [22], and that the Grecian myſteries ſhould have been ſupported by the magic or theurgy of the modern Platoniſts. They arrogantly pretended to control the order of nature, to explore the ſecrets of futurity, to command the ſervice of the inferior dæmons, to enjoy the view and converſation of the ſuperior gods, and, by diſengaging the ſoul from her material bands, to reunite that immortal particle with the Infinite and Divine Spirit.

[21] Ηλιον λεγω, το ζων αγαλμα και εμψυχον, και νουν, και αγαθοειδες τω νοητω πατρος. Julian, epiſt. xli. In another place (apud Cyril. l. ii. p. 69.), he calls the Sun, God, and the throne of God. Julian believed the Platonician Trinity; and only blames the Chriſtians for preferring a mortal, to an immortal, *Logos*.

[22] The ſophiſts of Eunapius perform as many miracles as the ſaints of the deſert; and the only circumſtance in their favour is, that they are of a leſs gloomy complexion. Inſtead of devils with horns and tails, Iamblichus evoked the genii of love, Eros and Anteros, from two adjacent fountains. Two beautiful boys iſſued from the water, fondly embraced him as their father, and retired at his command. P. 26, 27.

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Initiation and fanaticism of Julian.

The devout and fearless curiosity of Julian tempted the philosophers with the hopes of an easy conquest; which, from the situation of their young proselyte, might be productive of the most important consequences[33]. Julian imbibed the first rudiments of the Platonic doctrines from the mouth of Ædesius, who had fixed at Pergamus his wandering and persecuted school. But as the declining strength of that venerable sage was unequal to the ardour, the diligence, the rapid conception of his pupil, two of his most learned disciples, Chrysanthes and Eusebius, supplied, at his own desire, the place of their aged master. These philosophers seem to have prepared and distributed their respective parts; and they artfully contrived, by dark hints, and affected disputes, to excite the impatient hopes of the *aspirant*, till they delivered him into the hands of their associate Maximus, the boldest and most skilful master of the theurgic science. By his hands, Julian was secretly initiated at Ephesus, in the twentieth year of his age. His residence at Athens confirmed this unnatural alliance of philosophy and superstition. He obtained the privilege of a solemn initiation into the mysteries of Eleusis, which, amidst the general decay of the Grecian worship, still retained some vestiges of their primæval sanctity; and such was the zeal of Julian, that he afterwards invited the Eleusinian pontiff to the court of Gaul, for the sole purpose of consummating, by mystic rites and sacrifices, the great work of his sanctification. As these ceremonies were performed in the depth of caverns, and in the silence of the night; and as the inviolable secret of the mysteries was preserved by the discretion of the initiated, I shall not presume to describe the horrid sounds, and

[33] The dexterous management of these sophists, who played their credulous pupil into each other's hands, is fairly told by Eunapius (p. 69—76.), with unsuspecting simplicity. The Abbé de la Bleterie understands, and neatly describes, the whole comedy (Vie de Julien, p. 61—67.).

fiery

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fiery apparitions, which were preſented to the ſenſes, or the imagination, of the credulous aſpirant[24], till the viſions of comfort and knowledge broke upon him in a blaze of celeſtial light[25]. In the caverns of Epheſus and Eleuſis, the mind of Julian was penetrated with ſincere, deep, and unalterable enthuſiaſm; though he might ſometimes exhibit the viciſſitudes of pious fraud and hypocriſy, which may be obſerved, or at leaſt ſuſpected, in the characters of the moſt conſcientious fanatics. From that moment he conſecrated his life to the ſervice of the gods; and while the occupations of war, of government, and of ſtudy, ſeemed to claim the whole meaſure of his time, a ſtated portion of the hours of the night was invariably reſerved for the exerciſe of private devotion. The temperance which adorned the ſevere manners of the ſoldier and the philoſopher, was connected with ſome ſtrict and frivolous rules of religious abſtinence; and it was in honour of Pan or Mercury, of Hecate or Iſis, that Julian, on particular days, denied himſelf the uſe of ſome particular food, which might have been offenſive to his tutelar deities. By theſe voluntary faſts, he prepared his ſenſes and his underſtanding for the frequent and familiar viſits with which he was honoured by the celeſtial powers. Notwithſtanding the modeſt ſilence of Julian himſelf, we may learn, from his faithful friend, the orator Libanius, that he lived in a perpetual intercourſe with the gods and goddeſſes; that they deſcended upon earth, to enjoy the converſation of their favourite hero; that they gently interrupted his ſlumbers, by touching his hand or

[24] When Julian, in a momentary panic, made the ſign of the croſs, the dæmons inſtantly diſappeared (Greg. Naz. Orat. iii. p. 71.). Gregory ſuppoſes that they were frightened, but the prieſts declared that they were indignant. The reader, according to the meaſure of his faith, will determine this profound queſtion.

[25] A dark and diſtant view of the terrors and joys of initiation is ſhewn by Dion, Chryſoſtom, Themiſtius, Proclus, and Stobæus. The learned author of the Divine Legation has exhibited their words (vol. i. p. 239. 247, 248. 280. edit. 1765), which he dexterouſly or forcibly applies to his own hypotheſis.

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his hair; that they warned him of every impending danger, and conducted him, by their infallible wiſdom, in every action of his life; and that he had acquired ſuch an intimate knowledge of his heavenly gueſts, as readily to diſtinguiſh the voice of Jupiter from that of Minerva, and the form of Apollo from the figure of Hercules [26]. Theſe ſleeping or waking viſions, the ordinary effects of abſtinence and fanaticiſm, would almoſt degrade the emperor to the level of an Egyptian monk. But the uſeleſs lives of Antony or Pachomius were conſumed in theſe vain occupations. Julian could break from the dream of ſuperſtition to arm himſelf for battle; and after vanquiſhing in the field the enemies of Rome, he calmly retired into his tent, to dictate the wiſe and ſalutary laws of an empire, or to indulge his genius in the elegant purſuits of literature and philoſophy.

His religious diſſimulation.

The important ſecret of the apoſtacy of Julian was entruſted to the fidelity of the *initiated*, with whom he was united by the ſacred ties of friendſhip and religion [27]. The pleaſing rumour was cautiouſly circulated among the adherents of the ancient worſhip; and his future greatneſs became the object of the hopes, the prayers, and the predictions of the pagans, in every province of the empire. From the zeal and virtues of their royal proſelyte, they fondly expected the cure of every evil, and the reſtoration of every bleſſing; and inſtead of diſapproving of the ardour of their pious wiſhes, Julian ingenuouſly confeſſed, that he was ambitious to attain a ſituation, in which he might be uſeful to his country, and to his religion. But this religion was viewed with an hoſtile eye

[26] Julian's modeſty confined him to obſcure and occaſional hints; but Libanius expatiates with pleaſure on the faſts and viſions of the religious hero (Legat. ad Julian. p. 157. and Orat. Parental. c. lxxxiii. p. 309, 310.).

[27] Libanius, Orat. Parent. c. x. p. 233, 234. Gallus had ſome reaſon to ſuſpect the ſecret apoſtacy of his brother; and in a letter, which may be received as genuine, he exhorts Julian to adhere to the religion of their *anceſtors*; an argument, which, as it ſhould ſeem, was not yet perfectly ripe. See Julian. Op. p. 454. and Hiſt. de Jovien, tom. ii. p. 141.

by

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by the ſucceſſor of Conſtantine, whoſe capricious paſſions alternately ſaved and threatened the life of Julian. The arts of magic and divination were ſtrictly prohibited under a deſpotic government, which condeſcended to fear them; and if the pagans were reluctantly indulged in the exerciſe of their ſuperſtition, the rank of Julian would have excepted him from the general toleration. The apoſtate ſoon became the preſumptive heir of the monarchy, and his death could alone have appeaſed the juſt apprehenſions of the Chriſtians [28]. But the young prince, who aſpired to the glory of a hero rather than of a martyr, conſulted his ſafety by diſſembling his religion; and the eaſy temper of polytheiſm permitted him to join in the public worſhip of a ſect which he inwardly deſpiſed. Libanius has conſidered the hypocriſy of his friend as a ſubject, not of cenſure, but of praiſe. "As the ſtatues of the gods," ſays that orator, "which have been defiled with filth, are again placed in a "magnificent temple; ſo the beauty of truth was ſeated in the mind "of Julian, after it had been purified from the errors and follies "of his education. His ſentiments were changed; but as it "would have been dangerous to have avowed his ſentiments, his "conduct ſtill continued the ſame. Very different from the aſs in "Æſop, who diſguiſed himſelf with a lion's hide, our lion was "obliged to conceal himſelf under the ſkin of an aſs; and, while "he embraced the dictates of reaſon, to obey the laws of prudence "and neceſſity [29]." The diſſimulation of Julian laſted above ten years, from his ſecret initiation at Epheſus, to the beginning of the civil war; when he declared himſelf at once the implacable enemy of Chriſt and of Conſtantius. This ſtate of conſtraint might contribute to ſtrengthen his devotion; and as ſoon as he had ſatisfied the

[28] Gregory (iii. p. 50.), with inhuman zeal, cenſures Conſtantius for ſparing the infant apoſtate (χακως σωθεντα). His French tranſlator (p. 265.) cautiouſly obſerves, that ſuch expreſſions muſt not be priſes à la lettre.

[29] Libanius, Orat. Parental. c. ix. p. 233.

obligation

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obligation of aſſiſting, on ſolemn feſtivals, at the aſſemblies of the Chriſtians, Julian returned, with the impatience of a lover, to burn his free and voluntary incenſe on the domeſtic chapels of Jupiter and Mercury. But as every act of diſſimulation muſt be painful to an ingenuous ſpirit, the profeſſion of Chriſtianity increaſed the averſion of Julian for a religion which oppreſſed the freedom of his mind, and compelled him to hold a conduct repugnant to the nobleſt attributes of human nature, ſincerity and courage.

He writes againſt Chriſtianity.

The inclination of Julian might prefer the gods of Homer, and of the Scipios, to the new faith, which his uncle had eſtabliſhed in the Roman empire; and in which he himſelf had been ſanctified by the ſacrament of baptiſm. But as a philoſopher, it was incumbent on him to juſtify his diſſent from Chriſtianity, which was ſupported by the number of its converts, by the chain of prophecy, the ſplendour of miracles, and the weight of evidence. The elaborate work [30], which he compoſed amidſt the preparations of the Perſian war, contained the ſubſtance of thoſe arguments which he had long revolved in his mind. Some fragments have been tranſcribed and preſerved, by his adverſary, the vehement Cyril of Alexandria [31]; and they exhibit a very ſingular mixture of wit and learning, of ſophiſtry and fanaticiſm. The elegance of the ſtyle, and the rank of the author, recommended his writings to the public attention [32]; and

[30] Fabricius (Bibliot. Græc. l. v. c. viii. p. 88—90.) and Lardner (Heathen Teſtimonies, vol. iv. p. 44—47.) have accurately compiled all that can now be diſcovered of Julian's work againſt the Chriſtians.

[31] About ſeventy years after the death of Julian, he executed a taſk which had been feebly attempted by Philip of Side, a prolix and contemptible writer. Even the work of Cyril has not entirely ſatisfied the moſt favourable judges: and the Abbé de la Bleterie (Preface à l'Hiſt. de Jovien, p. 30. 32.) wiſhes that ſome *theologien philoſophe* (a ſtrange centaur) would undertake the refutation of Julian.

[32] Libanius (Orat. Parental. c. lxxxvii. p. 313.), who has been ſuſpected of aſſiſting his friend, prefers this divine vindication (Orat. ix. in necem Julian. p. 255. edit. Morel) to the writings of Porphyry. His judgment may be arraigned (Socrates, l. iii. c. 23.), but Libanius cannot be accuſed of flattery to a dead prince.

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in the impious list of the enemies of Christianity, the celebrated name of Porphyry was effaced by the superior merit or reputation of Julian. The minds of the faithful were either seduced, or scandalized, or alarmed; and the pagans, who sometimes presumed to engage in the unequal dispute, derived, from the popular work of their Imperial missionary, an inexhaustible supply of fallacious objections. But in the assiduous prosecution of these theological studies, the emperor of the Romans imbibed the illiberal prejudices and passions of a polemic divine. He contracted an irrevocable obligation, to maintain and propagate his religious opinions; and whilst he secretly applauded the strength and dexterity with which he wielded the weapons of controversy, he was tempted to distrust the sincerity, or to despise the understandings, of his antagonists, who could obstinately resist the force of reason and eloquence.

Universal toleration.

The Christians, who beheld with horror and indignation the apostacy of Julian, had much more to fear from his power than from his arguments. The pagans, who were conscious of his fervent zeal, expected, perhaps with impatience, that the flames of persecution should be immediately kindled against the enemies of the gods; and that the ingenious malice of Julian would invent some cruel refinements of death and torture, which had been unknown to the rude and inexperienced fury of his predecessors. But the hopes, as well as the fears, of the religious factions were apparently disappointed, by the prudent humanity of a prince[33], who was careful of his own fame, of the public peace, and of the rights of mankind. Instructed by history and reflection, Julian was persuaded, that if the diseases of the body may sometimes be cured by salutary violence, neither steel nor fire

[33] Libanius (Orat. Parent. c. lviii. p. 283, 284.) has eloquently explained the tolerating principles and conduct of his Imperial friend. In a very remarkable epistle to the people of Bostra, Julian himself (epist. lii.) professes his moderation, and betrays his zeal; which is acknowledged by Ammianus, and exposed by Gregory (Orat. iii. p. 72.).

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can eradicate the erroneous opinions of the mind. The reluctant victim may be dragged to the foot of the altar; but the heart ſtill abhors and diſclaims the ſacrilegious act of the hand. Religious obſtinacy is hardened and exaſperated by oppreſſion; and, as ſoon as the perſecution ſubſides, thoſe who have yielded, are reſtored as penitents, and thoſe who have reſiſted, are honoured as ſaints and martyrs. If Julian adopted the unſucceſsful cruelty of Diocletian and his colleagues, he was ſenſible that he ſhould ſtain his memory with the name of tyrant, and add new glories to the Catholic church, which had derived ſtrength and increaſe from the ſeverity of the pagan magiſtrates. Actuated by theſe motives, and apprehenſive of diſturbing the repoſe of an unſettled reign, Julian ſurpriſed the world by an edict, which was not unworthy of a ſtateſman, or a philoſopher. He extended to all the inhabitants of the Roman world, the benefits of a free and equal toleration; and the only hardſhip which he inflicted on the Chriſtians, was to deprive them of the power of tormenting their fellow-ſubjects, whom they ſtigmatiſed with the odious titles of idolaters and heretics. The pagans received a gracious permiſſion, or rather an expreſs order, to open ALL their temples [34]; and they were at once delivered from the oppreſſive laws, and arbitrary vexations, which they had ſuſtained under the reign of Conſtantine, and of his ſons. At the ſame time, the biſhops and clergy, who had been baniſhed by the Arian monarch, were recalled from exile, and reſtored to their reſpective churches; the Donatiſts, the Novatians, the Macedonians, the Eunomians, and thoſe who, with a more proſperous fortune, adhered to the doctrine of the council of Nice. Julian, who underſtood and derided their theological diſputes, invited to the

[34] In Greece, the temples of Minerva were opened by his expreſs command, before the death of Conſtantius (Liban. Orat. Parent. c. 55. p. 280.); and Julian declares himſelf a pagan in his public manifeſto to the Athenians. This unqueſtionable evidence may correct the haſty aſſertion of Ammianus, who ſeems to ſuppoſe Conſtantinople to be the place where he diſcovered his attachment to the gods.

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palace the leaders of the hoſtile ſects, that he might enjoy the agreeable ſpectacle of their furious encounters. The clamour of controverſy ſometimes provoked the emperor to exclaim, "Hear me! the "Franks have heard me, and the Alemanni;" but he ſoon diſcovered that he was now engaged with more obſtinate and implacable enemies; and though he exerted the powers of oratory to perſuade them to live in concord, or at leaſt in peace, he was perfectly ſatisfied, before he diſmiſſed them from his preſence, that he had nothing to dread from the union of the Chriſtians. The impartial Ammianus has aſcribed this affected clemency to the deſire of fomenting the inteſtine diviſions of the church; and the inſidious deſign of undermining the foundations of Chriſtianity, was inſeparably connected with the zeal, which Julian profeſſed, to reſtore the ancient religion of the empire [35].

Zeal and devotion of Julian in the reſtoration of paganiſm.

As ſoon as he aſcended the throne, he aſſumed, according to the cuſtom of his predeceſſors, the character of ſupreme pontiff; not only as the moſt honourable title of Imperial greatneſs, but as a ſacred and important office; the duties of which he was reſolved to execute with pious diligence. As the buſineſs of the ſtate prevented the emperor from joining every day in the public devotion of his ſubjects, he dedicated a domeſtic chapel to his tutelar deity the Sun; his gardens were filled with ſtatues and altars of the gods; and each apartment of the palace diſplayed the appearance of a magnificent temple. Every morning he ſaluted the parent of light with a ſacrifice; the blood of another victim was ſhed at the moment when the Sun ſunk below the horizon; and the Moon, the Stars, and the Genii

[35] Ammianus, xxii. 5. Sozomen, l. v. c. 5. Beſtia moritur, tranquillitas redit .... omnes epiſcopi qui de propriis ſedibus fuerant exterminati per indulgentiam novi principis ad eccleſias redeunt. Jerom. adverſus Luciferianos, tom. ii. p. 143. Optatus accuſes the Donatiſts for owing their ſafety to an apoſtate (l. ii. c. 16. p. 36, 37. edit. Dupin).

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of the night received their reſpective and ſeaſonable honours from the indefatigable devotion of Julian. On ſolemn feſtivals, he regularly viſited the temple of the god or goddeſs to whom the day was peculiarly conſecrated, and endeavoured to excite the religion of the magiſtrates and people by the example of his own zeal. Inſtead of maintaining the lofty ſtate of a monarch, diſtinguiſhed by the ſplendour of his purple, and encompaſſed by the golden ſhields of his guards, Julian ſolicited, with reſpectful eagerneſs, the meaneſt offices which contributed to the worſhip of the gods. Amidſt the ſacred but licentious crowd of prieſts, of inferior miniſters, and of female dancers, who were dedicated to the ſervice of the temple, it was the buſineſs of the emperor to bring the wood, to blow the fire, to handle the knife, to ſlaughter the victim, and thruſting his bloody hands into the bowels of the expiring animal, to draw forth the heart or liver, and to read, with the conſummate ſkill of an haruſpex, the imaginary ſigns of future events. The wiſeſt of the pagans cenſured this extravagant ſuperſtition, which affected to deſpiſe the reſtraints of prudence and decency. Under the reign of a prince, who practiſed the rigid maxims of œconomy, the expence of religious worſhip conſumed a very large portion of the revenue; a conſtant ſupply of the ſcarceſt and moſt beautiful birds was tranſported from diſtant climates, to bleed on the altars of the gods; an hundred oxen were frequently ſacrificed by Julian on one and the ſame day; and it ſoon became a popular jeſt, that if he ſhould return with conqueſt from the Perſian war, the breed of horned cattle muſt infallibly be extinguiſhed. Yet this expence may appear inconſiderable, when it is compared with the ſplendid preſents which were offered, either by the hand, or by order, of the emperor, to all the celebrated places of devotion in the Roman world; and with the ſums allotted to repair and decorate the ancient temples, which had ſuffered the ſilent decay of time, or the recent injuries of Chriſtian rapine.

Encouraged

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Encouraged by the example, the exhortations, the liberality of their pious ſovereign, the cities and families reſumed the practice of their neglected ceremonies. "Every part of the world," exclaims Libanius, with devout tranſport, "diſplayed the triumph of religion; "and the grateful proſpect of flaming altars, bleeding victims, the "ſmoke of incenſe, and a ſolemn train of prieſts and prophets, with- "out fear and without danger. The ſound of prayer and of muſic "was heard on the tops of the higheſt mountains; and the ſame ox "afforded a ſacrifice for the gods, and a ſupper for their joyous "votaries[36]."

Reformation of paganiſm.

But the genius and power of Julian were unequal to the enterpriſe of reſtoring a religion, which was deſtitute of theological principles, of moral precepts, and of eccleſiaſtical diſcipline; which rapidly haſtened to decay and diſſolution, and was not ſuſceptible of any ſolid or conſiſtent reformation. The juriſdiction of the ſupreme pontiff, more eſpecially after that office had been united with the Imperial dignity, comprehended the whole extent of the Roman empire. Julian named for his vicars, in the ſeveral provinces, the prieſts and philoſophers, whom he eſteemed the beſt qualified to cooperate in the execution of his great deſign; and his paſtoral letters[37], if we may uſe that name, ſtill repreſent a very curious ſketch of his wiſhes and intentions. He directs, that in every city the ſacerdotal order ſhould be compoſed, without any diſtinction of birth or fortune, of thoſe perſons who were the moſt conſpicuous for their love of

[36] The reſtoration of the pagan worſhip is deſcribed by Julian (Miſopogon, p. 346.), Libanius (Orat. Parent. c. 60. p. 286, 287. and Orat. Conſular. ad Julian. p. 245, 246. edit. Morel), Ammianus (xxii. 12.), and Gregory Nazianzen (Orat. iv. p. 121.). Theſe writers agree in the eſſential, and even minute, facts: but the different lights in which they view the extreme devotion of Julian, are expreſſive of the gradations of ſelf-applauſe, paſſionate admiration, mild reproof, and partial invective.

[37] See Julian. Epiſtol. xlix. lxii. lxiii. and a long and curious fragment, without beginning or end (p. 288—305.). The ſupreme pontiff derides the Moſaic hiſtory, and the Chriſtian diſcipline, prefers the Greek poets to the Hebrew prophets, and palliates, with the ſkill of a Jeſuit, the *relative* worſhip of images.

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the gods, and of men. "If they are guilty," continues he, "of any "ſcandalous offence, they ſhould be cenſured or degraded by the "ſuperior pontiff; but, as long as they retain their rank, they are "entitled to the reſpect of the magiſtrates and people. Their hu-"mility may be ſhewn in the plainneſs of their domeſtic garb; their "dignity, in the pomp of holy veſtments. When they are ſummoned "in their turn to officiate before the altar, they ought not, during "the appointed number of days, to depart from the precincts of the "temple; nor ſhould a ſingle day be ſuffered to elapſe, without the "prayers and the ſacrifice, which they are obliged to offer for the "proſperity of the ſtate, and of individuals. The exerciſe of their "ſacred functions requires an immaculate purity, both of mind and "body; and even when they are diſmiſſed from the temple to the "occupations of common life, it is incumbent on them to excel in "decency and virtue the reſt of their fellow-citizens. The prieſt of "the gods ſhould never be ſeen in theatres or taverns. His con-"verſation ſhould be chaſte, his diet temperate; his friends of ho-"nourable reputation; and, if he ſometimes viſits the Forum or the "Palace, he ſhould appear only as the advocate of thoſe who have "vainly ſolicited either juſtice or mercy. His ſtudies ſhould be "ſuited to the ſanctity of his profeſſion. Licentious tales, or come-"dies, or ſatires, muſt be baniſhed from his library; which ought "ſolely to conſiſt of hiſtorical and philoſophical writings; of hiſtory "which is founded in truth, and of philoſophy which is connected "with religion. The impious opinions of the Epicureans and Scep-"tics deſerve his abhorrence and contempt[38]; but he ſhould dili-"gently ſtudy the ſyſtems of Pythagoras, of Plato, and of the Stoics, "which unanimouſly teach that there *are* gods; that the world is

[38] The exultation of Julian (p. 301.), that theſe impious ſects, and even their writings, are extinguiſhed, may be conſiſtent enough with the ſacerdotal character; but it is unworthy of a philoſopher to wiſh that any opinions and arguments the moſt repugnant to his own ſhould be concealed from the knowledge of mankind.

"governed

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"governed by their providence; that their goodneſs is the ſource of "every temporal bleſſing; and that they have prepared for the hu- "man ſoul a future ſtate of reward or puniſhment." The Imperial pontiff inculcates, in the moſt perſuaſive language, the duties of benevolence and hoſpitality; exhorts his inferior clergy to recommend the univerſal practice of thoſe virtues; promiſes to aſſiſt their indigence from the public treaſury; and declares his reſolution of eſtabliſhing hoſpitals in every city, where the poor ſhould be received without any invidious diſtinction of country or of religion. Julian beheld with envy the wiſe and humane regulations of the church; and he very frankly confeſſes his intention to deprive the Chriſtians of the applauſe, as well as advantage, which they had acquired by the excluſive practice of charity and beneficence [39]. The ſame ſpirit of imitation might diſpoſe the emperor to adopt ſeveral eccleſiaſtical inſtitutions, the uſe and importance of which were approved by the ſucceſs of his enemies. But if theſe imaginary plans of reformation had been realized, the forced and imperfect copy would have been leſs beneficial to Paganiſm, than honourable to Chriſtianity [40]. The Gentiles, who peaceably followed the cuſtoms of their anceſtors, were rather ſurpriſed than pleaſed with the introduction of foreign manners; and, in the ſhort period of his reign, Julian had frequent occaſions to complain of the want of fervour of his own party [41].

[39] Yet he inſinuates that the Chriſtians, under the pretence of charity, inveigled children from their religion and parents, conveyed them on ſhipboard, and devoted thoſe victims to a life of poverty or ſervitude in a remote country (p. 305.) Had the charge been proved, it was his duty, not to complain, but to puniſh.

[40] Gregory Nazianzen is facetious, ingenious, and argumentative (Orat. iii. p. 101, 102, &c.). He ridicules the folly of ſuch vain imitation; and amuſes himſelf with inquiring, what leſſons, moral or theological, could be extracted from the Grecian fables.

[41] He accuſes one of his pontiffs of a ſecret confederacy with the Chriſtian biſhops and preſbyters (Epiſt. lxii.). Ορων εν πολλη μεν ολιγωριαν ουσαν ημιν προς τους θεους; and again, ημας δε ουτω καθυμως, &c. Epiſt. lxiii.

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The philoſophers.

The enthuſiaſm of Julian prompted him to embrace the friends of Jupiter as his perſonal friends and brethren; and though he partially overlooked the merit of Chriſtian conſtancy, he admired and rewarded the noble perſeverance of thoſe Gentiles who had preferred the favour of the gods to that of the emperor[42]. If they cultivated the literature, as well as the religion, of the Greeks, they acquired an additional claim to the friendſhip of Julian, who ranked the Muſes in the number of his tutelar deities. In the religion which he had adopted, piety and learning were almoſt ſynonymous[43]; and a crowd of poets, of rhetoricians, and of philoſophers, haſtened to the Imperial court, to occupy the vacant places of the biſhops, who had ſeduced the credulity of Conſtantius. His ſucceſſor eſteemed the ties of common initiation as far more ſacred than thoſe of conſanguinity: he choſe his favourites among the ſages, who were deeply ſkilled in the occult ſciences of magic and divination; and every impoſtor, who pretended to reveal the ſecrets of futurity, was aſſured of enjoying the preſent hour in honour and affluence[44]. Among the philoſophers, Maximus obtained the moſt eminent rank in the friendſhip of his royal diſciple, who communicated, with unreſerved confidence, his actions, his ſentiments, and his religious deſigns, during the anxious ſuſpenſe of the civil war[45]. As ſoon as Julian had taken poſſeſſion of the palace of Conſtantinople, he diſpatched an honourable and preſſing invitation to Maximus; who then reſided at Sardes in Lydia, with Chryſanthius, the aſſociate

[42] He praiſes the fidelity of Callixene, prieſteſs of Ceres, who had been twice as conſtant as Penelope, and rewards her with the prieſthood of the Phrygian goddeſs at Peſſinus (Julian. Epiſt. xxi.). He applauds the firmneſs of Sopater of Hierapolis, who had been repeatedly preſſed by Conſtantius and Gallus to *apoſtatize* (Epiſt. xxvii. p. 401.).

[43] Ὁ δὲ νομιζων ἀδελφα λογες τι και θεων ιερα. Orat. Parent. c. 77. p. 302. The ſame ſentiment is frequently inculcated by Julian, Libanius, and the reſt of their party.

[44] The curioſity and credulity of the emperor, who tried every mode of divination, are fairly expoſed by Ammianus, xxii. 12.

[45] Julian. Epiſt. xxxviii. Three other epiſtles (xv. xvi. xxxix.), in the ſame ſtyle of friendſhip and confidence, are addreſſed to the philoſopher Maximus.

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of his art and ſtudies. The prudent and ſuperſtitious Chryſanthius refuſed to undertake a journey which ſhewed itſelf, according to the rules of divination, with the moſt threatening and malignant aſpect: but his companion, whoſe fanaticiſm was of a bolder caſt, perſiſted in his interrogations, till he had extorted from the gods a ſeeming conſent to his own wiſhes, and thoſe of the emperor. The journey of Maximus through the cities of Aſia, diſplayed the triumph of philoſophic vanity; and the magiſtrates vied with each other in the honourable reception which they prepared for the friend of their ſovereign. Julian was pronouncing an oration before the ſenate, when he was informed of the arrival of Maximus. The emperor immediately interrupted his diſcourſe, advanced to meet him, and, after a tender embrace, conducted him by the hand into the midſt of the aſſembly: where he publicly acknowledged the benefits which he had derived from the inſtructions of the philoſopher. Maximus[46], who ſoon acquired the confidence, and influenced the councils, of Julian, was inſenſibly corrupted by the temptations of a court. His dreſs became more ſplendid, his demeanour more lofty, and he was expoſed, under a ſucceeding reign, to a diſgraceful inquiry into the means by which the diſciple of Plato had accumulated, in the ſhort duration of his favour, a very ſcandalous proportion of wealth. Of the other philoſophers and ſophiſts, who were invited to the Imperial reſidence by the choice of Julian, or by the ſucceſs of Maximus, few were able to preſerve their innocence, or their reputation[47]. The liberal gifts of money, lands, and houſes,

[46] Eunapius (in Maximo, p. 77, 78, 79. and in Chryſanthio, p. 147, 148.) has minutely related theſe anecdotes, which he conceives to be the moſt important events of the age. Yet he fairly confeſſes the frailty of Maximus. His reception at Conſtantinople is deſcribed by Libanius (Orat. Parent. c. 86. p. 301.) and Ammianus (xxii. 7.).

[47] Chryſanthius, who had refuſed to quit Lydia, was created high-prieſt of the province. His cautious and temperate uſe of power ſecured him after the revolution; and he lived in peace; while Maximus, Priſcus, &c. were perſecuted by the Chriſtian miniſters. See the adventures of thoſe fanatic ſophiſts, collected by Brucker, tom. ii. p. 281—293.

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were insufficient to satiate their rapacious avarice; and the indignation of the people was justly excited by the remembrance of their abject poverty and disinterested professions. The penetration of Julian could not always be deceived: but he was unwilling to despise the characters of those men whose talents deserved his esteem; he desired to escape the double reproach of imprudence and inconstancy; and he was apprehensive of degrading, in the eyes of the profane, the honour of letters and of religion [48].

Conversions.

The favour of Julian was almost equally divided between the Pagans, who had firmly adhered to the worship of their ancestors, and the Christians, who prudently embraced the religion of their sovereign. The acquisition of new proselytes [49] gratified the ruling passions of his soul, superstition and vanity; and he was heard to declare, with the enthusiasm of a missionary, that if he could render each individual richer than Midas, and every city greater than Babylon, he should not esteem himself the benefactor of mankind, unless, at the same time, he could reclaim his subjects from their impious revolt against the immortal gods [50]. A prince, who had studied human nature, and who possessed the treasures of the Roman empire, could adapt his arguments, his promises, and his rewards, to every order of Christians [51]; and the merit of a seasonable conversion was allowed

[48] See Libanius (Orat. Parent. c. 101, 102. p. 324, 325, 326.) and Eunapius (Vit. Sophist. in Proæresio, p. 126.). Some students, whose expectations perhaps were groundless, or extravagant, retired in disgust (Greg. Naz. Orat. iv. p. 120.). It is strange that we should not be able to contradict the title of one of Tillemont's chapters (Hist. des Empereurs, tom. iv. p. 960.), "La "Cour de Julien est pleine de philosophes "et de gens perdûs."

[49] Under the reign of Lewis XIV. his subjects of every rank aspired to the glorious title of *Convertisseur*, expressive of their zeal and success in making proselytes. The word and the idea are growing obsolete in France; may they never be introduced into England!

[50] See the strong expressions of Libanius, which were probably those of Julian himself (Orat. Parent. c. 59. p. 285.).

[51] When Gregory Nazianzen (Orat. x. p. 167.) is desirous to magnify the Christian firmness of his brother Cæsarius, physician to the Imperial court, he owns that Cæsarius disputed with a formidable adversary, πολυν εν οπλοις, και μεγαν εν λογων δεινοτητι. In his invectives, he scarcely allows any share of wit or courage to the apostate.

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to ſupply the defects of a candidate, or even to expiate the guilt of a criminal. As the army is the moſt forcible engine of abſolute power, Julian applied himſelf, with peculiar diligence, to corrupt the religion of his troops, without whoſe hearty concurrence every meaſure muſt be dangerous and unſucceſsful; and the natural temper of ſoldiers made this conqueſt as eaſy as it was important. The legions of Gaul devoted themſelves to the faith, as well as to the fortunes, of their victorious leader; and even before the death of Conſtantius, he had the ſatisfaction of announcing to his friends, that they aſſiſted with fervent devotion, and voracious appetite, at the ſacrifices, which were repeatedly offered in his camp, of whole hecatombs of fat oxen [52]. The armies of the Eaſt, which had been trained under the ſtandard of the croſs, and of Conſtantius, required a more artful and expenſive mode of perſuaſion. On the days of ſolemn and public feſtivals, the emperor received the homage, and rewarded the merit, of the troops. His throne of ſtate was encircled with the military enſigns of Rome and the republic; the holy name of Chriſt was erazed from the *Labarum*; and the ſymbols of war, of majeſty, and of pagan ſuperſtition, were ſo dexterouſly blended, that the faithful ſubject incurred the guilt of idolatry, when he reſpectfully ſaluted the perſon or image of his ſovereign. The ſoldiers paſſed ſucceſſively in review; and each of them, before he received from the hand of Julian a liberal donative, proportioned to his rank and ſervices, was required to caſt a few grains of incenſe into the flame which burnt upon the altar. Some Chriſtian confeſſors might reſiſt, and others might repent; but the far greater number, allured by the proſpect of gold, and awed by the preſence of the emperor, con-

[52] Julian. Epiſt. xxxviii. Ammianus, xxii. 12. Adeo ut in dies pæne ſingulos milites carnis diſtentiore ſagina victitantes incultius, potuſque aviditate correpti, humeris impoſiti tranſeuntium per plateas, ex publicis ædibus .... ad ſua diverſoria portarentur. The devout prince and the indignant hiſtorian deſcribe the ſame ſcene; and in Illyricum or Antioch, ſimilar cauſes muſt have produced ſimilar effects.

tracted the criminal engagement; and their future perſeverance in the worſhip of the gods was enforced by every conſideration of duty and of intereſt. By the frequent repetition of theſe arts, and at the expence of ſums which would have purchaſed the ſervice of half the nations of Scythia, Julian gradually acquired for his troops the imaginary protection of the gods, and for himſelf the firm and effectual ſupport of the Roman legions [53]. It is indeed more than probable, that the reſtoration and encouragement of Paganiſm revealed a multitude of pretended Chriſtians, who, from motives of temporal advantage, had acquieſced in the religion of the former reign; and who afterwards returned, with the ſame flexibility of conſcience, to the faith which was profeſſed by the ſucceſſors of Julian.

The Jews.

While the devout monarch inceſſantly laboured to reſtore and propagate the religion of his anceſtors, he embraced the extraordinary deſign of rebuilding the temple of Jeruſalem. In a public epiſtle [54] to the nation or community of the Jews, diſperſed through the provinces, he pities their misfortunes, condemns their oppreſſors, praiſes their conſtancy, declares himſelf their gracious protector, and expreſſes a pious hope, that after his return from the Perſian war, he may be permitted to pay his grateful vows to the Almighty in his holy city of Jeruſalem. The blind ſuperſtition, and abject ſlavery, of thoſe unfortunate exiles, muſt excite the contempt of a philoſophic emperor; but they deſerved the friendſhip of Julian, by their implacable hatred of the Chriſtian name. The barren ſynagogue abhorred and envied the fecundity of the rebellious church: the power of the Jews was not equal to their malice; but their

[53] Gregory (Orat. iii. p. 74, 75. 83—86.) and Libanius (Orat. Parent. c. lxxxi. lxxxii. p. 307, 308.) περὶ ταύτην τὴν σπουδὴν, ἐκ ἀριθμοῦ πλήθους ἀνηλῶσθαι μέγαν. The ſophiſt owns and juſtifies the expence of theſe military converſions.

[54] Julian's epiſtle (xxv.) is addreſſed to the community of the Jews. Aldus (Venet. 1499) has branded it with an εἰ γνήσιος; but this ſtigma is juſtly removed by the ſubſequent editors, Petavius and Spanheim. The epiſtle is mentioned by Sozomen (l. v. c. 22.), and the purport of it is confirmed by Gregory (Orat. iv. p. 111.), and by Julian himſelf (Fragment. p. 295.).

graveſt

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graveſt rabbis approved the private murder of an apoſtate [55]; and their ſeditious clamours had often awakened the indolence of the pagan magiſtrates. Under the reign of Conſtantine, the Jews became the ſubjects of their revolted children, nor was it long before they experienced the bitterneſs of domeſtic tyranny. The civil immunities which had been granted, or confirmed, by Severus, were gradually repealed by the Chriſtian princes; and a raſh tumult, excited by the Jews of Paleſtine [56], ſeemed to juſtify the lucrative modes of oppreſſion, which were invented by the biſhops and eunuchs of the court of Conſtantius. The Jewiſh patriarch, who was ſtill permitted to exerciſe a precarious juriſdiction, held his reſidence at Tiberias [57]; and the neighbouring cities of Paleſtine were filled with the remains of a people, who fondly adhered to the promiſed land. But the edict of Hadrian was renewed and enforced; and they viewed from afar the walls of the holy city, which were profaned in their eyes by the triumph of the croſs, and the devotion of the Chriſtians [58].

Jeruſalem.

In the midſt of a rocky and barren country, the walls of Jeruſalem [59] incloſed the two mountains of Sion and Acra, within an oval figure of about three Engliſh miles [60]. Towards the ſouth, the upper town,

[55] The Miſnah denounced death againſt thoſe who abandoned the foundation. The judgment of zeal is explained by Marſham (Canon. Chron. p. 161, 162. edit. fol. London, 1672) and Baſnage (Hiſt. des Juifs, tom. viii. p. 120.). Conſtantine made a law to protect Chriſtian converts from Judaiſm. Cod. Theod. l. xvi. tit. viii. leg. 1. Godefroy, tom. vi. p. 215.

[56] Et interea (during the civil war of Magnentius) Judæorum ſeditio, qui Patricium nefarie in regni ſpeciem ſuſtulerunt, oppreſſa. Aurelius Victor, in Conſtantio, c. xlii. See Tillemont, Hiſt. des Empereurs, tom. iv. p. 379. in 4to.

[57] The city and ſynagogue of Tiberias are curiouſly deſcribed by Reland. Paleſtin. tom. ii. p. 1036—1042.

[58] Baſnage has fully illuſtrated the ſtate of the Jews under Conſtantine and his ſucceſſors (tom. viii. c. iv. p. 111—153.).

[59] Reland (Paleſtin. l. i. p. 309. 390. l. iii. p. 838.) deſcribes, with learning and perſpicuity, Jeruſalem, and the face of the adjacent country.

[60] I have conſulted a rare and curious treatiſe of M. d'Anville (ſur l'ancienne Jeruſalem, Paris, 1747, p. 75.). The circumference of the ancient city (Euſeb. Præparat. Evangel. l. ix. c. 36.) was twenty-ſeven ſtadia, or

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town, and the fortreſs of David, were erected on the lofty aſcent of Mount Sion: on the north ſide, the buildings of the lower town covered the ſpacious ſummit of Mount Acra; and a part of the hill, diſtinguiſhed by the name of Moriah, and levelled by human induſtry, was crowned with the ſtately temple of the Jewiſh nation. After the final deſtruction of the temple, by the arms of Titus and Hadrian, a ploughſhare was drawn over the conſecrated ground, as a ſign of perpetual interdiction. Sion was deſerted: and the vacant ſpace of the lower city was filled with the public and private edifices of the Ælian colony, which ſpread themſelves over the adjacent hill of Calvary. The holy places were polluted with monuments of idolatry; and, either from deſign or accident, a chapel was dedicated to Venus, on the ſpot which had been ſanctified by the death and reſurrection of Chriſt [60]. Almoſt three hundred years after thoſe ſtupendous events, the profane chapel of Venus was demoliſhed by the order of Conſtantine; and the removal of the earth and ſtones revealed the holy ſepulchre to the eyes of mankind. A magnificent church was erected on that myſtic ground, by the firſt Chriſtian emperor; and the effects of his pious munificence were extended to every ſpot, which had been conſecrated by the footſteps of patriarchs, of prophets, and of the Son of God [61].

Pilgrimages.

The paſſionate deſire of contemplating the original monuments of their redemption, attracted to Jeruſalem a ſucceſſive crowd of pilgrims, from the ſhores of the Atlantic ocean, and the moſt diſtant

2550 *toiſes*. A plan, taken on the ſpot, aſſigns no more than 1980 for the modern town. The circuit is defined by natural land-marks, which cannot be miſtaken, or removed.

[60] See two curious paſſages in Jerom (tom. i. p. 102. tom. vi. p. 315.), and the ample details of Tillemont (Hiſt. des Empereurs, tom. i. p. 569. tom. ii. p. 289. 294. 4to edition).

[61] Euſebius, in Vit. Conſtantin. l. iii. c. 25—47. 51—53. The emperor likewiſe built churches at Bethlem, the Mount of Olives, and the oak of Mambre. The holy ſepulchre is deſcribed by Sandys (Travels, p. 125—133.), and curiouſly delineated by Le Bruyn (Voyage au Levant, p. 288—296.).

countries

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countries of the East [62]; and their piety was authorised by the example of the empress Helena; who appears to have united the credulity of age with the warm feelings of a recent conversion. Sages and heroes, who have visited the memorable scenes of ancient wisdom or glory, have confessed the inspiration of the genius of the place [63]; and the Christian, who knelt before the holy sepulchre, ascribed his lively faith, and his fervent devotion, to the more immediate influence of the Divine spirit. The zeal, perhaps the avarice, of the clergy of Jerusalem, cherished and multiplied these beneficial visits. They fixed, by unquestionable tradition, the scene of each memorable event. They exhibited the instruments which had been used in the passion of Christ; the nails and the lance that had pierced his hands, his feet, and his side; the crown of thorns that was planted on his head; the pillar at which he was scourged: and, above all, they shewed the cross on which he suffered, and which was dug out of the earth in the reign of those princes, who inserted the symbol of Christianity in the banners of the Roman legions [64]. Such miracles, as seemed necessary to account for its extraordinary preservation, and seasonable discovery, were gradually propagated without opposition. The custody of the *true cross*, which on Easter Sunday was solemnly exposed to the people, was entrusted to the bishop of Jerusalem; and he alone might gra-

[62] The Itinerary from Bourdeaux to Jerusalem, was composed in the year 333, for the use of pilgrims; among whom Jerom (tom. i. p. 126.) mentions the Britons and the Indians. The causes of this superstitious fashion are discussed in the learned and judicious preface of Wesseling (Itinerar. p. 537—545.).

[63] Cicero (de Finibus, v. 1.) has beautifully expressed the common sense of mankind.

[64] Baronius (Annal. Eccles. A. D. 326, N° 42—50.) and Tillemont (Mem. Eccles. tom. vii. p. 8—16.) are the historians and champions of the miraculous *invention* of the cross, under the reign of Constantine. Their oldest witnesses are Paulinus, Sulpicius Severus, Rufinus, Ambrose, and perhaps Cyril of Jerusalem. The silence of Eusebius, and the Bourdeaux pilgrim, which satisfies those who think, perplexes those who believe. See Jortin's sensible remarks, vol. ii. p. 238—248.

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tify the curious devotion of the pilgrims, by the gift of ſmall pieces, which they enchaſed in gold or gems, and carried away in triumph to their reſpective countries. But as this gainful branch of commerce muſt ſoon have been annihilated, it was found convenient to ſuppoſe, that the marvellous wood poſſeſſed a ſecret power of vegetation; and that its ſubſtance, though continually diminiſhed, ſtill remained entire and unimpaired [65]. It might perhaps have been expected, that the influence of the place, and the belief of a perpetual miracle, ſhould have produced ſome ſalutary effects on the morals, as well as on the faith, of the people. Yet the moſt reſpectable of the eccleſiaſtical writers have been obliged to confeſs, not only that the ſtreets of Jeruſalem were filled with the inceſſant tumult of buſineſs and pleaſure [66], but that every ſpecies of vice; adultery, theft, idolatry, poiſoning, murder, was familiar to the inhabitants of the holy city [67]. The wealth and pre-eminence of the church of Jeruſalem excited the ambition of Arian, as well as orthodox, candidates; and the virtues of Cyril, who, ſince his death, has been honoured with the title of Saint, were diſplayed in the exerciſe, rather than in the acquiſition, of his epiſcopal dignity [68].

[65] This multiplication is aſſerted by Paulinus (epiſt. xxxvii. See Dupin, Biblioth. Eccleſ. tom. iii. p. 149.), who ſeems to have improved a rhetorical flouriſh of Cyril into a real fact. The ſame ſupernatural privilege muſt have been communicated to the Virgin's milk (Eraſmi Opera, tom. i. p. 778. Lugd. Batav. 1703. in Colloq. de Peregrinat. Religionis ergo), ſaints heads, &c. and other relics, which are repeated in ſo many different churches.

[66] Jerom (tom. i. p. 103.), who reſided in the neighbouring village of Bethlem, deſcribes the vices of Jeruſalem from his perſonal experience.

[67] Gregor. Nyſſen. apud Weſſeling, p. 539. The whole epiſtle, which condemns either the uſe or the abuſe of religious pilgrimage, is painful to the Catholic divines; while it is dear and familiar to our Proteſtant polemics.

[68] He renounced his orthodox ordination, officiated as a deacon, and was re-ordained by the hands of the Arians. But Cyril afterwards changed with the times, and prudently conformed to the Nicene faith. Tillemont (Mem. Eccleſ. tom. viii.), who treats his memory with tenderneſs and reſpect, has thrown his virtues into the text, and his faults into the notes, in decent obſcurity, at the end of the volume.

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Julian attempts to rebuild the temple.

The vain and ambitious mind of Julian might aſpire to reſtore the ancient glory of the temple of Jeruſalem [69]. As the Chriſtians were firmly perſuaded that a ſentence of everlaſting deſtruction had been pronounced againſt the whole fabric of the Moſaic law, the Imperial ſophiſt would have converted the ſucceſs of his undertaking into a ſpecious argument againſt the faith of prophecy, and the truth of revelation [70]. He was diſpleaſed with the ſpiritual worſhip of the ſynagogue; but he approved the inſtitutions of Moſes, who had not diſdained to adopt many of the rites and ceremonies of Egypt [71]. The local and national deity of the Jews was ſincerely adored by a polytheiſt, who deſired only to multiply the number of the gods [72]; and ſuch was the appetite of Julian for bloody ſacrifice, that his emulation might be excited by the piety of Solomon, who had offered, at the feaſt of the dedication, twenty-two thouſand oxen, and one hundred and twenty thouſand ſheep [73]. Theſe conſiderations might influence his deſigns; but the proſpect of an immediate and important advantage, would not ſuffer the impatient monarch to expect the re-

[69] Imperii ſui memoriam magnitudine operum geſtiens propagare. Ammian. xxiii. 1. The temple of Jeruſalem had been famous even among the Gentiles. *They* had many temples in each city (at Sichem five, at Gaza eight, at Rome four hundred and twenty-four); but the wealth and religion of the Jewiſh nation was centered in one ſpot.

[70] The ſecret intentions of Julian are revealed by the late biſhop of Glouceſter, the learned and dogmatic Warburton; who, with the authority of a theologian, preſcribes the motives and conduct of the Supreme Being. The diſcourſe entitled *Julian* (2d edition, London, 1751) is ſtrongly marked with all the peculiarities which are imputed to the Warburtonian ſchool.

[71] I ſhelter myſelf behind Maimonides, Marſham, Spencer, Le Clerc, Warburton, &c. who have fairly derided the fears, the folly, and the falſehood, of ſome ſuperſtitious divines. See Divine Legation, vol. iv. p. 25, &c.

[72] Julian (Fragment. p. 295.) reſpectfully ſtyles him μεγας θεος, and mentions him elſewhere (epiſt. lxiii.) with ſtill higher reverence. He doubly condemns the Chriſtians: for believing, and for renouncing, the religion of the Jews. Their Deity was a *true*, but not the *only*, God. Apud Cyril. l. ix. p. 305, 306.

[73] 1 Kings, viii. 63. 2 Chronicles, vii. 5. Joſeph. Antiquitat. Judaic. l. viii. c. 4. p. 431. edit. Havercamp. As the blood and ſmoke of ſo many hecatombs might be inconvenient, Lightfoot, the Chriſtian Rabbi, removes them by a miracle. Le Clerc (ad loca) is bold enough to ſuſpect the fidelity of the numbers.

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mote and uncertain event of the Perſian war. He reſolved to erect, without delay, on the commanding eminence of Moriah, a ſtately temple, which might eclipſe the ſplendour of the church of the Reſurrection on the adjacent hill of Calvary; to eſtabliſh an order of prieſts, whoſe intereſted zeal would detect the arts, and reſiſt the ambition, of their Chriſtian rivals; and to invite a numerous colony of Jews, whoſe ſtern fanaticiſm would be always prepared to ſecond, and even to anticipate, the hoſtile meaſures of the pagan government. Among the friends of the emperor (if the names of emperor, and of friend, are not incompatible) the firſt place was aſſigned, by Julian himſelf, to the virtuous and learned Alypius[74]. The humanity of Alypius was tempered by ſevere juſtice, and manly fortitude; and while he exerciſed his abilities in the civil adminiſtration of Britain, he imitated, in his poetical compoſitions, the harmony and ſoftneſs of the odes of Sappho. This miniſter, to whom Julian communicated, without reſerve, his moſt careleſs levities, and his moſt ſerious counſels, received an extraordinary commiſſion to reſtore, in its priſtine beauty, the temple of Jeruſalem; and the diligence of Alypius required and obtained the ſtrenuous ſupport of the governor of Paleſtine. At the call of their great deliverer, the Jews, from all the provinces of the empire, aſſembled on the holy mountain of their fathers; and their inſolent triumph alarmed and exaſperated the Chriſtian inhabitants of Jeruſalem. The deſire of rebuilding the temple has, in every age, been the ruling paſſion of the children of Iſrael. In this propitious moment the men forgot their avarice, and the women their delicacy; ſpades and pickaxes of ſilver were provided by the vanity of the rich, and the rubbiſh was tranſported in mantles of ſilk and purple. Every purſe was

[74] Julian, epiſt. xxix, xxx. Le Bleterie has neglected to tranſlate the ſecond of theſe epiſtles.

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opened in liberal contributions, every hand claimed a ſhare in the pious labour; and the commands of a great monarch were executed by the enthuſiaſm of a whole people [75].

The enterpriſe is defeated,

Yet, on this occaſion, the joint efforts of power and enthuſiaſm were unſucceſsful; and the ground of the Jewiſh temple, which is now covered by a Mahometan moſque [76], ſtill continued to exhibit the ſame edifying ſpectacle of ruin and deſolation. Perhaps the abſence and death of the emperor, and the new maxims of a Chriſtian reign, might explain the interruption of an arduous work, which was attempted only in the laſt ſix months of the life of Julian [77]. But the Chriſtians entertained a natural and pious expectation, that, in this memorable conteſt, the honour of religion would be vindicated by ſome ſignal miracle. An earthquake, a whirlwind, and a fiery eruption, which overturned and ſcattered the new foundations of the temple, are atteſted, with ſome variations, by contemporary and reſpectable evidence [78]. This public event is deſcribed by Ambroſe [79], biſhop of Milan, in an epiſtle to the emperor Theodoſius, which muſt provoke the ſevere animadverſion of the Jews; by the eloquent

[75] See the zeal and impatience of the Jews in Gregory Nazianzen (Orat. iv. p. 111.), and Theodoret (l. iii. c. 20.).

[76] Built by Omar, the ſecond Khalif, who died A. D. 644. This great moſque covers the whole conſecrated ground of the Jewiſh temple, and conſtitutes almoſt a ſquare of 760 *toiſes*, or one Roman mile in circumference. See d'Anville Jeruſalem, p. 45.

[77] Ammianus records the conſuls of the year 363, before he proceeds to mention the *thoughts* of Julian. Templum . . . inſtaurare ſumptibus *cogitabat* immodicis. Warburton has a ſecret wiſh to anticipate the deſign; but he muſt have underſtood, from former examples, that the execution of ſuch a work would have demanded many years.

[78] The ſubſequent witneſſes, Socrates, Sozomen, Theodoret, Philoſtorgius, &c. add contradictions, rather than authority. Compare the objections of Baſnage (Hiſt. des Juifs, tom. viii. p. 157—168.) with Warburton's anſwers (Julian, p. 274—258.). The biſhop has ingeniouſly explained the miraculous croſſes which appeared on the garments of the ſpectators by a ſimilar inſtance, and the natural effects of lightning.

[79] Ambroſ. tom. ii. epiſt. xl. p. 946. edit. Benedictin. He compoſed this fanatic epiſtle (A. D. 388) to juſtify a biſhop, who had been condemned by the civil magiſtrate for burning a ſynagogue.

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perhaps by a præternatural event.

Chryſoſtom [30], who might appeal to the memory of the elder part of his congregation at Antioch; and by Gregory Nazianzen [31], who publiſhed his account of the miracle before the expiration of the ſame year. The laſt of theſe writers has boldly declared, that this præternatural event was not diſputed by the infidels; and his aſſertion, ſtrange as it may ſeem, is confirmed by the unexceptionable teſtimony of Ammianus Marcellinus [32]. The philoſophic ſoldier, who loved the virtues, without adopting the prejudices, of his maſter, has recorded, in his judicious and candid hiſtory of his own times, the extraordinary obſtacles which interrupted the reſtoration of the temple of Jeruſalem. "Whilſt Alypius, aſſiſted by the go-"vernor of the province, urged, with vigour and diligence, the "execution of the work, horrible balls of fire breaking out near the "foundations, with frequent and reiterated attacks, rendered the "place, from time to time, inacceſſible to the ſcorched and blaſted "workmen; and the victorious element continuing in this manner "obſtinately and reſolutely bent, as it were, to drive them to a "diſtance, the undertaking was abandoned." Such authority ſhould ſatisfy a believing, and muſt aſtoniſh an incredulous, mind. Yet a philoſopher may ſtill require the original evidence of impartial and intelligent ſpectators. At this important criſis, any ſingular accident of nature would aſſume the appearance, and produce the effects, of

[30] Chryſoſtom, tom. i. p. 580. adverſ. Judæos et Gentes, tom. ii. p. 574. de St^a Babylâ, edit. Montfaucon. I have followed the common and natural ſuppoſition; but the learned Benedictine, who dates the compoſition of theſe ſermons in the year 383, is confident they were never pronounced from the pulpit.

[31] Greg. Nazianzen, Orat. iv. p. 110—113. Το δε ου περιβοητον πασι θαυμα, και ουδε τοις απιστουμενοις λεξων ερχομαι.

[32] Ammian. xxiii. 1. Cum itaque rei fortiter inſtaret Alypius, juvaretque provinciæ rector, metuendi globi flammarum prope fundamenta crebris aſſultibus erumpentes fecere locum exuſtis aliquoties operantibus inacceſſum: hocque modo elemento deſtinatius repellente, ceſſavit inceptum. Warburton labours (p. 60—99.) to extort a confeſſion of the miracle from the mouths of Julian and Libanius, and to employ the evidence of a rabbi, who lived in the fifteenth century. Such witneſſes can only be received by a very favourable judge.

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a real prodigy. This glorious deliverance would be ſpeedily improved and magnified by the pious art of the clergy of Jeruſalem, and the active credulity of the Chriſtian world; and, at the diſtance of twenty years, a Roman hiſtorian, careleſs of theological diſputes, might adorn his work with the ſpecious and ſplendid miracle[83].

Partiality of Julian.

The reſtoration of the Jewiſh temple was ſecretly connected with the ruin of the Chriſtian church. Julian ſtill continued to maintain the freedom of religious worſhip, without diſtinguiſhing, whether this univerſal toleration proceeded from his juſtice, or his clemency. He affected to pity the unhappy Chriſtians, who were miſtaken in the moſt important object of their lives; but his pity was degraded by contempt, his contempt was embittered by hatred; and the ſentiments of Julian were expreſſed in a ſtyle of ſarcaſtic wit, which inflicts a deep and deadly wound, whenever it iſſues from the mouth of a ſovereign. As he was ſenſible that the Chriſtians gloried in the name of their Redeemer, he countenanced, and perhaps enjoined, the uſe of the leſs honourable appellation of GALILÆANS[84]. He declared, that, by the folly of the Galilæans, whom he deſcribes as a ſect of fanatics, contemptible to men, and odious to the gods, the empire had been reduced to the brink of deſtruction; and he inſinuates in a public edict, that a frantic patient might ſometimes be cured by ſalutary violence[85]. An ungenerous diſtinction was admitted into the mind

[83] Dr. Lardner, perhaps alone of the Chriſtian critics, preſumes to doubt the truth of this famous miracle (Jewiſh and Heathen Teſtimonies, vol. iv. p. 47—71.). The ſilence of Jerom would lead to a ſuſpicion, that the ſame ſtory, which was celebrated at a diſtance, might be deſpiſed on the ſpot.

[84] Greg. Naz. Orat. iii. p. 81. And this law was confirmed by the invariable practice of Julian himſelf. Warburton has juſtly obſerved (p. 35.), that the Platoniſts believed in the myſterious virtue of words; and Julian's diſlike for the name of Chriſt might proceed from ſuperſtition, as well as from contempt.

[85] Fragment. Julian. p. 288. He derides the μεφια Γαλιλαιων (epiſt. vii.), and ſo far loſes ſight of the principles of toleration, as to wiſh (epiſt. xlii.) ακοντας ιασθαι.

and

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and counſels of Julian, that, according to the difference of their religious ſentiments, one part of his ſubjects deſerved his favour and friendſhip, while the other was entitled only to the common benefits that his juſtice could not refuſe to an obedient people[86]. According to a principle, pregnant with miſchief and oppreſſion, the emperor transferred, to the pontiffs of his own religion, the management of the liberal allowances from the public revenue, which had been granted to the church by the piety of Conſtantine and his ſons. The proud ſyſtem of clerical honours and immunities, which had been conſtructed with ſo much art and labour, was levelled to the ground; the hopes of teſtamentary donations were intercepted by the rigour of the laws; and the prieſts of the Chriſtian ſect were confounded with the laſt and moſt ignominious claſs of the people. Such of theſe regulations as appeared neceſſary to check the ambition and avarice of the eccleſiaſtics, were ſoon afterwards imitated by the wiſdom of an orthodox prince. The peculiar diſtinctions which policy has beſtowed, or ſuperſtition has laviſhed, on the ſacerdotal order, *muſt* be confined to thoſe prieſts who profeſs the religion of the ſtate. But the will of the legiſlator was not exempt from prejudice and paſſion; and it was the object of the inſidious policy of Julian, to deprive the Chriſtians of all the temporal honours and advantages which rendered them reſpectable in the eyes of the world[87].

[86] Ου γαρ μοι θεμις εστι νομιζεμεν η ελεαιρειν
Ανδρας, οι κε θεοισιν απεχθωντ' αθανατοισιν.

Theſe two lines, which Julian has changed and perverted in the true ſpirit of a bigot (Epiſt. xlix.), are taken from the ſpeech of Æolus, when he refuſes to grant Ulyſſes a freſh ſupply of winds (Odyſſ. x. 73.). Libanius (Orat. Parent. c. 59. p. 286.) attempts to juſtify this partial behaviour, by an apology, in which perſecution peeps through the maſk of candour.

[87] Theſe laws, which affected the clergy, may be found in the ſlight hints of Julian himſelf (Epiſt. lii.), in the vague declamations of Gregory (Orat. iii. p. 86, 87.), and in the poſitive aſſertions of Sozomen (l. v. c. 5.).

A juſt

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He prohibits the Chriſtians from teaching ſchools.

A juſt and ſevere cenſure has been inflicted on the law which prohibited the Chriſtians from teaching the arts of grammar and rhetoric[88]. The motives alleged by the emperor to juſtify this partial and oppreſſive meaſure, might command, during his life-time, the ſilence of ſlaves, and the applauſe of flatterers. Julian abuſes the ambiguous meaning of a word which might be indifferently applied to the language and the religion of the GREEKS: he contemptuouſly obſerves, that the men who exalt the merit of implicit faith are unfit to claim or to enjoy the advantages of ſcience; and he vainly contends, that if they refuſe to adore the gods of Homer and Demoſthenes, they ought to content themſelves with expounding Luke and Matthew in the churches of the Galilæans[89]. In all the cities of the Roman world, the education of the youth was entruſted to maſters of grammar and rhetoric; who were elected by the magiſtrates, maintained at the public expence, and diſtinguiſhed by many lucrative and honourable privileges. The edict of Julian appears to have included the phyſicians, and profeſſors of all the liberal arts; and the emperor, who reſerved to himſelf the approbation of the candidates, was authoriſed by the laws to corrupt, or to puniſh, the religious conſtancy of the moſt learned of the Chriſtians[90]. As ſoon as the reſignation of the more obſtinate[91] teachers

[88] Inclemens . . . perenni obruendum ſilentio. Ammian. xxii. 10. xxv. 5.

[89] The edict itſelf, which is ſtill extant among the epiſtles of Julian (xlii.), may be compared with the looſe invectives of Gregory (Orat. iii. p. 96.). Tillemont (Mem. Eccleſ. tom. vii. p. 1291—1294.), has collected the ſeeming differences of ancients and moderns. They may be eaſily reconciled. The Chriſtians were *directly* forbid to teach, they were *indirectly* forbid to learn; ſince they would not frequent the ſchools of the Pagans.

[90] Codex Theodoſ. l. xiii. tit. iii. de mediciſ et profeſſoribus, leg. 5. (publiſhed the 17th of June, received at Spoleto in Italy, the 29th of July, A. D. 363), with Godefroy's Illuſtrations, tom. v. p. 31.

[91] Oroſius celebrates their diſintereſted reſolution, Sicut a majoribus noſtris compertum habemus, omnes ubique propemodum . . . . officium quam fidem deſerere maluerunt, vii. 30. Proæreſius, a Chriſtian ſophiſt, refuſed to accept the partial favour of the emperor. Hieronym. in Chron. p. 185. edit. Scaliger. Eunapius in Proæreſio, p. 126.

had

had eſtabliſhed the unrivalled dominion of the Pagan ſophiſts, Julian invited the riſing generation to reſort with freedom to the public ſchools, in a juſt confidence, that their tender minds would receive the impreſſions of literature and idolatry. If the greateſt part of the Chriſtian youth ſhould be deterred by their own ſcruples, or by thoſe of their parents, from accepting this dangerous mode of inſtruction, they muſt, at the ſame time, relinquiſh the benefits of a liberal education. Julian had reaſon to expect that, in the ſpace of a few years, the church would relapſe into its primæval ſimplicity, and that the theologians, who poſſeſſed an adequate ſhare of the learning and eloquence of the age, would be ſucceeded by a generation of blind and ignorant fanatics, incapable of defending the truth of their own principles, or of expoſing the various follies of Polytheiſm[92].

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It was undoubtedly the wiſh and the deſign of Julian to deprive the Chriſtians of the advantages of wealth, of knowledge, and of power; but the injuſtice of excluding them from all offices of truſt and profit, ſeems to have been the reſult of his general policy, rather than the immediate conſequence of any poſitive law[93]. Superior merit might deſerve, and obtain, ſome extraordinary exceptions; but the greater part of the Chriſtian officers were gradually removed from their employments in the ſtate, the army, and the provinces. The hopes of future candidates were extinguiſhed by the declared partiality of a prince, who maliciouſly reminded them, that it was unlawful for a Chriſtian to uſe the ſword, either of juſtice, or of war: and who ſtudiouſly guarded the camp and the tribunals with the en-

Diſgrace and oppreſſion of the Chriſtians.

[92] They had recourſe to the expedient of compoſing books for their own ſchools. Within a few months Apollinaris produced his Chriſtian imitations of Homer (a ſacred hiſtory in xxiv books), Pindar, Euripides, and Menander; and Sozomen is ſatisfied, that they equalled, or excelled, the originals.

[93] It was the inſtruction of Julian to his magiſtrates (Epiſt. vii.) προτιμασθαι μεν τους της θεοσεβους και παυυ φημι δειν. Sozomen (l. v. c. 18.) and Socrates (l. iii. c. 13.) muſt be reduced to the ſtandard of Gregory (Orat. iii. p. 95.), not leſs prone to exaggeration, but more reſtrained by the actual knowledge of his contemporary readers.

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ſigns of idolatry. The powers of government were entruſted to the Pagans, who profeſſed an ardent zeal for the religion of their anceſtors; and as the choice of the emperor was often directed by the rules of divination, the favourites whom he preferred as the moſt agreeable to the gods, did not always obtain the approbation of mankind [94]. Under the adminiſtration of their enemies, the Chriſtians had much to ſuffer, and more to apprehend. The temper of Julian was averſe to cruelty; and the care of his reputation, which was expoſed to the eyes of the univerſe, reſtrained the philoſophic monarch from violating the laws of juſtice and toleration, which he himſelf had ſo recently eſtabliſhed. But the provincial miniſters of his authority were placed in a leſs conſpicuous ſtation. In the exerciſe of arbitrary power, they conſulted the wiſhes, rather than the commands, of their ſovereign; and ventured to exerciſe a ſecret and vexatious tyranny againſt the ſectaries, on whom they were not permitted to confer the honours of martyrdom. The emperor, who diſſembled, as long as poſſible, his knowledge of the injuſtice that was exerciſed in his name, expreſſed his real ſenſe of the conduct of his officers, by gentle reproofs and ſubſtantial rewards [95].

They are condemned to reſtore the Pagan temples.

The moſt effectual inſtrument of oppreſſion, with which they were armed, was the law that obliged the Chriſtians to make full and ample ſatisfaction for the temples which they had deſtroyed under the preceding reign. The zeal of the triumphant church had not always expected the ſanction of the public authority; and the biſhops, who were ſecure of impunity, had often marched, at the head of their congregations, to attack and demoliſh the fortreſſes of the prince of darkneſs. The conſecrated lands, which had encreaſed the patrimony of the ſovereign or of the clergy, were clearly de-

[94] Τυφω θεων και δαιος και μη δαιος. Libanius, Orat. Parent. c. 88. p. 314.

[95] Greg. Naz. Orat. iii. p. 74. 91, 92. Socrates, l. iii. c. 14. Theodoret, l. iii. c. 6. Some drawback may however be allowed for the violence of *their* zeal, not leſs partial than the zeal of Julian.

fined,

fined, and eaſily reſtored. But on theſe lands, and on the ruins of Pagan ſuperſtition, the Chriſtians had frequently erected their own religious edifices: and as it was neceſſary to remove the church before the temple could be rebuilt, the juſtice and piety of the emperor were applauded by one party, while the other deplored and execrated his ſacrilegious violence [96]. After the ground was cleared, the reſtitution of thoſe ſtately ſtructures, which had been levelled with the duſt; and of the precious ornaments, which had been converted to Chriſtian uſes; ſwelled into a very large account of damages and debt. The authors of the injury had neither the ability nor the inclination to diſcharge this accumulated demand: and the impartial wiſdom of a legiſlator would have been diſplayed in balancing the adverſe claims and complaints, by an equitable and temperate arbitration. But the whole empire, and particularly the Eaſt, was thrown into confuſion by the raſh edicts of Julian; and the Pagan magiſtrates, inflamed by zeal and revenge, abuſed the rigorous privilege of the Roman law; which ſubſtitutes, in the place of his inadequate property, the perſon of the inſolvent debtor. Under the preceding reign, Mark, biſhop of Arethuſa [97], had laboured in the converſion of his people with arms more effectual than thoſe of perſuaſion [98]. The magiſtrates required the full value of a temple which had been deſtroyed by his intolerant zeal: but as they were ſatisfied

[96] If we compare the gentle language of Libanius (Orat. Parent. c. 60. p. 286.) with the paſſionate exclamations of Gregory (Orat. iii. p. 86, 87.), we may find it difficult to perſuade ourſelves that the two orators are really deſcribing the ſame events.

[97] Reſtan or Arethuſa, at the equal diſtance of ſixteen miles between Emeſa *(Hems)*, and Epiphania *(Hamath)*, was founded, or at leaſt named, by Seleucus Nicator. Its peculiar æra dates from the year of Rome 685; according to the medals of the city. In the decline of the Seleucides, Emeſa and Arethuſa were uſurped by the Arab Sampſiceramus, whoſe poſterity, the vaſſals of Rome, were not extinguiſhed in the reign of Veſpaſian. See d'Anville's Maps and Geographie Ancienne, tom. ii. p. 134. Weſſeling, Itineraria, p. 188. and Noriſ. Epoch. Syro-Macedon. p. 80. 481, 482.

[98] Sozomen, l. v. c. 10. It is ſurpriſing, that Gregory and Theodoret ſhould ſuppreſs a circumſtance, which, in their eyes, muſt have enhanced the religious merit of the confeſſor.

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of his poverty, they desired only to bend his inflexible spirit to the promise of the slightest compensation. They apprehended the aged prelate, they inhumanly scourged him, they tore his beard; and his naked body, anointed with honey, was suspended, in a net, between heaven and earth, and exposed to the stings of insects and the rays of a Syrian sun [99]. From this lofty station, Mark still persisted to glory in his crime, and to insult the impotent rage of his persecutors. He was at length rescued from their hands, and dismissed to enjoy the honour of his divine triumph. The Arians celebrated the virtue of their pious confessor; the Catholics ambitiously claimed his alliance [100]; and the Pagans, who might be susceptible of shame or remorse, were deterred from the repetition of such unavailing cruelty [101]. Julian spared his life; but if the bishop of Arethusa had saved the infancy of Julian [102], posterity will condemn the ingratitude, instead of praising the clemency, of the emperor.

The temple and sacred grove of Daphne.

At the distance of five miles from Antioch, the Macedonian kings of Syria had consecrated to Apollo one of the most elegant places of devotion in the Pagan world [103]. A magnificent temple rose in ho-

[99] The sufferings and constancy of Mark, which Gregory has so tragically painted (Orat. iii. p. 88—91.), are confirmed by the unexceptionable and reluctant evidence of Libanius. Μαρκος ειπινος κριμαμενος, και μαστιγουμενος, και τω προγωνιω αυτω τιλλομενω, παντα ενεγκων ανδρειως την ισοθεον ες τας τιμας, και φασκων προ περιμαχητος ευθυς. Epist. 730. p. 350, 351. edit. Wolf. Amstel. 1738.

[100] Περιμαχητος, certatim eum sibi (Christiani) vindicant. It is thus that La Croze and Wolfius (ad loc.) have explained a Greek word, whose true signification had been mistaken by former interpreters, and even by Le Clerc (Bibliotheque Ancienne et Moderne, tom. iii. p. 371.). Yet Tillemont is strangely puzzled to understand (Mem. Eccles. tom. vii. p. 1309.) *how* Gregory and Theodoret could mistake a Semi-Arian bishop for a saint.

[101] See the probable advice of Sallust (Greg. Nazianzen, Orat. iii. 90, 91.). Libanius intercedes for a similar offender, lest they should find many *Marks*; yet he allows that if Orion had secreted the consecrated wealth, he deserved to suffer the punishment of Marsyas; to be flayed alive (Epist. 730. p. 349—351.).

[102] Gregory (Orat. iii. p. 90.) is satisfied, that by saving the apostate, Mark had deserved still more than he had suffered.

[103] The grove and temple of Daphne are described by Strabo (l. xvi. p. 1089, 1090. edit. Amstel. 1707), Libanius (Nænia, p. 185—188. Antiochic. Orat. xi. p. 380, 381.), and Sozomen (l. v. c. 19.). Wesseling (Itinerar. p. 581.) and Casaubon (ad Hist. August. p. 64.) illustrate this curious subject.

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nour of the god of light; and his coloſſal figure [104] almoſt filled the capacious ſanctuary, which was enriched with gold and gems, and adorned by the ſkill of the Grecian artiſts. The deity was repreſented in a bending attitude, with a golden cup in his hand, pouring out a libation on the earth; as if he ſupplicated the venerable mother to give to his arms the cold and beauteous DAPHNE: for the ſpot was ennobled by fiction; and the fancy of the Syrian poets had tranſported the amorous tale from the banks of the Peneus to thoſe of the Orontes. The ancient rites of Greece were imitated by the royal colony of Antioch. A ſtream of prophecy, which rivalled the truth and reputation of the Delphic oracle, flowed from the *Caſtalian* fountain of Daphne [105]. In the adjacent field a ſtadium was built by a ſpecial privilege [106], which had been purchaſed from Elis: the Olympic games were celebrated at the expence of the city; and a revenue of thirty thouſand pounds ſterling was annually applied to the public pleaſures [107]. The perpetual reſort of pilgrims and ſpectators inſenſibly formed, in the neighbourhood of the temple, the ſtately and populous village of Daphne, which emulated the ſplendour, without acquiring the title, of a provincial city. The temple and the village were deeply boſomed in a thick grove of

[104] Simulacrum in eo Olympiaci Jovis imitamenti æquiparans magnitudinem. Ammian. xxii. 13. The Olympic Jupiter was ſixty feet high, and his bulk was conſequently equal to that of a thouſand men. See a curious *Memoire* of the Abbé Gedoyn (Academie des Inſcriptions, tom. ix. p. 198.).

[105] Hadrian read the hiſtory of his future fortunes on a leaf dipped in the Caſtalian ſtream; a trick, which, according to the phyſician Vandale (de Oraculis, p. 281, 282.), might be eaſily performed by chymical preparations. The emperor ſtopped the ſource of ſuch dangerous knowledge; which was again opened by the devout curioſity of Julian.

[106] It was purchaſed, A. D. 44, in the year 92 of the æra of Antioch (Noriſ. Epoch. Syro-Maced. p. 139—174.) for the term of ninety Olympiads. But the Olympic games of Antioch were not regularly celebrated till the reign of Commodus. See the curious details in the Chronicle of John Malala (tom. i. p. 290. 320. 372—381.), a writer whoſe merit and authority are confined within the limits of his native city.

[107] Fifteen talents of gold, bequeathed by Soſibius, who died in the reign of Auguſtus. The theatrical merits of the Syrian cities, in the age of Conſtantine, are compared in the Expoſitio totius Mundi, p. 6. (Hudſon, Geograph. Minor, tom. iii.)

laurels

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laurels and cypreſſes, which reached as far as a circumference of ten miles, and formed in the moſt ſultry ſummers a cool and impenetrable ſhade. A thouſand ſtreams of the pureſt water, iſſuing from every hill, preſerved the verdure of the earth, and the temperature of the air; the ſenſes were gratified with harmonious ſounds and aromatic odours; and the peaceful grove was conſecrated to health and joy, to luxury and love. The vigorous youth purſued, like Apollo, the object of his deſires; and the bluſhing maid was warned, by the fate of Daphne, to ſhun the folly of unſeaſonable coyneſs. The ſoldier and the philoſopher wiſely avoided the temptation of this ſenſual paradiſe [108]; where pleaſure, aſſuming the character of religion, imperceptibly diſſolved the firmneſs of manly virtue. But the groves of Daphne continued for many ages to enjoy the veneration of natives and ſtrangers; the privileges of the holy ground were enlarged by the munificence of ſucceeding emperors; and every generation added new ornaments to the ſplendour of the temple [109].

Neglect and profanation of Daphne.

When Julian, on the day of the annual feſtival, haſtened to adore the Apollo of Daphne, his devotion was raiſed to the higheſt pitch of eagerneſs and impatience. His lively imagination anticipated the grateful pomp of victims, of libations, and of incenſe; a long proceſſion of youths and virgins, clothed in white robes, the ſymbol of their innocence; and the tumultuous concourſe of an innumerable people. But the zeal of Antioch was diverted, ſince the reign of Chriſtianity, into a different channel. Inſtead of hecatombs of fat oxen ſacrificed by the tribes of a wealthy city to their tutelar deity,

[108] Avidio Caſſio Syriacos legiones dedi luxuriâ diffluentes et *Daphnicis* moribus. Theſe are the words of the emperor Marcus Antoninus in an original letter preſerved by his biographer in Hiſt. Auguſt. p. 41. Caſſius diſmiſſed or puniſhed every ſoldier who was ſeen at Daphne.

[109] Aliquantum agrorum Daphnenſibus dedit *(Pompey)*, quo lucus ibi ſpatioſior fieret; delectatus amœnitate loci et aquarum abundantiâ. Eutropius, vi. 14. Sextus Rufus, de Provinciis, c. 16.

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the emperor complains that he found only a ſingle gooſe, provided at the expence of a prieſt, the pale and ſolitary inhabitant of this decayed temple[110]. The altar was deſerted, the oracle had been reduced to ſilence, and the holy ground was profaned by the introduction of Chriſtian and funereal rites. After Babylas[111] (a biſhop of Antioch, who died in priſon in the perſecution of Decius) had reſted near a century in his grave, his body, by the order of the Cæſar Gallus, was tranſported into the midſt of the grove of Daphne. A magnificent church was erected over his remains; a portion of the ſacred lands was uſurped for the maintenance of the clergy, and for the burial of the Chriſtians of Antioch, who were ambitious of lying at the feet of their biſhop; and the prieſts of Apollo retired, with their affrighted and indignant votaries. As ſoon as another revolution ſeemed to reſtore the fortune of Paganiſm, the church of St. Babylas was demoliſhed, and new buildings were added to the mouldering edifice which had been raiſed by the piety of Syrian kings. But the firſt and moſt ſerious care of Julian was to deliver his oppreſſed deity from the odious preſence of the dead and living Chriſtians, who had ſo effectually ſuppreſſed the voice of fraud or enthuſiaſm[112]. The ſcene of infection was purified, according to the forms of ancient rituals; the bodies were decently removed; and the miniſters of the church were permitted to convey the remains of St. Babylas to their former habitation within the walls of Antioch.

Removal of the dead bodies, and conflagration of the temple.

[110] Julian (Miſopogon, p. 361, 362.) diſcovers his own character with that *naïvéte*, that unconſcious ſimplicity, which always conſtitutes genuine humour.

[111] Babylas is named by Euſebius in the ſucceſſion of the biſhops of Antioch (Hiſt. Eccleſ. l. vi. c. 29. 39.). His triumph over two emperors (the firſt fabulous, the ſecond hiſtorical) is diffuſely celebrated by Chryſoſtom (tom. ii. p. 536–579. edit. Montfaucon). Tillemont (Mem. Eccleſ. tom. iii. part ii. p. 287–302. 459–465.) becomes almoſt a ſceptic.

[112] Eccleſiaſtical critics, particularly thoſe who love relics, exult in the confeſſion of Julian (Miſopogon, p. 361.) and Libanius (Næ-nia, p. 185.), that Apollo was diſturbed by the vicinity of *one* dead man. Yet Ammianus (xxii. 12.) clears and purifies the whole ground, according to the rites which the Athenians formerly practiſed in the iſle of Delos.

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The modeſt behaviour which might have aſſuaged the jealouſy of an hoſtile government, was neglected on this occaſion by the zeal of the Chriſtians. The lofty car, that tranſported the relics of Babylas, was followed, and accompanied, and received, by an innumerable multitude; who chanted, with thundering acclamations, the Pſalms of David the moſt expreſſive of their contempt for idols and idolaters. The return of the ſaint was a triumph; and the triumph was an inſult on the religion of the emperor, who exerted his pride to diſſemble his reſentment. During the night which terminated this indiſcreet proceſſion, the temple of Daphne was in flames; the ſtatue of Apollo was conſumed; and the walls of the edifice were left a naked and awful monument of ruin. The Chriſtians of Antioch aſſerted, with religious confidence, that the powerful interceſſion of St. Babylas had pointed the lightnings of heaven againſt the devoted roof: but as Julian was reduced to the alternative, of believing either a crime or a miracle, he choſe, without heſitation, without evidence, but with ſome colour of probability, to impute the fire of Daphne to the revenge of the Galilæans[113]. Their offence, had it been ſufficiently proved, might have juſtified the retaliation, which was immediately executed by the order of Julian, of ſhutting the doors, and confiſcating the wealth, of the cathedral of Antioch. To diſcover the criminals who were guilty of the tumult, of the fire, or of ſecreting the riches of the church, ſeveral eccleſiaſtics were tortured[114]; and a preſbyter, of the name of Theodoret, was beheaded by the ſentence of the count of the Eaſt. But this haſty act was

Julian ſhuts the cathedral of Antioch.

[113] Julian (in Miſopogon, p. 361.) rather inſinuates, than affirms, their guilt. Ammianus (xxii. 13.) treats the imputation as *leviſſimus rumor*, and relates the ſtory with extraordinary candour.

[114] Quo tam atroci caſu repente conſumpto, ad id uſque imperatoris ira provexit, ut quæſtiones agitare juberet ſolito acriores (yet Julian blames the lenity of the magiſtrates of Antioch), et majorem eccleſiam Antiochiæ claudi. This interdiction was performed with ſome circumſtances of indignity and profanation: and the ſeaſonable death of the principal actor, Julian's uncle, is related with much ſuperſtitious complacency by the Abbé de la Bleterie. Vie de Julien, p. 362—369.

blamed

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blamed by the emperor; who lamented, with real or affected concern, that the imprudent zeal of his miniſters would tarniſh his reign with the diſgrace of perſecution [115].

The zeal of the miniſters of Julian was inſtantly checked by the frown of their ſovereign; but when the father of his country declares himſelf the leader of a faction, the licenſe of popular fury cannot eaſily be reſtrained, nor conſiſtently puniſhed. Julian, in a public compoſition, applauds the devotion and loyalty of the holy cities of Syria, whoſe pious inhabitants had deſtroyed, at the firſt ſignal, the ſepulchres of the Galilæans; and faintly complains, that they had revenged the injuries of the gods with leſs moderation than he ſhould have recommended [116]. This imperfect and reluctant confeſſion may appear to confirm the eccleſiaſtical narratives; that in the cities of Gaza, Aſcalon, Cæſarea, Heliopolis, &c. the Pagans abuſed, without prudence or remorſe, the moment of their proſperity. That the unhappy objects of their cruelty were releaſed from torture only by death; that as their mangled bodies were dragged through the ſtreets, they were pierced (ſuch was the univerſal rage) by the ſpits of cooks, and the diſtaffs of enraged women; and that the entrails of Chriſtian prieſts and virgins, after they had been taſted by thoſe bloody fanatics, were mixed with barley, and contemptuouſly thrown to the unclean animals of the city [117]. Such ſcenes of religious madneſs exhibit the moſt contemptible and odious picture of human nature; but the maſſacre of Alexandria attracts ſtill more attention,

[115] Beſides the eccleſiaſtical hiſtorians, who are more or leſs to be ſuſpected, we may allege the paſſion of St. Theodore, in the Acta Sincera of Ruinart, p. 591. The complaint of Julian gives it an original and authentic air.

[116] Julian. Miſopogon, p. 361.

[117] See Gregory Nazianzen (Orat. iii. p. 87.). Sozomen (l. v. c. 9.) may be conſidered as an original, though not impartial, witneſs. He was a native of Gaza, and had converſed with the confeſſor Zeno, who, as biſhop of Maiuma, lived to the age of an hundred (l. vii. c. 28.). Philoſtorgius (l. vii. c. 4. with Godefroy's Diſſertations, p. 284.) adds ſome tragic circumſtances, of Chriſtians, who were *literally* ſacrificed at the altars of the gods, &c.

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from the certainty of the fact, the rank of the victims, and the ſplendour of the capital of Egypt.

George of Cappadocia.

George [118], from his parents or his education, ſurnamed the Cappadocian, was born at Epiphania in Cilicia, in a fuller's ſhop. From this obſcure and ſervile origin he raiſed himſelf by the talents of a paraſite: and the patrons, whom he aſſiduouſly flattered, procured for their worthleſs dependent a lucrative commiſſion, or contract, to ſupply the army with bacon. His employment was mean: he rendered it infamous. He accumulated wealth by the baſeſt arts of fraud and corruption; but his malverſations were ſo notorious, that George was compelled to eſcape from the purſuits of juſtice. After this diſgrace, in which he appears to have ſaved his fortune at the expence of his honour, he embraced, with real or affected zeal, the profeſſion of Arianiſm. From the love, or the oſtentation, of learning, he collected a valuable library of hiſtory, rhetoric, philoſophy, and theology [119]; and the choice of the prevailing faction promoted George of Cappadocia to the throne of Athanaſius. The entrance of the new archbiſhop was that of a barbarian conqueror; and each moment of his reign was polluted by cruelty and avarice. The Catholics of Alexandria and Egypt were abandoned to a tyrant, qualified, by nature and education, to exerciſe the office of perſecution; but he oppreſſed with an impartial hand the various inhabitants of his extenſive dioceſe. The primate of Egypt aſſumed the

oppreſſes Alexandria and Egypt.

[118] The life and death of George of Cappadocia are deſcribed by Ammianus (xxii. 11.), Gregory Nazianzen (Orat. xxi. p. 382. 385. 389, 390.), and Ephinanius (Hæreſ. lxxvi.). The invectives of the two ſaints might not deſerve much credit, unleſs they were confirmed by the teſtimony of the cool and impartial infidel.

[119] After the maſſacre of George, the emperor Julian repeatedly ſent orders to preſerve the library for his own uſe, and to torture the ſlaves who might be ſuſpected of ſecreting any books. He praiſes the merit of the collection, from whence he had borrowed and tranſcribed ſeveral manuſcripts while he purſued his ſtudies in Cappadocia. He could wiſh indeed that the works of the Galilæans might periſh; but he requires an exact account even of thoſe theological volumes, leſt other treatiſes more valuable ſhould be confounded in their loſs. Julian. Epiſt. ix. xxxvi.

pomp

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pomp and insolence of his lofty station; but he still betrayed the vices of his base and servile extraction. The merchants of Alexandria were impoverished by the unjust, and almost universal, monopoly, which he acquired, of nitre, salt, paper, funerals, &c.: and the spiritual father of a great people condescended to practise the vile and pernicious arts of an informer. The Alexandrians could never forget, nor forgive, the tax, which he suggested, on all the houses of the city; under an obsolete claim, that the royal founder had conveyed to his successors, the Ptolemies and the Cæsars, the perpetual property of the soil. The Pagans, who had been flattered with the hopes of freedom and toleration, excited his devout avarice; and the rich temples of Alexandria were either pillaged or insulted by the haughty prelate, who exclaimed, in a loud and threatening tone, "How long will these sepulchres be permitted to stand?" Under the reign of Constantius, he was expelled by the fury, or rather by the justice, of the people; and it was not without a violent struggle that the civil and military powers of the state could restore his authority, and gratify his revenge. The messenger who proclaimed at Alexandria the accession of Julian, announced the downfal of the archbishop. George, with two of his obsequious ministers, count Diodorus, and Dracontius, master of the mint, were ignominiously dragged in chains to the public prison. At the end of twenty-four days, the prison was forced open by the rage of a superstitious multitude, impatient of the tedious forms of judicial proceedings. The enemies of gods and men expired under their cruel insults; the lifeless bodies of the archbishop and his associates were carried in triumph through the streets on the back of a camel; and the inactivity of the Athanasian party[120] was esteemed a shining example of evangelical patience. The remains of these guilty wretches were

A. D. 361. November 30. He is massacred by the people, December 24.

[120] Philostorgius, with cautious malice, γρατηγησαι της πραξεως, l. vii. c. 2. Godefroy, p. 267. insinuates their guilt, και τω Αθανασιω γνωμη

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thrown into the ſea; and the popular leaders of the tumult declared their reſolution to diſappoint the devotion of the Chriſtians, and to intercept the future honours of theſe *martyrs*, who had been puniſhed, like their predeceſſors, by the enemies of their religion [121]. The fears of the Pagans were juſt, and their precautions ineffectual. The meritorious death of the archbiſhop obliterated the memory of his life. The rival of Athanaſius was dear and ſacred to the Arians, and the ſeeming converſion of thoſe ſectaries introduced his worſhip into the boſom of the Catholic church [122]. The odious ſtranger, diſguiſing every cirumſtance of time and place, aſſumed the maſk of a martyr, a ſaint, and a Chriſtian hero [123]; and the infamous George of Cappadocia has been transformed [124] into the renowned St. George of England, the patron of arms, of chivalry, and of the garter [125].

and worſhipped as a ſaint and martyr.

About the ſame time that Julian was informed of the tumult of Alexandria, he received intelligence from Edeſſa, that the proud and wealthy faction of the Arians had inſulted the weakneſs of the Valentinians; and committed ſuch diſorders, as ought not to be ſuffered with impunity in a well-regulated ſtate. Without expecting the

[121] Cineres projecit in mare, id metuens ut clamabat, ne, collectis ſupremis, ædes illis exſtruerent; ut reliquis, qui deviare a religione compulſi, pertulere cruciabiles pœnas, aduſque glorioſam mortem intemeratâ fide progreſſi, et nunc MARTYRES appellantur. Ammian. xxii. 11. Epiphanius proves to the Arians, that George was not a martyr.

[122] Some Donatiſts (Optatus Milev. p. 60. 303. edit. Dupin; and Tillemont, Mem. Eccleſ. tom. vi. p. 713. in 4to) and Priſcillianiſts (Tillemont, Mem. Eccleſ. tom. viii. p. 517. in 4to) have in like manner uſurped the honours of Catholic ſaints and martyrs.

[123] The ſaints of Cappadocia, Baſil and the Gregories, were ignorant of their holy companion. Pope Gelaſius (A.D. 494), the firſt Catholic who acknowledges St. George, places him among the Martyrs, "qui Deo "magis quam hominibus noti ſunt." He rejects his Acts as the compoſition of heretics. Some, perhaps not the oldeſt, of the ſpurious Acts, are ſtill extant; and, through a cloud of fiction, we may yet diſtinguiſh the combat which St. George of Cappadocia ſuſtained, in the preſence of Queen *Alexandra*, againſt the *magician Athanaſius*.

[124] This transformation is not given as abſolutely certain, but as *extremely* probable. See the Longueruana, tom. i. p. 194.

[125] A curious hiſtory of the worſhip of St. George, from the ſixth century (when he was already revered in Paleſtine, in Armenia, at Rome, and at Treves in Gaul), might be extracted from Dr. Heylin (Hiſtory of St. George, 2d edition, London 1633, in 4to, pp. 429.), and the Bollandiſts (Act SS. Menſ. April, tom. iii. p. 100—163.). His fame and popularity in Europe, and eſpecially in England, proceeded from the cruſades.

flow

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ſlow forms of juſtice, the exaſperated prince directed his mandate to the magiſtrates of Edeſſa [127], by which he confiſcated the whole property of the church; the money was diſtributed among the ſoldiers; the lands were added to the domain; and this act of oppreſſion was aggravated by the moſt ungenerous irony. "I ſhew "myſelf," ſays Julian, "the true friend of the Galilæans. Their "*admirable* law has promiſed the kingdom of heaven to the poor; "and they will advance with more diligence in the paths of virtue "and ſalvation, when they are relieved by my aſſiſtance from the "load of temporal poſſeſſions. Take care," purſued the monarch, in a more ſerious tone, "take care how you provoke my patience "and humanity. If theſe diſorders continue, I will revenge on the "magiſtrates the crimes of the people; and you will have reaſon "to dread, not only confiſcation and exile, but fire and the ſword." The tumults of Alexandria were doubtleſs of a more bloody and dangerous nature: but a Chriſtian biſhop had fallen by the hands of the Pagans; and the public epiſtle of Julian affords a very lively proof of the partial ſpirit of his adminiſtration. His reproaches to the citizens of Alexandria are mingled with expreſſions of eſteem and tenderneſs; and he laments, that, on this occaſion, they ſhould have departed from the gentle and generous manners which atteſted their Grecian extraction. He gravely cenſures the offence which they had committed againſt the laws of juſtice and humanity; but he recapitulates, with viſible complacency, the intolerable provocations which they had ſo long endured from the impious tyranny of George of Cappadocia. Julian admits the principle, that a wiſe and vigorous government ſhould chaſtiſe the inſolence of the people: yet, in conſideration of their founder Alexander, and of Serapis their tutelar deity, he grants a free and gracious pardon to the guilty city, for which he again feels the affection of a brother [128].

[127] Julian. Epiſt. xliii.

[128] Julian. Epiſt. x. He allowed his friends to aſſuage his anger. Ammian. xxii. 11.

After

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Reſtoration of Athanaſius, A. D. 362, February 21.

After the tumult of Alexandria had ſubſided, Athanaſius, amidſt the public acclamations, ſeated himſelf on the throne from whence his unworthy competitor had been precipitated: and as the zeal of the archbiſhop was tempered with diſcretion, the exerciſe of his authority tended not to inflame, but to reconcile, the minds of the people. His paſtoral labours were not confined to the narrow limits of Egypt. The ſtate of the Chriſtian world was preſent to his active and capacious mind; and the age, the merit, the reputation of Athanaſius, enabled him to aſſume, in a moment of danger, the office of Eccleſiaſtical Dictator [129]. Three years were not yet elapſed ſince the majority of the biſhops of the Weſt had ignorantly, or reluctantly, ſubſcribed the confeſſion of Rimini. They repented, they believed, but they dreaded the unſeaſonable rigour of their orthodox brethren; and if their pride was ſtronger than their faith, they might throw themſelves into the arms of the Arians, to eſcape the indignity of a public penance, which muſt degrade them to the condition of obſcure laymen. At the ſame time, the domeſtic differences concerning the union and diſtinction of the divine perſons, were agitated with ſome heat among the Catholic doctors; and the progreſs of this metaphyſical controverſy ſeemed to threaten a public and laſting diviſion of the Greek and Latin churches. By the wiſdom of a ſelect ſynod, to which the name and preſence of Athanaſius gave the authority of a general council, the biſhops, who had unwarily deviated into error, were admitted to the communion of the church, on the eaſy condition of ſubſcribing the Nicene creed; without any formal acknowledgment of their paſt fault, or any minute definition of their ſcholaſtic opinions. The advice of the primate of Egypt had already prepared the clergy of Gaul and Spain, of Italy and Greece, for the

[129] See Athanaſ. ad Rufin. tom. ii. p. 40, 41.; and Greg. Nazianzen, Orat. iii. p. 395, 396. who juſtly ſtates the temperate zeal of the primate, as much more meritorious than his prayers, his faſts, his perſecutions, &c.

reception

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reception of this ſalutary meaſure; and, notwithſtanding the oppoſition of ſome ardent ſpirits [130], the fear of the common enemy promoted the peace and harmony of the Chriſtians [131].

He is perſecuted and expelled by Julian. A. D. 362, October 23.

The ſkill and diligence of the primate of Egypt had improved the ſeaſon of tranquillity, before it was interrupted by the hoſtile edicts of the emperor [132]. Julian, who deſpiſed the Chriſtians, honoured Athanaſius with his ſincere and peculiar hatred. For his ſake alone, he introduced an arbitrary diſtinction, repugnant, at leaſt to the ſpirit, of his former declarations. He maintained, that the Galilæans whom he had recalled from exile, were not reſtored, by that general indulgence, to the poſſeſſion of their reſpective churches; and he expreſſed his aſtoniſhment, that a criminal, who had been repeatedly condemned by the judgment of the emperors, ſhould dare to inſult the majeſty of the laws, and inſolently uſurp the archiepiſcopal throne of Alexandria, without expecting the orders of his ſovereign. As a puniſhment for the imaginary offence, he again baniſhed Athanaſius from the city; and he was pleaſed to ſuppoſe, that this act of juſtice would be highly agreeable to his pious ſubjects. The preſſing ſolicitations of the people ſoon convinced him, that the majority of the Alexandrians were Chriſtians; and that the greateſt part of the Chriſtians were firmly attached to the cauſe of their oppreſſed primate. But the knowledge of their ſentiments, inſtead of perſuading

[130] I have not leiſure to follow the blind obſtinacy of Lucifer of Cagliari. See his adventures in Tillemont (Mem. Eccleſ. tom. vii. p. 900—926.); and obſerve how the colour of the narrative inſenſibly changes, as the confeſſor becomes a ſchiſmatic.

[131] Aſſenſus eſt huic ſententiæ Occidens, et, per tam neceſſarium concilium, Satanæ faucibus mundus ereptus. The lively and artful Dialogue of Jerom againſt the Luciferians (tom. ii. p. 135—155.) exhibits an original picture of the eccleſiaſtical policy of the times.

[132] Tillemont, who ſuppoſes that George was maſſacred in Auguſt, crowds the actions of Athanaſius into a narrow ſpace (Mem. Eccleſ. tom. viii. p. 360.). An original fragment, publiſhed by the marquis Maffei from the old Chapter-library of Verona (Oſſervazioni Litterarie, tom. iii. p. 60—92.), affords many important dates, which are authenticated by the computation of Egyptian months.

him

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him to recall his decree, provoked him to extend to all Egypt the term of the exile of Athanaſius. The zeal of the multitude rendered Julian ſtill more inexorable: he was alarmed by the danger of leaving at the head of a tumultuous city, a daring and popular leader; and the language of his reſentment diſcovers the opinion which he entertained of the courage and abilities of Athanaſius. The execution of the ſentence was ſtill delayed, by the caution or negligence of Ecdicius, præfect of Egypt, who was at length awakened from his lethargy by a ſevere reprimand. "Though you neglect," ſays Julian, "to write to me on any other ſubject, at leaſt it is your duty to "inform me of your conduct towards Athanaſius, the enemy of the "gods. My intentions have been long ſince communicated to you. "I ſwear by the great Serapis, that unleſs, on the calends of De- "cember, Athanaſius has departed from Alexandria, nay from Egypt, "the officers of your government ſhall pay a fine of one hundred "pounds of gold. You know my temper: I am ſlow to condemn, "but I am ſtill ſlower to forgive." This epiſtle was enforced by a ſhort poſtſcript, written with the emperor's own hand. "The contempt "that is ſhewn for all the gods fills me with grief and indignation. "There is nothing that I ſhould ſee, nothing that I ſhould hear, "with more pleaſure, than the expulſion of Athanaſius from "all Egypt. The abominable wretch! Under my reign, the bap- "tiſm of ſeveral Grecian ladies of the higheſt rank has been the "effect of his perſecutions[133]." The death of Athanaſius was not *expreſsly* commanded; but the præfect of Egypt underſtood, that it was ſafer for him to exceed, than to neglect, the orders of an irritated maſter. The archbiſhop prudently retired to the monaſteries of the Deſert: eluded, with his uſual dexterity, the ſnares of the enemy; and lived to triumph over the aſhes of a prince, who, in words of

[133] Τον μιαρον, ος ετολμησεν Ελληνιδας, επ' εμου, γυναικας των επισημων βαπτισαι διωκισθαι. I have preſerved the ambiguous ſenſe of the laſt word, the ambiguity of a tyrant who wiſhed to find, or to create, guilt.

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formidable import, had declared his wiſh that the whole venom of the Galilæan ſchool were contained in the ſingle perſon of Athanaſius [134].

Zeal and imprudence of the Chriſtians.

I have endeavoured faithfully to repreſent the artful ſyſtem by which Julian propoſed to obtain the effects, without incurring the guilt, or reproach, of perſecution. But if the deadly ſpirit of fanaticiſm perverted the heart and underſtanding of a virtuous prince, it muſt, at the ſame time, be confeſſed, that the *real* ſufferings of the Chriſtians were inflamed and magnified by human paſſions and religious enthuſiaſm. The meekneſs and reſignation which had diſtinguiſhed the primitive diſciples of the goſpel, was the object of the applauſe, rather than of the imitation, of their ſucceſſors. The Chriſtians, who had now poſſeſſed above forty years the civil and eccleſiaſtical government of the empire, had contracted the inſolent vices of proſperity [135], and the habit of believing that the ſaints alone were entitled to reign over the earth. As ſoon as the enmity of Julian deprived the clergy of the privileges which had been conferred by the favour of Conſtantine, they complained of the moſt cruel oppreſſion; and the free toleration of idolaters and heretics was a ſubject of grief and ſcandal to the orthodox party [136]. The acts of violence, which were no longer countenanced by the magiſtrates, were ſtill committed by the zeal of the people. At Peſſinus, the altar of Cybele was overturned almoſt in the preſence of the emperor; and in the city of Cæſarea in Cappadocia, the temple of Fortune, the ſole place of worſhip which had been left to the Pagans, was deſtroyed by the rage of a popular tumult. On theſe occaſions, a prince

[134] The three epiſtles of Julian, which explain his intentions and conduct with regard to Athanaſius, ſhould be diſpoſed in the following chronological order, xxvi, x, vi. See likewiſe Greg. Nazianzen, xxi. p. 393. Sozomen, l. v. c. 15. Socrates, l. iii. c. 14. Theodoret, l. iii. c. 9. and Tillemont, Mem. Eccleſ. tom. viii. p. 361—368. who has uſed ſome materials prepared by the Bollandiſts.

[135] See the fair confeſſion of Gregory (Orat. iii. p. 61, 62.).

[136] Hear the furious and abſurd complaint of Optatus (de Schiſmat. Donatiſt. l. ii. c. 16, 17.).

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who felt for the honour of the gods, was not diſpoſed to interrupt the courſe of juſtice; and his mind was ſtill more deeply exaſperated, when he found, that the fanatics, who had deſerved and ſuffered the puniſhment of incendiaries, were rewarded with the honours of martyrdom [137]. The Chriſtian ſubjects of Julian were aſſured of the hoſtile deſigns of their ſovereign; and, to their jealous apprehenſion, every circumſtance of his government might afford ſome grounds of diſcontent and ſuſpicion. In the ordinary adminiſtration of the laws, the Chriſtians, who formed ſo large a part of the people, muſt frequently be condemned: but their indulgent brethren, without examining the merits of the cauſe, preſumed their innocence, allowed their claims, and imputed the ſeverity of their judge to the partial malice of religious perſecution [138]. Theſe preſent hardſhips, intolerable as they might appear, were repreſented as a ſlight prelude of the impending calamities. The Chriſtians conſidered Julian as a cruel and crafty tyrant; who ſuſpended the execution of his revenge, till he ſhould return victorious from the Perſian war. They expected, that as ſoon as he had triumphed over the foreign enemies of Rome, he would lay aſide the irkſome maſk of diſſimulation; that the amphitheatres would ſtream with the blood of hermits and biſhops; and that the Chriſtians, who ſtill perſevered in the profeſſion of the faith, would be deprived of the common benefits of nature and ſociety [139]. Every calumny [140] that could wound the reputation of the Apoſtate,

[137] Greg. Nazianzen, Orat. iii. p. 91. iv. p. 133. He praiſes the rioters of Cæſarea, τιυτων δε των μιγαλοφυων και θειμων εις Ευσεβειαν. See Sozomen, l. v. 4. 11. Tillemont (Mem. Eccleſ. tom. vii. p. 649, 650.) owns, that their behaviour was not, dans l'ordre commun; but he is perfectly ſatisfied, as the great St. Baſil always celebrated the feſtival of theſe bleſſed martyrs.

[138] Julian determined a law-ſuit againſt the new Chriſtian city at Maiuma, the port of Gaza; and his ſentence, though it might be imputed to bigotry, was never reverſed by his ſucceſſors. Sozomen, l. v. c. 3. Reland. Paleſtin. tom. ii. p. 791.

[139] Gregory (Orat. iii. p. 93, 94, 95. Orat. iv. p. 114.) pretends to ſpeak from the information of Julian's confidents, whom Oroſius (vii. 30.) could not have ſeen.

[140] Gregory (Orat. iii. p. 91.) charges the Apoſtate with ſecret ſacrifices of boys and girls; and poſitively affirms, that the dead bodies

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Apoſtate, was credulouſly embraced by the fears and hatred of his adverſaries; and their indiſcreet clamours provoked the temper of a ſovereign, whom it was their duty to reſpect, and their intereſt to flatter. They ſtill proteſted, that prayers and tears were their only weapons againſt the impious tyrant, whoſe head they devoted to the juſtice of offended Heaven. But they inſinuated, with ſullen reſolution, that their ſubmiſſion was no longer the effect of weakneſs; and that, in the imperfect ſtate of human virtue, the patience, which is founded on principle, may be exhauſted by perſecution. It is impoſſible to determine how far the zeal of Julian would have prevailed over his good ſenſe and humanity; but, if we ſeriouſly reflect on the ſtrength and ſpirit of the church, we ſhall be convinced, that, before the emperor could have extinguiſhed the religion of Chriſt, he muſt have involved his country in the horrors of a civil war [141].

bodies were thrown into the Orontes. See Theodoret, l. iii. c. 26, 27.; and the equivocal candour of the Abbé de la Bleterie, Vie de Julien, p. 351, 352. Yet *contemporary* malice could not impute to Julian the troops of martyrs, more eſpecially in the Weſt, which Baronius ſo greedily ſwallows, and Tillemont ſo faintly rejects (Mem. Eccleſ. tom. vii. p. 1295—1315.).

[141] The reſignation of Gregory is truly edifying (Orat. iv. p. 123, 124.). Yet, when an officer of Julian attempted to ſeize the church of Nazianzus, he would have loſt his life, if he had not yielded to the zeal of the biſhop and people (Orat. xix. p. 308.). See the reflections of Chryſoſtom, as they are alleged by Tillemont (Mem. Eccleſ. tom. vii. p. 575.).

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Reſidence of Julian at Antioch.—His ſucceſsful Expedition againſt the Perſians.—Paſſage of the Tigris.—The Retreat and Death of Julian.—Election of Jovian.—He ſaves the Roman Army by a diſgraceful Treaty.

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The Cæſars of Julian.

THE philoſophical fable which Julian compoſed under the name of the CÆSARS[1], is one of the moſt agreeable and inſtructive productions of ancient wit[2]. During the freedom and equality of the days of the Saturnalia, Romulus prepared a feaſt for the deities of Olympus, who had adopted him as a worthy aſſociate, and for the Roman princes, who had reigned over his martial people, and the vanquiſhed nations of the earth. The immortals were placed in juſt order on their thrones of ſtate, and the table of the Cæſars was ſpread below the moon, in the upper region of the air. The tyrants, who would have diſgraced the ſociety of gods

[1] See this fable or ſatire, p. 306—336. of the Leipſig edition of Julian's works. The French verſion of the learned Ezekiél Spanheim (Paris, 1683) is coarſe, languid, and correct; and his notes, proofs, illuſtrations, &c. are piled on each other till they form a maſs of 557 cloſe-printed quarto pages. The Abbé de la Bleterie (Vie de Jovien, tom. i. p. 241—393.) has more happily expreſſed the ſpirit, as well as the ſenſe, of the original, which he illuſtrates with ſome conciſe and curious notes.

[2] Spanheim (in his preface) has moſt learnedly diſcuſſed the etymology, origin, reſemblance, and diſagreement of the Greek *ſatyrs*, a dramatic piece, which was acted after the tragedy; and the Latin *ſatires* (from *Satura*), a *miſcellaneous* compoſition, either in proſe or verſe. But the Cæſars of Julian are of ſuch an original caſt, that the critic is perplexed to which claſs he ſhould aſcribe them.

and

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and men, were thrown headlong, by the inexorable Nemeſis, into the Tartarean abyſs. The reſt of the Cæſars ſucceſſively advanced to their ſeats; and, as they paſſed, the vices, the defects, the blemiſhes of their reſpective characters, were maliciouſly noticed by old Silenus, a laughing moraliſt, who diſguiſed the wiſdom of a philoſopher under the maſk of a Bacchanal [3]. As ſoon as the feaſt was ended, the voice of Mercury proclaimed the will of Jupiter, that a celeſtial crown ſhould be the reward of ſuperior merit. Julius Cæſar, Auguſtus, Trajan, and Marcus Antoninus, were ſelected as the moſt illuſtrious candidates; the effeminate Conſtantine [4] was not excluded from this honourable competition, and the great Alexander was invited to diſpute the prize of glory with the Roman heroes. Each of the candidates was allowed to diſplay the merit of his own exploits; but, in the judgment of the gods, the modeſt ſilence of Marcus pleaded more powerfully than the elaborate orations of his haughty rivals. When the judges of this awful conteſt proceeded to examine the heart, and to ſcrutinize the ſprings of action; the ſuperiority of the Imperial Stoic appeared ſtill more deciſive and conſpicuous [5]. Alexander and Cæſar, Auguſtus, Trajan, and Conſtantine, acknowledged with a bluſh, that fame, or power, or pleaſure, had been the important object of *their* labours; but the gods themſelves beheld, with reverence and love, a virtuous mortal, who had practiſed on the throne the leſſons of philoſophy; and who, in a ſtate of human imperfection, had aſpired to imitate the

[3] This mixed character of Silenus is finely painted in the ſixth eclogue of Virgil.

[4] Every impartial reader muſt perceive and condemn the partiality of Julian againſt his uncle Conſtantine and the Chriſtian religion. On this occaſion, the interpreters are compelled, by a more ſacred intereſt, to renounce their allegiance, and to deſert the cauſe of their author.

[5] Julian was ſecretly inclined to prefer a Greek to a Roman. But when he ſeriouſly compared a hero with a philoſopher, he was ſenſible that mankind had much greater obligations to Socrates than to Alexander (Orat. ad Themiſtium, p. 264.).

moral

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moral attributes of the Deity. The value of this agreeable compoſition (the Cæſars of Julian) is enhanced by the rank of the author. A prince, who delineates with freedom the vices and virtues of his predeceſſors, ſubſcribes, in every line, the cenſure or approbation of his own conduct.

He reſolves to march againſt the Perſians, A. D. 362.

In the cool moments of reflection, Julian preferred the uſeful and benevolent virtues of Antoninus: but his ambitious ſpirit was inflamed by the glory of Alexander; and he ſolicited, with equal ardour, the eſteem of the wiſe, and the applauſe of the multitude. In the ſeaſon of life, when the powers of the mind and body enjoy the moſt active vigour, the emperor, who was inſtructed by the experience, and animated by the ſucceſs, of the German war, reſolved to ſignalize his reign by ſome more ſplendid and memorable atchievement. The ambaſſadors of the Eaſt, from the continent of India, and the iſle of Ceylon [6], had reſpectfully ſaluted the Roman purple [7]. The nations of the Weſt eſteemed and dreaded the perſonal virtues of Julian, both in peace and war. He deſpiſed the trophies of a Gothic victory [8], and was ſatisfied that the rapacious Barbarians of the Danube would be reſtrained from any future violation of the faith of treaties, by the terror of his name, and the additional fortifications,

[6] Inde nationibus Indicis certatim cum donis optimates mittentibus . . . ab uſque Divis et *Serendivis*. Ammian. xx. 7. This iſland, to which the names of Taprobana, Serendib, and Ceylon, have been ſucceſſively applied, manifeſts how imperfectly the ſeas and lands, to the eaſt of cape Comorin, were known to the Romans. 1. Under the reign of Claudius, a freedman, who farmed the cuſtoms of the Red Sea, was accidentally driven by the winds upon this ſtrange and undiſcovered coaſt: he converſed ſix months with the natives; and the king of Ceylon, who heard, for the firſt time, of the power and juſtice of Rome, was perſuaded to ſend an embaſſy to the emperor (Plin. Hiſt. Nat. vi. 24.). 2. The geographers (and even Ptolemy) have magnified, above fifteen times, the real ſize of this new world, which they extended as far as the equator, and the neighbourhood of China.

[7] Theſe embaſſies had been ſent to Conſtantius. Ammianus, who unwarily deviates into groſs flattery, muſt have forgotten the length of the way, and the ſhort duration of the reign of Julian.

[8] Gothos ſæpe fallaces et perfidos; hoſtes quærere ſe meliores aiebat: illis enim ſufficere mercatores Galatas per quos ubique ſine conditionis diſcrimine venumdantur. Within leſs than fifteen years, theſe Gothic ſlaves threatened and ſubdued their maſters.

with

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with which he ſtrengthened the Thracian and Illyrian frontiers. The ſucceſſor of Cyrus and Artaxerxes was the only rival whom he deemed worthy of his arms; and he reſolved, by the final conqueſt of Perſia, to chaſtiſe the haughty nation, which had ſo long reſiſted and inſulted the majeſty of Rome[9]. As ſoon as the Perſian monarch was informed that the throne of Conſtantius was filled by a prince of a very different character, he condeſcended to make ſome artful, or perhaps ſincere, overtures, towards a negociation of peace. But the pride of Sapor was aſtoniſhed by the firmneſs of Julian; who ſternly declared, that he would never conſent to hold a peaceful conference among the flames and ruins of the cities of Meſopotamia; and who added, with a ſmile of contempt, that it was needleſs to treat by ambaſſadors, as he himſelf had determined to viſit ſpeedily the court of Perſia. The impatience of the emperor urged the diligence of the military preparations. The generals were named; a formidable army was deſtined for this important ſervice; and Julian, marching from Conſtantinople through the provinces of Aſia Minor, arrived at Antioch about eight months after the death of his predeceſſor. His ardent deſire to march into the heart of Perſia, was checked by the indiſpenſable duty of regulating the ſtate of the empire; by his zeal to revive the worſhip of the gods; and by the advice of his wiſeſt friends; who repreſented the neceſſity of allowing the ſalutary interval of winter-quarters, to reſtore the exhauſted ſtrength of the legions of Gaul, and the diſcipline and ſpirit of the Eaſtern troops. Julian was perſuaded to fix, till the enſuing ſpring, his reſidence at Antioch, among a people maliciouſly diſpoſed

Julian proceeds from Conſtantinople to Antioch. Auguſt.

[9] Alexander reminds his rival Cæſar, who depreciated the fame and merit of an Aſiatic victory, that Craſſus and Antony had felt the Perſian arrows; and that the Romans, in a war of three hundred years, had not yet ſubdued the ſingle province of Meſopotamia or Aſſyria (Cæſares, p. 324.).

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to deride the haſte, and to cenſure the delays, of their ſovereign [10].

Licentious manners of the people of Antioch.

If Julian had flattered himſelf, that his perſonal connection with the capital of the Eaſt would be productive of mutual ſatisfaction to the prince and people, he made a very falſe eſtimate of his own character, and of the manners of Antioch [11]. The warmth of the climate diſpoſed the natives to the moſt intemperate enjoyment of tranquillity and opulence; and the lively licentiouſneſs of the Greeks was blended with the hereditary ſoftneſs of the Syrians. Faſhion was the only law, pleaſure the only purſuit, and the ſplendour of dreſs and furniture was the only diſtinction of the citizens of Antioch. The arts of luxury were honoured; the ſerious and manly virtues were the ſubject of ridicule; and the contempt for female modeſty, and reverent age, announced the univerſal corruption of the capital of the Eaſt. The love of ſpectacles was the taſte, or rather paſſion, of the Syrians: the moſt ſkilful artiſts were procured from the adjacent cities [12]; a conſiderable ſhare of the revenue was devoted to the public amuſements; and the magnificence of the games of the theatre and circus was conſidered as the happineſs, and as the glory, of Antioch. The ruſtic manners of a prince who diſdained ſuch glory, and was inſenſible of ſuch happineſs, ſoon diſguſted the delicacy of his ſubjects; and the effeminate Orientals could neither imitate, nor admire, the ſevere ſimplicity which Julian always maintained, and ſometimes affected. The days of feſtivity,

[10] The deſign of the Perſian war is declared by Ammianus (xxii. 7. 12.), Libanius (Orat. Parent. c. 79, 80. p. 305, 306.), Zoſimus (l. iii. p. 158.), and Socrates (l. iii. c. 19.).

[11] The Satire of Julian, and the Homilies of St. Chryſoſtom, exhibit the ſame picture of Antioch. The miniature which the Abbé de la Bleterie has copied from thence (Vie de Julien, p. 332.), is elegant and correct.

[12] Laodicea furniſhed charioteers; Tyre and Berytus, comedians; Cæſarea, pantomimes; Heliopolis, ſingers; Gaza, gladiators; Aſcalon, wreſtlers; and Caſtabala, rope-dancers. See the Expoſitio totius Mundi, p. 6. in the third tome of Hudſon's Minor Geographers.

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consecrated, by ancient custom, to the honour of the gods, were the only occasions in which Julian relaxed his philosophic severity; and those festivals were the only days in which the Syrians of Antioch could reject the allurements of pleasure. The majority of the people supported the glory of the Christian name, which had been first invented by their ancestors [13]: they contented themselves with disobeying the moral precepts, but they were scrupulously attached to the speculative doctrines, of their religion. The church of Antioch was distracted by heresy and schism; but the Arians and the Athanasians, the followers of Meletius and those of Paulinus [14], were actuated by the same pious hatred of their common adversary.

Their aversion to Julian.

The strongest prejudice was entertained against the character of an apostate, the enemy and successor of a prince who had engaged the affections of a very numerous sect; and the removal of St. Babylas excited an implacable opposition to the person of Julian. His subjects complained, with superstitious indignation, that famine had pursued the emperor's steps from Constantinople to Antioch: and the discontent of a hungry people was exasperated by the injudicious attempt to relieve their distress. The inclemency of the season had affected the harvests of Syria; and the price of bread [15], in the markets of Antioch, had naturally risen in proportion to the scarcity of

Scarcity of corn, and public discontent.

[13] Χριστον δι αγαπωντες, εχιτε πολιηχον αντι τυ Διος. The people of Antioch ingenuously professed their attachment to the *Chi* (Christ) and the *Kappa* (Constantius), Julian in Misopogon, p. 357.

[14] The schism of Antioch, which lasted eighty-five years (A. D. 330—415), was inflamed, while Julian resided in that city, by the indiscreet ordination of Paulinus. See Tillemont, Mem. Eccles. tom. vii. p. 803. of the quarto edition (Paris, 1701, &c.), which henceforward I shall quote.

[15] Julian states three different proportions of five, ten, or fifteen *modii* of wheat, for one piece of gold, according to the degrees of plenty and scarcity (in Misopogon, p. 369.). From this fact, and from some collateral examples, I conclude, that under the successors of Constantine, the moderate price of wheat was about thirty-two shillings the English quarter, which is equal to the average price of the sixty-four first years of the present century. See Arbuthnot's Tables of Coins, Weights, and Measures, p. 88, 89. Plin. Hist. Natur. xviii. 12. Mem. de l'Academie des Inscriptions, tom. xxviii. p. 718—721.

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of corn. But the fair and reaſonable proportion was ſoon violated by the rapacious arts of monopoly. In this unequal conteſt, in which the produce of the land is claimed by one party, as his excluſive property; is uſed by another as a lucrative object of trade; and is required by a third, for the daily and neceſſary ſupport of life; all the profits of the intermediate agents are accumulated on the head of the defenceleſs conſumers. The hardſhips of their ſituation were exaggerated and increaſed by their own impatience and anxiety; and the apprehenſion of a ſcarcity gradually produced the appearances of a famine. When the luxurious citizens of Antioch complained of the high price of poultry and fiſh, Julian publicly declared, that a frugal city ought to be ſatisfied with a regular ſupply of wine, oil, and bread; but he acknowledged that it was the duty of a ſovereign to provide for the ſubſiſtence of his people. With this ſalutary view, the emperor ventured on a very dangerous and doubtful ſtep, of fixing, by legal authority, the value of corn. He enacted, that in a time of ſcarcity, it ſhould be ſold at a price which had ſeldom been known in the moſt plentiful years; and that his own example might ſtrengthen his laws, he ſent into the market four hundred and twenty-two thouſand *modii*, or meaſures, which were drawn, by his order, from the granaries of Hierapolis, of Chalcis, and even of Egypt. The conſequences might have been foreſeen, and were ſoon felt. The Imperial wheat was purchaſed by the rich merchants; the proprietors of land, or of corn, withheld from the city the accuſtomed ſupply; and the ſmall quantities that appeared in the market, were ſecretly ſold at an advanced and illegal price. Julian ſtill continued to applaud his own policy, treated the complaints of the people as a vain and ungrateful murmur, and convinced Antioch, that he had inherited the obſtinacy, though not the cruelty, of his brother Gal-

Smith's Inquiry into the Nature and Cauſes of the Wealth of Nations, vol. i. p. 246. This laſt I am proud to quote, as the work of a ſage and a friend.

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lus[16]. The remonſtrances of the municipal ſenate ſerved only to exaſperate his inflexible mind. He was perſuaded, perhaps with truth, that the ſenators of Antioch who poſſeſſed lands, or were concerned in trade, had themſelves contributed to the calamities of their country; and he imputed the diſreſpectful boldneſs which they aſſumed, to the ſenſe, not of public duty, but of private intereſt. The whole body, conſiſting of two hundred of the moſt noble and wealthy citizens, were ſent, under a guard, from the palace to the priſon; and though they were permitted, before the cloſe of evening, to return to their reſpective houſes[17], the emperor himſelf could not obtain the forgiveneſs which he had ſo eaſily granted. The ſame grievances were ſtill the ſubject of the ſame complaints, which were induſtriouſly circulated by the wit and levity of the Syrian Greeks. During the licentious days of the Saturnalia, the ſtreets of the city reſounded with inſolent ſongs, which derided the laws, the religion, the perſonal conduct, and even the *beard* of the emperor; and the ſpirit of Antioch was manifeſted by the connivance of the magiſtrates, and the applauſe of the multitude[18]. The diſciple of Socrates was too deeply affected by theſe popular inſults; but the monarch, endowed with quick ſenſibility, and poſſeſſed of abſolute power, refuſed his paſſions the gratification of revenge. A tyrant might have proſcribed, without diſtinction, the lives and fortunes of the citizens of Antioch; and the unwarlike Syrians muſt have patiently ſubmitted to the luſt, the rapaciouſneſs,

[16] Nunquam a propoſito declinabat, Galli ſimilis fratris, licet incruentus. Ammian. xxii. 14. The ignorance of the moſt enlightened princes may claim ſome excuſe; but we cannot be ſatisfied with Julian's own defence (in Miſopogon, p. 368, 369.), or the elaborate apology of Libanius (Orat. Parental. c. xcvii. p. 321.).

[17] Their ſhort and eaſy confinement is gently touched by Libanius (Orat. Parental. c. xcviii. p. 322, 323.).

[18] Libanius (ad Antiochenos de Imperatoris ira, c. 17, 18, 19. in Fabricius, Bibliot. Græc. tom. vii. p. 221—223.), like a ſkilful advocate, ſeverely cenſures the folly of the people, who ſuffered for the crime of a few obſcure and drunken wretches.

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and the cruelty of the faithful legions of Gaul. A milder ſentence might have deprived the capital of the Eaſt of its honours and privileges; and the courtiers, perhaps the ſubjects, of Julian, would have applauded an act of juſtice, which aſſerted the dignity of the ſupreme magiſtrate of the republic[19]. But inſtead of abuſing, or exerting, the authority of the ſtate, to revenge his perſonal injuries, Julian contented himſelf with an inoffenſive mode of retaliation, which it would be in the power of few princes to employ. He had been inſulted by ſatires and libels; in his turn he compoſed, under the title of the *Enemy of the Beard*, an ironical confeſſion of his own faults, and a ſevere ſatire of the licentious and effeminate manners of Antioch. This Imperial reply was publicly expoſed before the gates of the palace; and the MISOPOGON[20] ſtill remains a ſingular monument of the reſentment, the wit, the humanity, and the indiſcretion of Julian. Though he affected to laugh, he could not forgive[21]. His contempt was expreſſed, and his revenge might be gratified, by the nomination of a governor[22] worthy only of ſuch ſubjects: and the emperor, for ever renouncing the ungrateful city, proclaimed his reſolution to paſs the enſuing winter at Tarſus in Cilicia[23].

Julian compoſes a ſatire againſt Antioch.

[19] Libanius (ad Antiochen. c. vii. p. 213.) reminds Antioch of the recent chaſtiſement of Cæſarea; and even Julian (in Miſopogon, p. 355.) inſinuates how ſeverely Tarentum had expiated the inſult to the Roman ambaſſadors.

[20] On the ſubject of the Miſopogon, ſee Ammianus (xxii. 14.), Libanius (Orat. Parentalis, c. xcix. p. 323.), Gregory Nazianzen (Orat. iv. p. 133.), and the Chronicle of Antioch, by John Malela (tom. ii. p. 15, 16.). I have eſſential obligations to the tranſlation and notes of the Abbé de la Bleterie (Vie de Jovien, tom. ii. p. 1—138.).

[21] Ammianus very juſtly remarks, Coactus diſſimulare pro tempore irâ ſuffabatur interâ. The elaborate irony of Julian at length burſts forth into ſerious and direct invective.

[22] Ipſe autem Antiochiam egreſſurus, Heliopoliten quendam Alexandrum Syriacæ juriſdictioni præfecit, turbulentum et fævum; dicebatque non illum meruiſſe, ſed Antiochenſibus avaris et contumelioſis hujuſmodi judicem convenire. Ammian. xxiii. 2. Libanius (Epiſt. 722. p. 346, 347.), who confeſſes to Julian himſelf, that he had ſhared the general diſcontent, pretends that Alexander was an uſeful, though harſh, reformer of the manners and religion of Antioch.

[23] Julian, in Miſopogon, p. 364. Ammian. xxiii. 2. and Valeſius ad loc. Libanius, in a profeſſed oration, invites him to return to his loyal and penitent city of Antioch.

Yet

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The ſophiſt Libanius. A. D. 314—390, &c.

Yet Antioch poſſeſſed one citizen, whoſe genius and virtues might atone, in the opinion of Julian, for the vice and folly of his country. The ſophiſt Libanius was born in the capital of the Eaſt; he publicly profeſſed the arts of rhetoric and declamation at Nice, Nicomedia, Conſtantinople, Athens, and, during the remainder of his life, at Antioch. His ſchool was aſſiduouſly frequented by the Grecian youth; his diſciples, who ſometimes exceeded the number of eighty, celebrated their incomparable maſter; and the jealouſy of his rivals, who perſecuted him from one city to another, confirmed the favourable opinion which Libanius oſtentatiouſly diſplayed of his ſuperior merit. The præceptors of Julian had extorted a raſh but ſolemn aſſurance, that he would never attend the lectures of their adverſary: the curioſity of the royal youth was checked and inflamed: he ſecretly procured the writings of this dangerous ſophiſt, and gradually ſurpaſſed, in the perfect imitation of his ſtyle, the moſt laborious of his domeſtic pupils[24]. When Julian aſcended the throne, he declared his impatience to embrace and reward the Syrian ſophiſt, who had preſerved, in a degenerate age, the Grecian purity of taſte, of manners, and of religion. The emperor's prepoſſeſſion was increaſed and juſtified by the diſcreet pride of his favourite. Inſtead of preſſing, with the foremoſt of the crowd, into the palace of Conſtantinople, Libanius calmly expected his arrival at Antioch; withdrew from court on the firſt ſymptoms of coldneſs and indifference; required a formal invitation for each viſit; and taught his ſovereign an important leſſon, that he might command the obedience of a ſubject, but that he muſt deſerve the attachment of a friend. The ſophiſts of every age, deſpiſing, or affecting to deſpiſe, the accidental diſtinctions of birth and fortune[25], reſerve their eſteem

[24] Libanius, Orat. Parent. c. vii. p. 230, 231.

[25] Eunapius reports, that Libanius refuſed the honorary rank of Prætorian præfect, as leſs illuſtrious than the title of Sophiſt (in Vit. Sophiſt. p. 135). The critics have obſerved a ſimilar ſentiment in one of the epiſtles (xviii. edit. Wolf) of Libanius himſelf.

for

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for the ſuperior qualities of the mind, with which they themſelves are ſo plentifully endowed. Julian might diſdain the acclamations of a venal court, who adored the Imperial purple; but he was deeply flattered by the praiſe, the admonition, the freedom, and the envy of an independent philoſopher, who refuſed his favours, loved his perſon, celebrated his fame, and protected his memory. The voluminous writings of Libanius ſtill exiſt; for the moſt part, they are the vain and idle compoſitions of an orator, who cultivated the ſcience of words; the productions of a recluſe ſtudent, whoſe mind, regardleſs of his contemporaries, was inceſſantly fixed on the Trojan war, and the Athenian commonwealth. Yet the ſophiſt of Antioch ſometimes deſcended from this imaginary elevation; he entertained a various and elaborate correſpondence [26]; he praiſed the virtues of his own times; he boldly arraigned the abuſes of public and private life; and he eloquently pleaded the cauſe of Antioch againſt the juſt reſentment of Julian and Theodoſius. It is the common calamity of old age [27], to loſe whatever might have rendered it deſirable; but Libanius experienced the peculiar misfortune of ſurviving the religion and the ſciences, to which he had conſecrated his genius. The friend of Julian was an indignant ſpectator of the triumph of Chriſtianity; and his bigotry, which darkened the proſpect of the viſible world, did not inſpire Libanius with any lively hopes of celeſtial glory and happineſs [28].

The

[26] Near two thouſand of his letters, a mode of compoſition in which Libanius was thought to excel, are ſtill extant, and already publiſhed. The critics may praiſe their ſubtle and elegant brevity; yet Dr. Bentley (Diſſertation upon Phalaris, p. 487.) might juſtly, though quaintly, obſerve, that "you feel by "the emptineſs and deadneſs of them, that "you converſe with ſome dreaming pedant, "with his elbow on his deſk."

[27] His birth is aſſigned to the year 314. He mentions the ſeventy-ſixth year of his age (A. D. 390), and ſeems to allude to ſome events of a ſtill later date.

[28] Libanius has compoſed the vain, prolix, but curious narrative of his own life (tom. ii. p. 1—84. edit. Morell), of which Eunapius (p. 130—135.) has left a conciſe and unfavourable account. Among the moderns, Tillemont (Hiſt. des Empereurs, tom. iv. p. 571—

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March of Julian to the Euphrates, A. D. 363, March 5.

The martial impatience of Julian urged him to take the field in the beginning of the ſpring; and he diſmiſſed, with contempt and reproach, the ſenate of Antioch, who accompanied the emperor beyond the limits of their own territory, to which he was reſolved never to return. After a laborious march of two days [29], he halted on the third, at Beræa, or Aleppo, where he had the mortification of finding a ſenate almoſt entirely Chriſtian; who received with cold and formal demonſtrations of reſpect, the eloquent ſermon of the apoſtle of paganiſm. The ſon of one of the moſt illuſtrious citizens of Beræa, who had embraced, either from intereſt or conſcience, the religion of the emperor, was diſinherited by his angry parent. The father and the ſon were invited to the Imperial table. Julian, placing himſelf between them, attempted, without ſucceſs, to inculcate the leſſon and example of toleration; ſupported, with affected calmneſs, the indiſcreet zeal of the aged Chriſtian, who ſeemed to forget the ſentiments of nature, and the duty of a ſubject; and at length turning towards the afflicted youth, "ſince you have loſt "a father," ſaid he, "for my ſake, it is incumbent on me to ſupply "his place [30]." The emperor was received in a manner much more agreeable to his wiſhes at Batnæ, a ſmall town pleaſantly ſeated in a grove of cypreſſes, about twenty miles from the city of Hierapolis. The ſolemn rites of ſacrifice were decently prepared by the inhabitants of Batnæ, who ſeemed attached to the worſhip of their tutelar

571—576.), Fabricius (Bibliot. Græc. tom. vii. p. 378—414.), and Lardner (Heathen Teſtimonies, tom. iv. p. 127—163.), have illuſtrated the character and writings of this famous ſophiſt.

[29] From Antioch to Litarbe, on the territory of Chalcis, the road, over hills and through moraſſes, was extremely bad; and the looſe ſtones were cemented only with ſand (Julian, epiſt. xxvii.). It is ſingular enough, that the Romans ſhould have neglected the great communication between Antioch and the Euphrates. See Weſſeling. Itinerar. p. 190. Bergier, Hiſt. des Grands Chemins, tom. ii. p. 100.

[30] Julian alludes to this incident (epiſt. xxvii.), which is more diſtinctly related by Theodoret (l. iii. c. 22.). The intolerant ſpirit of the father is applauded by Tillemont (Hiſt. des Empereurs, tom. iv. p. 534.), and even by La Bleterie (Vie de Julien, p. 413.).

deities,

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deities, Apollo and Jupiter; but the ſerious piety of Julian was offended by the tumult of their applauſe; and he too clearly diſcerned, that the ſmoke which aroſe from their altars was the incenſe of flattery, rather than of devotion. The ancient and magnificent temple, which had ſanctified, for ſo many ages, the city of Hierapolis [31], no longer ſubſiſted; and the conſecrated wealth, which afforded a liberal maintenance to more than three hundred prieſts, might haſten its downfal. Yet Julian enjoyed the ſatisfaction of embracing a philoſopher and a friend, whoſe religious firmneſs had withſtood the preſſing and repeated ſolicitations of Conſtantius and Gallus, as often as thoſe princes lodged at his houſe, in their paſſage through Hierapolis. In the hurry of military preparation, and the careleſs confidence of a familiar correſpondence, the zeal of Julian appears to have been lively and uniform. He had now undertaken an important and difficult war; and the anxiety of the event rendered him ſtill more attentive to obſerve and regiſter the moſt trifling preſages, from which, according to the rules of divination, any knowledge of futurity could be derived [32]. He informed Libanius of his progreſs as far as Hierapolis, by an elegant epiſtle [33], which diſplays the facility of his genius, and his tender friendſhip for the ſophiſt of Antioch.

His deſign of invading Perſia.

Hierapolis, ſituate almoſt on the banks of the Euphrates [34], had been appointed for the general rendezvous of the Roman troops, who immediately paſſed the great river on a bridge of boats, which was

[31] See the curious treatiſe de Deâ Syriâ, inſerted among the works of Lucian (tom. iii. p. 451—490. edit. Reitz). The ſingular appellation of *Ninus vetus* (Ammian. xiv. 8.) might induce a ſuſpicion, that Hierapolis had been the royal ſeat of the Aſſyrians.

[32] Julian (epiſt. xxviii.) kept a regular account of all the fortunate omens; but he ſuppreſſes the inauſpicious ſigns, which Ammianus (xxiii. 2.) has carefully recorded.

[33] Julian, epiſt. xxvii. p. 399—402.

[34] I take the earlieſt opportunity of acknowledging my obligations to M. d'Anville, for his recent geography of the Euphrates and Tigris (Paris, 1780, in 4to.), which particularly illuſtrates the expedition of Julian.

previouſly

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previouſly conſtructed [35]. If the inclinations of Julian had been ſimilar to thoſe of his predeceſſor, he might have waſted the active and important ſeaſon of the year in the circus of Samoſata, or in the churches of Edeſſa. But as the warlike emperor, inſtead of Conſtantius, had choſen Alexander for his model, he advanced without delay to Carrhæ [36], a very ancient city of Meſopotamia, at the diſtance of fourſcore miles from Hierapolis. The temple of the Moon attracted the devotion of Julian; but the halt of a few days was principally employed in completing the immenſe preparations of the Perſian war. The ſecret of the expedition had hitherto remained in his own breaſt; but as Carrhæ is the point of ſeparation of the two great roads, he could no longer conceal, whether it was his deſign to attack the dominions of Sapor on the ſide of the Tigris, or on that of the Euphrates. The emperor detached an army of thirty thouſand men, under the command of his kinſman Procopius, and of Sebaſtian, who had been duke of Egypt. They were ordered to direct their march towards Niſibis, and to ſecure the frontier from the deſultory incurſions of the enemy, before they attempted the paſſage of the Tigris. Their ſubſequent operations were left to the diſcretion of the generals; but Julian expected, that after waſting with fire and ſword the fertile diſtricts of Media and Adiabene, they might arrive under the walls of Cteſiphon about the ſame time that he himſelf, advancing with equal ſteps along the banks of the Euphrates, ſhould beſiege the capital of the Perſian monarchy. The ſucceſs of this well-concerted plan depended, in a great meaſure, on the powerful and ready aſſiſtance of the king of

Diſaffection of the king of Armenia.

[35] There are three paſſages within a few miles of each other; 1. Zeugma, celebrated by the ancients; 2. Bir, frequented by the moderns; and, 3. The bridge of Menbigz, or Hierapolis, at the diſtance of four paraſangs from the city.

[36] Haran, or Carrhæ, was the ancient reſidence of the Sabæans, and of Abraham. See the Index Geographicus of Schultens (ad calcem Vit. Saladin.), a work from which I have obtained much *Oriental* knowledge, concerning the ancient and modern geography of Syria and the adjacent countries.

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Armenia, who, without expoſing the ſafety of his own dominions, might detach an army of four thouſand horſe, and twenty thouſand foot, to the aſſiſtance of the Romans[37]. But the feeble Arſaces Tiranus[38], king of Armenia, had degenerated ſtill more ſhamefully than his father Choſroes, from the manly virtues of the great Tiridates; and as the puſillanimous monarch was averſe to any enterpriſe of danger and glory, he could diſguiſe his timid indolence by the more decent excuſes of religion and gratitude. He expreſſed a pious attachment to the memory of Conſtantius, from whoſe hands he had received in marriage Olympias, the daughter of the præfect Ablavius; and the alliance of a female, who had been educated as the deſtined wife of the emperor Conſtans, exalted the dignity of a Barbarian king[39]. Tiranus profeſſed the Chriſtian religion; he reigned over a nation of Chriſtians; and he was reſtrained, by every principle of conſcience and intereſt, from contributing to the victory, which would conſummate the ruin of the church. The alienated mind of Tiranus was exaſperated by the indiſcretion of Julian, who treated the king of Armenia as *his* ſlave, and as the enemy of the gods. The haughty and threatening ſtyle of the Imperial mandates[40] awakened the ſecret indignation of a prince, who, in the humiliating ſtate of dependence, was ſtill conſcious of his royal deſcent from the Arſacides, the lords of the Eaſt, and the rivals of the Roman power.

[37] See Xenophon. Cyropæd. l. iii. p. 189. edit. Hutchinſon. Artavaſdes might have ſupplied Marc Antony with 16,000 horſe, armed and diſciplined after the Parthian manner (Plutarch, in M. Antonio, tom. v. p. 117.).

[38] Moſes of Chorene (Hiſt. Armeniac. l. iii. c. 11. p. 242.) fixes his acceſſion (A. D. 354) to the 17th year of Conſtantius.

[39] Ammian. xx. 11. Athanaſius (tom. i. p. 856.) ſays in general terms, that Conſtantius gave his brother's widow τοις βαρβαροις, an expreſſion more ſuitable to a Roman than a Chriſtian.

[40] Ammianus (xxiii. 2.) uſes a word much too ſoft for the occaſion, *monuerat*. Muratori (Fabricius, Bibliothec. Græc. tom. vii. p. 86.) has publiſhed an epiſtle from Julian to the ſatrap Arſaces; fierce, vulgar, and (though it might deceive Sozomen, l. vi. c. 5.) moſt probably ſpurious. La Bleterie (Hiſt. de Jovien, tom. ii. p. 339.) tranſlates and rejects it.

The

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Military preparations.

The military diſpoſitions of Julian were ſkilfully contrived to deceive the ſpies, and to divert the attention, of Sapor. The legions appeared to direct their march towards Niſibis and the Tigris. On a ſudden they wheeled to the right; traverſed the level and naked plain of Carrhæ; and reached, on the third day, the banks of the Euphrates, where the ſtrong town of Nicephorium, or Callinicum, had been founded by the Macedonian kings. From thence the emperor purſued his march, above ninety miles, along the winding ſtream of the Euphrates, till, at length, about one month after his departure from Antioch, he diſcovered the towers of Circeſium, the extreme limit of the Roman dominions. The army of Julian, the moſt numerous that any of the Cæſars had ever led againſt Perſia, conſiſted of ſixty-five thouſand effective and well-diſciplined ſoldiers. The veteran bands of cavalry and infantry, of Romans and Barbarians, had been ſelected from the different provinces; and a juſt preeminence of loyalty and valour was claimed by the hardy Gauls, who guarded the throne and perſon of their beloved prince. A formidable body of Scythian auxiliaries had been tranſported from another climate, and almoſt from another world, to invade a diſtant country, of whoſe name and ſituation they were ignorant. The love of rapine and war allured to the Imperial ſtandard ſeveral tribes of Saracens, or roving Arabs, whoſe ſervice Julian had commanded, while he ſternly refuſed the payment of the accuſtomed ſubſidies. The broad channel of the Euphrates[41] was crowded by a fleet of eleven hundred ſhips, deſtined to attend the motions, and to ſatisfy the wants, of the Roman army. The military ſtrength of the fleet was compoſed of fifty armed gallies; and theſe were accompanied

[41] Latiſſimum fluvium Euphraten artabat. Ammian. xxiii. 3. Somewhat higher, at the fords of Thapſacus, the river is four ſtadia, or 800 yards, almoſt half an Engliſh mile, broad (Xenophon Anabaſis, l. i. p. 41. edit. Hutchinſon, with Foſter's Obſervations, p. 29, &c. in the 2d volume of Spelman's tranſlation). If the breadth of the Euphrates at Bir and Zeugma is no more than 130 yards (Voyages de Niebuhr, tom. ii. p. 335.), the enormous difference muſt chiefly ariſe from the depth of the channel.

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by an equal number of flat-bottomed boats, which might occaſionally be connected into the form of temporary bridges. The reſt of the ſhips, partly conſtructed of timber, and partly covered with raw hides, were laden with an almoſt inexhauſtible ſupply of arms and engines, of utenſils and proviſions. The vigilant humanity of Julian had embarked a very large magazine of vinegar and biſcuit for the uſe of the ſoldiers, but he prohibited the indulgence of wine; and rigorouſly ſtopped a long ſtring of ſuperfluous camels that attempted to follow the rear of the army. The river Chaboras falls into the Euphrates at Circeſium[42]; and as ſoon as the trumpet gave the ſignal of march, the Romans paſſed the little ſtream which ſeparated two mighty and hoſtile empires. The cuſtom of ancient diſcipline required a military oration; and Julian embraced every opportunity of diſplaying his eloquence. He animated the impatient and attentive legions by the example of the inflexible courage and glorious triumphs of their anceſtors. He excited their reſentment by a lively picture of the inſolence of the Perſians; and he exhorted them to imitate his firm reſolution, either to extirpate that perfidious nation, or to devote his life in the cauſe of the republic. The eloquence of Julian was enforced by a donative of one hundred and thirty pieces of ſilver to every ſoldier; and the bridge of the Chaboras was inſtantly cut away, to convince the troops that they muſt place their hopes of ſafety in the ſucceſs of their arms. Yet the prudence of the emperor induced him to ſecure a remote frontier perpetually expoſed to the inroads of the hoſtile Arabs. A detachment of four thouſand men was left at Circeſium, which completed, to the number of ten thouſand, the regular garriſon of that important fortreſs[43].

Julian enters the Perſian territories, April 7th.

From

[42] Monumentum tutiſſimum et fabrè politum, cujus mœnia Abora (the Orientals aſpire Chaboras or Chabour) et Euphrates ambiunt flumina, velut ſpatium inſulare fingentes. Ammian. xxiii. 5.

[43] The enterpriſe and armament of Julian are

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His march over the deſert of Meſopotamia.

From the moment that the Romans entered the enemy's country[44], the country of an active and artful enemy, the order of march was diſpoſed in three columns[45]. The ſtrength of the infantry, and conſequently of the whole army, was placed in the centre, under the peculiar command of their maſter-general Victor. On the right, the brave Nevitta led a column of ſeveral legions along the banks of the Euphrates, and almoſt always in ſight of the fleet. The left flank of the army was protected by the column of cavalry. Hormiſdas and Arinthæus were appointed generals of the horſe; and the ſingular adventures of Hormiſdas[46] are not undeſerving of our notice. He was a Perſian prince, of the royal race of the Saſſanides, who, in the troubles of the minority of Sapor, had eſcaped from priſon to the hoſpitable court of the great Conſtantine. Hormiſdas, at firſt, excited the compaſſion, and, at length, acquired the eſteem, of his new maſters; his valour and fidelity raiſed him to the military honours of the Roman ſervice; and, though a Chriſtian, he might indulge the ſecret ſatisfaction of convincing his ungrateful country, that an oppreſſed ſubject may prove the moſt dangerous enemy. Such was the diſpoſition of the three principal columns. The front and flanks of the army were covered by Lucillianus with a flying detachment of fifteen hundred light-armed ſoldiers, whoſe active vigilance obſerved the moſt diſtant ſigns, and conveyed the earlieſt notice, of any hoſtile approach. Dagalaiphus, and Secundinus duke of Oſrhoene, con-

are deſcribed by himſelf (Epiſt. xxvii.), Ammianus Marcellinus (xxiii. 3, 4, 5.), Libanius (Orat. Parent. c. 108, 109. p. 332, 333.), Zoſimus (l. iii. p. 160, 161, 162.), Sozomen (l. vi. c. 1.), and John Malela (tom. ii. p. 17.).

[44] Before he enters Perſia, Ammianus copiouſly deſcribes (xxiii. 6. p. 396—419. edit. Gronov. in 4to.) the eighteen great ſatrapies, or provinces (as far as the Seric, or Chineſe frontiers), which were ſubject to the Saſſanides.

[45] Ammianus (xxiv. 1.) and Zoſimus (l. iii. p. 162, 163.) have accurately expreſſed the order of march.

[46] The adventures of Hormiſdas are related with ſome mixture of fable (Zoſimus, l. ii. p. 100—102; Tillemont, Hiſt. des Empereurs, tom. iv. p. 198.). It is almoſt impoſſible that he ſhould be the brother (frater germanus) of an *eldeſt* and *poſthumous* child: nor do I recollect that Ammianus ever gives him that title.

ducted

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ducted the troops of the rear-guard; the baggage ſecurely proceeded in the intervals of the columns; and the ranks, from a motive either of uſe or oſtentation, were formed in ſuch open order, that the whole line of march extended almoſt ten miles. The ordinary poſt of Julian was at the head of the centre column; but as he preferred the duties of a general to the ſtate of a monarch, he rapidly moved, with a ſmall eſcort of light cavalry, to the front, the rear, the flanks, wherever his preſence could animate or protect the march of the Roman army. The country which they traverſed from the Chaboras, to the cultivated lands of Aſſyria, may be conſidered as a part of the deſert of Arabia, a dry and barren waſte, which could never be improved by the moſt powerful arts of human induſtry. Julian marched over the ſame ground which had been trod above ſeven hundred years before by the footſteps of the younger Cyrus, and which is deſcribed by one of the companions of his expedition, the ſage and heroic Xenophon[47]. "The country "was a plain throughout, as even as the ſea, and full of worm-"wood; and if any other kind of ſhrubs or reeds grew there, they "had all an aromatic ſmell; but no trees could be ſeen. Buſtards "and oſtriches, antelopes and wild aſſes[48], appeared to be the only "inhabitants of the deſert; and the fatigues of the march were al-"leviated by the amuſements of the chace." The looſe ſand of the deſert was frequently raiſed by the wind into clouds of duſt: and a great number of the ſoldiers of Julian, with their tents, were ſuddenly thrown to the ground by the violence of an unexpected hurricane.

[47] See the firſt book of the Anabaſis, p. 45, 46. This pleaſing work is original and authentic. Yet Xenophon's memory, perhaps many years after the expedition, has ſometimes betrayed him; and the diſtances which he marks are often larger than either a ſoldier or a geographer will allow.

[48] Mr. Spelman, the Engliſh tranſlator of the Anabaſis (vol. i. p. 51.), confounds the antelope with the roe-buck, and the wild-aſs with the zebra.

The

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His ſucceſs.

The ſandy plains of Meſopotamia were abandoned to the antelopes and wild aſſes of the deſert; but a variety of populous towns and villages were pleaſantly ſituated on the banks of the Euphrates, and in the iſlands which are occaſionally formed by that river. The city of Annah, or Anatho [49], the actual reſidence of an Arabian Emir, is compoſed of two long ſtreets, which incloſe within a natural fortification, a ſmall iſland in the midſt, and two fruitful ſpots on either ſide, of the Euphrates. The warlike inhabitants of Anatho ſhewed a diſpoſition to ſtop the march of a Roman emperor; till they were diverted from ſuch fatal preſumption by the mild exhortations of prince Hormiſdas, and the approaching terrors of the fleet and army. They implored, and experienced, the clemency of Julian; who tranſplanted the people to an advantageous ſettlement, near Chalcis in Syria, and admitted Puſæus, the governor, to an honourable rank in his ſervice and friendſhip. But the impregnable fortreſs of Thilutha could ſcorn the menace of a ſiege; and the emperor was obliged to content himſelf with an inſulting promiſe, that when he had ſubdued the interior provinces of Perſia, Thilutha would no longer refuſe to grace the triumph of the conqueror. The inhabitants of the open towns, unable to reſiſt, and unwilling to yield, fled with precipitation; and their houſes, filled with ſpoil and proviſions, were occupied by the ſoldiers of Julian, who maſſacred, without remorſe, and without puniſhment, ſome defenceleſs women. During the march, the Surenas, or Perſian general, and Malek Rodoſaces, the renowned Emir of the tribe of Gaſſan [50], inceſſantly hovered round

[49] See Voyages de Tavernier, part i. l. iii. p. 316. and more eſpecially Viaggi di Pietro della Valle, tom. i. lett. xvii. p. 671, &c. He was ignorant of the old name and condition of Annah. Our blind travellers *ſeldom* poſſeſs any previous knowledge of the countries which they viſit. Shaw and Tournefort deſerve an honourable exception.

[50] Famoſi nominis latro, ſays Ammianus; an high encomium for an Arab. The tribe of Gaſſan had ſettled on the edge of Syria, and reigned ſome time in Damaſcus, under a dynaſty

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round the army: every ſtraggler was intercepted; every detachment was attacked; and the valiant Hormiſdas eſcaped with ſome difficulty from their hands. But the Barbarians were finally repulſed; the country became every day leſs favourable to the operations of cavalry; and when the Romans arrived at Macepracta, they perceived the ruins of the wall, which had been conſtructed by the ancient kings of Aſſyria, to ſecure their dominions from the incurſions of the Medes. Theſe preliminaries of the expedition of Julian appear to have employed about fifteen days; and we may compute near three hundred miles from the fortreſs of Circeſium to the wall of Macepracta [51].

Deſcription of Aſſyria.

The fertile province of Aſſyria [52], which ſtretched beyond the Tigris, as far as the mountains of Media [53], extended about four hundred miles from the ancient wall of Macepracta to the territory of Baſra, where the united ſtreams of the Euphrates and Tigris diſcharge themſelves into the Perſian Gulf [54]. The whole country might have claimed the peculiar name of Meſopotamia; as the two rivers, which are never more diſtant than fifty, approach, between Bagdad and Babylon, within twenty-five miles of each

dynaſty of thirty-one kings, or emirs, from the time of Pompey to that of the Khalif Omar. D'Herbelot, Bibliothéque Orientale, p. 360. Pocock, Specimen Hiſt. Arabicæ, p. 75—78. The name of Rodoſaces does not appear in the liſt.

[51] See Ammianus (xxiv. 1, 2.), Libanius (Orat. Parental. c. 110, 111. p. 334.), Zoſimus (l. iii. p. 164—168.).

[52] The deſcription of Aſſyria is furniſhed by Herodotus (l. i. c. 192, &c.), who ſometimes writes for children, and ſometimes for philoſophers; by Strabo (l. xvi. p. 1070—1082.), and by Ammianus (l. xxiii. c. 6.). The moſt uſeful of the modern travellers are, Tavernier (part i. l. ii. p. 226—258.), Otter (tom. ii. p. 35—69. and 189—224.), and Niebuhr (tom. ii. p. 172—288.). Yet I much regret that the *Irak Arabi* of Abulfeda has not been tranſlated.

[53] Ammianus remarks, that the primitive Aſſyria, which comprehended Ninus (Niniveh) and Arbela, had aſſumed the more recent and peculiar appellation of Adiabene: and he ſeems to fix Teredon, Vologeſia, and Apollonia, as the *extreme* cities of the actual province of Aſſyria.

[54] The two rivers unite at Apamea, or Corna (one hundred miles from the Perſian Gulf), into the broad ſtream of the Paſitigris, or Shat-ul-Arab. The Euphrates formerly reached the ſea by a ſeparate channel, which was obſtructed and diverted by the citizens of Orchoe, about twenty miles to the ſouth-eaſt of modern Baſra (d'Anville, in the Memoires de l'Acad. des Inſcriptions, tom. xxx. p. 170—191.).

other.

other. A multitude of artificial canals, dug without much labour in a ſoft and yielding ſoil, connected the rivers, and interſected the plain, of Aſſyria. The uſes of theſe artificial canals were various and important. They ſerved to diſcharge the ſuperfluous waters from one river into the other, at the ſeaſon of their reſpective inundations. Subdividing themſelves into ſmaller and ſmaller branches, they refreſhed the dry lands, and ſupplied the deficiency of rain. They facilitated the intercourſe of peace and commerce; and, as the dams could be ſpeedily broke down, they armed the deſpair of the Aſſyrians with the means of oppoſing a ſudden deluge to the progreſs of an invading army. To the ſoil and climate of Aſſyria, nature had denied ſome of her choiceſt gifts, the vine, the olive, and the fig-tree; but the food which ſupports the life of man, and particularly wheat and barley, were produced with inexhauſtible fertility; and the huſbandman, who committed his ſeed to the earth, was frequently rewarded with an increaſe of two, or even of three, hundred. The face of the country was interſperſed with groves of innumerable palm-trees [55]; and the diligent natives celebrated, either in verſe or proſe, the three hundred and ſixty uſes to which the trunk, the branches, the leaves, the juice, and the fruit, were ſkilfully applied. Several manufactures, eſpecially thoſe of leather and linen, employed the induſtry of a numerous people, and afforded valuable materials for foreign trade; which appears, however, to have been conducted by the hands of ſtrangers. Babylon had been converted into a royal park; but near the ruins of the ancient capital, new cities had ſucceſſively ariſen; and the populouſneſs of the country was diſplayed in the multitude of towns and villages, which were built of bricks dried in the ſun, and ſtrongly cemented

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[55] The learned Kæmpfer, as a botaniſt, an antiquary, and a traveller, has exhauſted (Amœnitat. Exoticæ, Faſcicul. iv. p. 660—764.) the whole ſubject of palm-trees.

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with bitumen; the natural and peculiar production of the Babylonian ſoil. While the ſucceſſors of Cyrus reigned over Aſia, the province of Aſſyria alone maintained, during a third part of the year, the luxurious plenty of the table and houſehold of the Great King. Four conſiderable villages were aſſigned for the ſubſiſtence of his Indian dogs; eight hundred ſtallions, and ſixteen thouſand mares, were conſtantly kept, at the expence of the country, for the royal ſtables: and as the daily tribute, which was paid to the ſatrap, amounted to one Engliſh buſhel of ſilver, we may compute the annual revenue of Aſſyria at more than twelve hundred thouſand pounds ſterling [56].

Invaſion of Aſſyria. A. D. 363. May.

The fields of Aſſyria were devoted by Julian to the calamities of war; and the philoſopher retaliated on a guiltleſs people the acts of rapine and cruelty which had been committed by their haughty maſter in the Roman provinces. The trembling Aſſyrians ſummoned the rivers to their aſſiſtance; and completed, with their own hands, the ruin of their country. The roads were rendered impracticable; a flood of waters was poured into the camp; and, during ſeveral days, the troops of Julian were obliged to contend with the moſt diſcouraging hardſhips. But every obſtacle was ſurmounted by the perſeverance of the legionaries, who were inured to toil as well as to danger, and who felt themſelves animated by the ſpirit of their leader. The damage was gradually repaired; the waters were reſtored to their proper channels; whole groves of

[56] Aſſyria yielded to the Perſian ſatrap, an *Artaba* of ſilver each day. The well-known proportion of weights and meaſures (ſee Biſhop Hooper's elaborate Inquiry), the ſpecific gravity of water and ſilver, and the value of that metal, will afford, after a ſhort proceſs, the annual revenue which I have ſtated. Yet the Great King received no more than 1000 Euboic, or Tyrian, talents (252,000 l.) from Aſſyria. The compariſon of two paſſages in Herodotus (l. i. c. 192. l. iii. c. 89—96.) reveals an important difference between the *groſs*, and the *net*, revenue of Perſia; the ſums paid by the province, and the gold or ſilver depoſited in the royal treaſure. The monarch might annually ſave three millions ſix hundred thouſand pounds, of the ſeventeen or eighteen millions raiſed upon the people.

palm-trees were cut down, and placed along the broken parts of the road; and the army paſſed over the broad and deeper canals, on bridges of floating rafts which were ſupported by the help of bladders. Two cities of Aſſyria preſumed to reſiſt the arms of a Roman emperor: and they both paid the ſevere penalty of their raſhneſs. At the diſtance of fifty miles from the royal reſidence of Cteſiphon, Periſabor, or Anbar, held the ſecond rank in the province: a city, large, populous, and well fortified, ſurrounded with a double wall, almoſt encompaſſed by a branch of the Euphrates, and defended by the valour of a numerous garriſon. The exhortations of Hormiſdas were repulſed with contempt; and the ears of the Perſian prince were wounded by a juſt reproach, that, unmindful of his royal birth, he conducted an army of ſtrangers againſt his king and country. The Aſſyrians maintained their loyalty by a ſkilful, as well as vigorous, defence; till the lucky ſtroke of a battering-ram, having opened a large breach, by ſhattering one of the angles of the wall, they haſtily retired into the fortifications of the interior citadel. The ſoldiers of Julian ruſhed impetuouſly into the town, and, after the full gratification of every military appetite, Periſabor was reduced to aſhes; and the engines which aſſaulted the citadel were planted on the ruins of the ſmoking houſes. The conteſt was continued by an inceſſant and mutual diſcharge of miſſile weapons; and the ſuperiority which the Romans might derive from the mechanical powers of their baliſtæ and catapultæ was counterbalanced by the advantage of the ground on the ſide of the beſieged. But as ſoon as an *Helepolis* had been conſtructed, which could engage on equal terms with the loftieſt ramparts; the tremendous aſpect of a moving turret, that would leave no hope of reſiſtance or of mercy, terrified the defenders of the citadel into an humble ſubmiſſion; and the place was ſurrendered only two days after Julian firſt appeared under the walls of Periſabor. Two

Siege of Periſabor,

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thouſand five hundred perſons, of both ſexes, the feeble remnant of a flouriſhing people, were permitted to retire: the plentiful magazines of corn, of arms, and of ſplendid furniture, were partly diſtributed among the troops, and partly reſerved for the public ſervice: the uſeleſs ſtores were deſtroyed by fire, or thrown into the ſtream of the Euphrates; and the fate of Amida was revenged by the total ruin of Periſabor.

of Maogamalcha.

The city, or rather fortreſs, of Maogamalcha, which was defended by ſixteen large towers, a deep ditch, and two ſtrong and ſolid walls of brick and bitumen, appears to have been conſtructed at the diſtance of eleven miles, as the ſafeguard of the capital of Perſia. The emperor, apprehenſive of leaving ſuch an important fortreſs in his rear, immediately formed the ſiege of Maogamalcha; and the Roman army was diſtributed, for that purpoſe, into three diviſions. Victor, at the head of the cavalry, and of a detachment of heavy-armed foot, was ordered to clear the country, as far as the banks of the Tigris, and the ſuburbs of Cteſiphon. The conduct of the attack was aſſumed by Julian himſelf, who ſeemed to place his whole dependence in the military engines which he erected againſt the walls; while he ſecretly contrived a more efficacious method of introducing his troops into the heart of the city. Under the direction of Nevitta and Dagalaiphus, the trenches were opened at a conſiderable diſtance, and gradually prolonged as far as the edge of the ditch. The ditch was ſpeedily filled with earth; and, by the inceſſant labour of the troops, a mine was carried under the foundations of the walls, and ſuſtained, at ſufficient intervals, by props of timber. Three choſen cohorts, advancing in a ſingle file, ſilently explored the dark and dangerous paſſage; till their intrepid leader whiſpered back the intelligence, that he was ready to iſſue from his confinement into the ſtreets of the hoſtile city. Julian checked their ardour, that he might enſure their ſucceſs; and immediately

mediately diverted the attention of the garriſon, by the tumult and clamour of a general aſſault. The Perſians, who, from their walls, contemptuouſly beheld the progreſs of an impotent attack, celebrated, with ſongs of triumph, the glory of Sapor; and ventured to aſſure the emperor, that he might aſcend the ſtarry manſion of Ormuſd, before he could hope to take the impregnable city of Maogamalcha. The city was already taken. Hiſtory has recorded the name of a private ſoldier, the firſt who aſcended from the mine into a deſerted tower. The paſſage was widened by his companions, who preſſed forwards with impatient valour. Fifteen hundred enemies were already in the midſt of the city. The aſtoniſhed garriſon abandoned the walls, and their only hope of ſafety; the gates were inſtantly burſt open; and the revenge of the ſoldier, unleſs it were ſuſpended by luſt or avarice, was ſatiated by an undiſtinguiſhing maſſacre. The governor, who had yielded on a promiſe of mercy, was burnt alive, a few days afterwards, on a charge of having uttered ſome diſreſpectful words againſt the honour of prince Hormiſdas. The fortifications were razed to the ground; and not a veſtige was left, that the city of Maogamalcha had ever exiſted. The neighbourhood of the capital of Perſia was adorned with three ſtately palaces, laboriouſly enriched with every production that could gratify the luxury and pride of an Eaſtern monarch. The pleaſant ſituation of the gardens along the banks of the Tigris, was improved, according to the Perſian taſte, by the ſymmetry of flowers, fountains, and ſhady walks: and ſpacious parks were incloſed for the reception of the bears, lions, and wild boars, which were maintained at a conſiderable expence for the pleaſure of the royal chaſe. The park-walls were broke down, the ſavage game was abandoned to the darts of the ſoldiers, and the palaces of Sapor were reduced to aſhes, by the command of the Roman emperor. Julian, on this occaſion, ſhewed himſelf ignorant, or careleſs, of the laws of civility, which

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the prudence and refinement of polished ages have established between hostile princes. Yet these wanton ravages need not excite in our breasts any vehement emotions of pity or resentment. A simple, naked, statue, finished by the hand of a Grecian artist, is of more genuine value than all these rude and costly monuments of Barbaric labour: and, if we are more deeply affected by the ruin of a palace, than by the conflagration of a cottage, our humanity must have formed a very erroneous estimate of the miseries of human life [57].

Personal behaviour of Julian.

Julian was an object of terror and hatred to the Persians: and the painters of that nation represented the invader of their country under the emblem of a furious lion, who vomited from his mouth a consuming fire [58]. To his friends and soldiers, the philosophic hero appeared in a more amiable light; and his virtues were never more conspicuously displayed, than in the last, and most active, period of his life. He practised, without effort, and almost without merit, the habitual qualities of temperance and sobriety. According to the dictates of that artificial wisdom, which assumes an absolute dominion over the mind and body, he sternly refused himself the indulgence of the most natural appetites [59]. In the warm climate of Assyria, which solicited a luxurious people to the gratification of every sensual desire [60], a youthful conqueror preserved his chastity pure and inviolate: nor was Julian ever tempted, even by a motive of curio-

[57] The operations of the Assyrian war are circumstantially related by Ammianus (xxiv. 2, 3, 4, 4, 5.), Libanius (Orat. Parent. c. 112—123. p. 335—347.), Zosimus (l. iii. p. 168—180.), and Gregory Nazianzen (Orat. iv. p. 113. 144.). The *military* criticisms of the saint are devoutly copied by Tillemont, his faithful slave.

[58] Libanius de ulciscendâ Juliani nece, c. 13. p. 162.

[59] The famous examples of Cyrus, Alexander, and Scipio, were acts of justice. Julian's chastity was voluntary, and, in his opinion, meritorious.

[60] Sallust (ap. Vet. Scholiast. Juvenal. Satir. i. 104.) observes, that nihil corruptius moribus. The matrons and virgins of Babylon freely mingled with the men, in licentious banquets: and as they felt the intoxication of wine and love, they gradually, and almost completely, threw aside the incumbrance of dress; ad ultimum ima corporum velamenta projiciunt. Q. Curtius, v. 1.

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ſity, to viſit his female captives of exquiſite beauty[61], who, inſtead of reſiſting his power, would have diſputed with each other the honour of his embraces. With the ſame firmneſs that he reſiſted the allurements of love, he ſuſtained the hardſhips of war. When the Romans marched through the flat and flooded country, their ſovereign, on foot, at the head of his legions, ſhared their fatigues, and animated their diligence. In every uſeful labour, the hand of Julian was prompt and ſtrenuous; and the Imperial purple was wet and dirty, as the coarſe garment of the meaneſt ſoldier. The two ſieges allowed him ſome remarkable opportunities of ſignaliſing his perſonal valour, which, in the improved ſtate of the military art, can ſeldom be exerted by a prudent general. The emperor ſtood before the citadel of Periſabor, inſenſible of his extreme danger, and encouraged his troops to burſt open the gates of iron, till he was almoſt overwhelmed under a cloud of miſſile weapons, and huge ſtones, that were directed againſt his perſon. As he examined the exterior fortifications of Maogamalcha, two Perſians, devoting themſelves for their country, ſuddenly ruſhed upon him with drawn ſcimitars: the emperor dexterouſly received their blows on his uplifted ſhield; and with a ſteady and well-aimed thruſt, laid one of his adverſaries dead at his feet. The eſteem of a prince, who poſſeſſes the virtues which he approves, is the nobleſt recompence of a deſerving ſubject; and the authority which Julian derived from his perſonal merit, enabled him to revive and enforce the rigour of ancient diſcipline. He puniſhed with death, or ignominy, the miſbehaviour of three troops of horſe, who, in a ſkirmiſh with the Surenas, had loſt their honour, and one of their ſtandards:

[61] Ex virginibus autem, quæ ſpecioſæ ſunt captæ, et in Perſide, ubi fœminarum pulchritudo excellit, nec contrectare aliquam voluit nec videre. Ammian. xxiv. 4. The native race of Perſians is ſmall and ugly; but it has been improved, by the perpetual mixture of Circaſſian blood (Herodot. l. iii. c. 97. Buffon, Hiſt. Naturelle, tom. iii. p. 420.).

and

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and he diſtinguiſhed with *obſidional*[62] crowns the valour of the foremoſt ſoldiers, who had aſcended into the city of Maogamalcha. After the ſiege of Periſabor, the firmneſs of the emperor was exerciſed by the inſolent avarice of the army, who loudly complained, that their ſervices were rewarded by a trifling donative of one hundred pieces of ſilver. His juſt indignation was expreſſed in the grave and manly language of a Roman. "Riches are the object of your deſires? "thoſe riches are in the hands of the Perſians; and the ſpoils of this "fruitful country are propoſed as the prize of your valour and diſ-"cipline. Believe me," added Julian, "the Roman republic, which "formerly poſſeſſed ſuch immenſe treaſures, is now reduced to want "and wretchedneſs; ſince our princes have been perſuaded, by weak "and intereſted miniſters, to purchaſe with gold the tranquillity of "the Barbarians. The revenue is exhauſted; the cities are ruined; "the provinces are diſpeopled. For myſelf, the only inheritance "that I have received from my royal anceſtors, is a ſoul incapable "of fear; and as long as I am convinced that every real advantage "is ſeated in the mind, I ſhall not bluſh to acknowledge an ho-"nourable poverty, which, in the days of ancient virtue, was con-"ſidered as the glory of Fabricius. That glory, and that virtue, "may be your own, if you will liſten to the voice of Heaven, and "of your leader. But if you will raſhly perſiſt, if you are deter-"mined to renew the ſhameful and miſchievous examples of old "ſeditions, proceed—As it becomes an emperor who has filled the "firſt rank among men, I am prepared to die, ſtanding; and to de-"ſpiſe a precarious life, which, every hour, may depend on an "accidental fever. If I have been found unworthy of the command, "there are now among you (I ſpeak it with pride and pleaſure),

[62] Obſidionalibus coronis donati. Ammian. xxiv. 4. Either Julian or his hiſtorian were unſkilful antiquaries. He ſhould have given *mural* crowns. The *obſidional* were the reward of a general who had delivered a beſieged city (Aulus Gellius, Noct. Attic. v. 6.).

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"there are many chiefs, whoſe merit and experience are equal to "the conduct of the moſt important war. Such has been the tem- "per of my reign, that I can retire, without regret, and without "apprehenſion, to the obſcurity of a private ſtation[63]." The modeſt reſolution of Julian was anſwered by the unanimous applauſe and cheerful obedience of the Romans; who declared their confidence of victory, while they fought under the banners of their heroic prince. Their courage was kindled by his frequent and familiar aſſeverations (for ſuch wiſhes were the oaths of Julian), "So may I reduce the "Perſians under the yoke!" "Thus may I reſtore the ſtrength "and ſplendour of the republic!" The love of fame was the ardent paſſion of his ſoul: but it was not before he trampled on the ruins of Maogamalcha, that he allowed himſelf to ſay, "We have now "provided ſome materials for the ſophiſt of Antioch[64]."

He tranſports his fleet from the Euphrates to the Tigris.

The ſucceſsful valour of Julian had triumphed over all the obſtacles that oppoſed his march to the gates of Cteſiphon. But the reduction, or even the ſiege, of the capital of Perſia, was ſtill at a diſtance: nor can the military conduct of the emperor be clearly apprehended, without a knowledge of the country which was the theatre of his bold and ſkilful operations[65]. Twenty miles to the ſouth of Bagdad, and on the eaſtern bank of the Tigris, the curioſity of travellers has obſerved ſome ruins of the palaces of Cteſiphon, which, in the time of Julian, was a great and populous city. The name and glory of the adjacent Seleucia were for ever extinguiſhed; and the only remaining quarter of that Greek colony had

[63] I give this ſpeech as original and genuine. Ammianus might hear, could tranſcribe, and was incapable of inventing, it. I have uſed ſome ſlight freedoms, and conclude with the moſt forcible ſentence.

[64] Ammian. xxiv. 3. Libanius, Orat. Parent. c. 122. p. 346.

[65] M. d'Anville (Mem. de l'Academie des Inſcriptions, tom. xxviii. p. 246—259.) has aſcertained the true poſition and diſtance of Babylon, Seleucia, Cteſiphon, Bagdad, &c. The Roman traveller, Pietro della Valle (tom. i. lett. xvii. p. 650—780.), ſeems to be the moſt intelligent ſpectator of that famous province. He is a gentleman and a ſcholar, but intolerably vain and prolix.

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reſumed, with the Aſſyrian language and manners, the primitive appellation of Coche. Coche was ſituate on the weſtern ſide of the Tigris; but it was naturally conſidered as a ſuburb of Cteſiphon, with which we may ſuppoſe it to have been connected by a permanent bridge of boats. The united parts contributed to form the common epithet of Al Modain, THE CITIES, which the Orientals have beſtowed on the winter reſidence of the Saſſanides; and the whole circumference of the Perſian capital was ſtrongly fortified by the waters of the river, by lofty walls, and by impracticable moraſſes. Near the ruins of Seleucia, the camp of Julian was fixed; and ſecured, by a ditch and rampart, againſt the ſallies of the numerous and enterpriſing garriſon of Coche. In this fruitful and pleaſant country, the Romans were plentifully ſupplied with water and forage: and ſeveral forts, which might have embarraſſed the motions of the army, ſubmitted, after ſome reſiſtance, to the efforts of their valour. The fleet paſſed from the Euphrates into an artificial derivation of that river, which pours a copious and navigable ſtream into the Tigris, at a ſmall diſtance *below* the great city. If they had followed this royal canal, which bore the name of Nahar-Malcha [66], the intermediate ſituation of Coche would have ſeparated the fleet and army of Julian; and the raſh attempt of ſteering againſt the current of the Tigris, and forcing their way through the midſt of a hoſtile capital, muſt have been attended with the total deſtruction of the Roman navy. The prudence of the emperor foreſaw the danger, and provided the remedy. As he had minutely ſtudied the operations of Trajan in the ſame country, he ſoon recollected, that his warlike predeceſſor had dug a new and navigable canal, which, leaving Coche on the right-hand, conveyed the waters of the Nahar-Malcha into

[66] The Royal Canal *(Nahar-Malcha)* might be ſucceſſively reſtored, altered, divided, &c. (Cellarius, Geograph. Antiq. tom. ii. p. 453.): and theſe changes may ſerve to explain the ſeeming contradictions of antiquity. In the time of Julian, it muſt have fallen into the Euphrates *below* Cteſiphon.

the

the river Tigris, at ſome diſtance *above* the cities. From the information of the peaſants, Julian aſcertained the veſtiges of this ancient work, which were almoſt obliterated by deſign or accident. By the indefatigable labour of the ſoldiers, a broad and deep channel was ſpeedily prepared for the reception of the Euphrates. A ſtrong dike was conſtructed to interrupt the ordinary current of the Nahar-Malcha: a flood of waters ruſhed impetuouſly into their new bed; and the Roman fleet, ſteering their triumphant courſe into the Tigris, derided the vain and ineffectual barriers which the Perſians of Cteſiphon had erected to oppoſe their paſſage.

Paſſage of the Tigris, and victory of the Romans.

As it became neceſſary to tranſport the Roman army over the Tigris, another labour preſented itſelf, of leſs toil, but of more danger, than the preceding expedition. The ſtream was broad and rapid; the aſcent ſteep and difficult; and the intrenchments which had been formed on the ridge of the oppoſite bank, were lined with a numerous army of heavy cuiraſſiers, dexterous archers, and huge elephants; who (according to the extravagant hyperbole of Libanius) could trample, with the ſame eaſe, a field of corn, or a legion of Romans[67]. In the preſence of ſuch an enemy, the conſtruction of a bridge was impracticable; and the intrepid prince, who inſtantly ſeized the only poſſible expedient, concealed his deſign, till the moment of execution, from the knowledge of the Barbarians, of his own troops, and even of his generals themſelves. Under the ſpecious pretence of examining the ſtate of the magazines, fourſcore veſſels were gradually unladen; and a ſelect detachment, apparently deſtined for ſome ſecret expedition, was ordered to ſtand to their arms on the firſt ſignal. Julian diſguiſed the ſilent anxiety of his own mind with ſmiles of confidence and joy; and amuſed the hoſtile nations with the ſpectacle of military games, which he inſultingly

[67] Και μεγεθεσιν ελεφαντων, οις ισον εργον δια ξαχων ελθειν, και φαλαγγος. Rien n'eſt beau que le vrai; a maxim which ſhould be inſcribed on the deſk of every rhetorician.

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celebrated under the walls of Coche. The day was conſecrated to pleaſure; but, as ſoon as the hour of ſupper was paſt, the emperor ſummoned the generals to his tent; and acquainted them, that he had fixed that night for the paſſage of the Tigris. They ſtood in ſilent and reſpectful aſtoniſhment; but, when the venerable Salluſt aſſumed the privilege of his age and experience, the reſt of the chiefs ſupported with freedom the weight of his prudent remonſtrances[68]. Julian contented himſelf with obſerving, that conqueſt and ſafety depended on the attempt; that, inſtead of diminiſhing, the number of their enemies would be increaſed, by ſucceſſive reinforcements; and that a longer delay would neither contract the breadth of the ſtream, nor level the height of the bank. The ſignal was inſtantly given, and obeyed: the moſt impatient of the legionaries leaped into five veſſels that lay neareſt to the bank; and as they plied their oars with intrepid diligence, they were loſt, after a few moments, in the darkneſs of the night. A flame aroſe on the oppoſite ſide; and Julian, who too clearly underſtood that his foremoſt veſſels, in attempting to land, had been fired by the enemy, dexterouſly converted their extreme danger into a preſage of victory. "Our fellow-ſol-" diers," he eagerly exclaimed, "are already maſters of the bank; " ſee—they make the appointed ſignal: let us haſten to emulate and " aſſiſt their courage." The united and rapid motion of a great fleet broke the violence of the current, and they reached the eaſtern ſhore of the Tigris with ſufficient ſpeed to extinguiſh the flames, and reſcue their adventurous companions. The difficulties of a ſteep and lofty aſcent were increaſed by the weight of armour, and the darkneſs of the night. A ſhower of ſtones, darts, and fire, was inceſſantly diſcharged on the heads of the aſſailants; who, after an arduous ſtruggle, climbed the bank, and ſtood victorious upon the

[68] Libanius alludes to the moſt powerful of the generals. I have ventured to name *Salluſt*. Ammianus ſays, of all the leaders, quòd acri metû territi duces concordi precatû fieri prohibere tentarent.

rampart.

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rampart. As ſoon as they poſſeſſed a more equal field, Julian, who, with his light-infantry, had led the attack [69], darted through the ranks a ſkilful and experienced eye: his braveſt ſoldiers, according to the precepts of Homer [70], were diſtributed in the front and rear; and all the trumpets of the Imperial army ſounded to battle. The Romans, after ſending up a military ſhout, advanced in meaſured ſteps to the animating notes of martial muſic; launched their formidable javelins; and ruſhed forwards with drawn ſwords, to deprive the Barbarians, by a cloſer onſet, of the advantage of their miſſile weapons. The whole engagement laſted above twelve hours; till the gradual retreat of the Perſians was changed into a diſorderly flight, of which the ſhameful example was given by the principal leaders, and the Surenas himſelf. They were purſued to the gates of Cteſiphon; and the conquerors might have entered the diſmayed city [71], if their general Victor, who was dangerouſly wounded with an arrow, had not conjured them to deſiſt from a raſh attempt, which muſt be fatal, if it were not ſucceſsful. On *their* ſide, the Romans acknowledged the loſs of only ſeventy-five men; while they affirmed, that the Barbarians had left on the field of battle two thouſand five hundred, or even ſix thouſand, of their braveſt ſoldiers. The ſpoil was ſuch as might be expected from the riches and luxury of an Oriental camp; large quantities of ſilver and gold, ſplendid arms and trappings, and beds and tables of maſſy ſilver. The victorious emperor diſtributed, as the rewards of valour, ſome honourable gifts, civic, and mural, and naval, crowns; which he, and perhaps he alone,

[69] Hinc Imperator . . . (ſays Ammianus) ipſe cum levis armaturæ auxiliis per prima poſtremaque diſcurrens, &c. Yet Zoſimus, his friend, does not allow him to paſs the river till two days after the battle.

[70] Secundum Homericam diſpoſitionem. A ſimilar diſpoſition is aſcribed to the wiſe Neſtor, in the fourth book of the Iliad: and Homer was never abſent from the mind of Julian.

[71] Perſas terrore ſubito miſcuerunt, verſiſque agminibus totius gentis, apertas Cteſiphontis portas victor miles intrâſſet, ni major prædarum occaſio fuiſſet, quam cura victoriæ (Sextus Rufus de Provinciis, c. 28.). Their avarice might diſpoſe them to hear the advice of Victor.

eſteemed

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eſteemed more precious than the wealth of Aſia. A ſolemn ſacrifice was offered to the god of war, but the appearances of the victims threatened the moſt inauſpicious events; and Julian ſoon diſcovered, by leſs ambiguous ſigns, that he had now reached the term of his proſperity [72].

Situation and obſtinacy of Julian, A.D. 363. June.

On the ſecond day after the battle, the domeſtic guards, the Jovians and Herculians, and the remaining troops, which compoſed near two-thirds of the whole army, were ſecurely wafted over the Tigris [73]. While the Perſians beheld from the walls of Cteſiphon the deſolation of the adjacent country, Julian caſt many an anxious look towards the North, in full expectation, that as he himſelf had victoriouſly penetrated to the capital of Sapor, the march and junction of his lieutenants, Sebaſtian and Procopius, would be executed with the ſame courage and diligence. His expectations were diſappointed by the treachery of the Armenian king, who permitted, and moſt probably directed, the deſertion of his auxiliary troops from the camp of the Romans [74]; and by the diſſenſions of the two generals, who were incapable of forming or executing any plan for the public ſervice. When the emperor had relinquiſhed the hope of this important reinforcement, he condeſcended to hold a council of war, and approved, after a full debate, the ſentiment of thoſe generals, who diſſuaded the ſiege of Cteſiphon, as a fruitleſs

[72] The labour of the Canal, the paſſage of the Tigris, and the victory, are deſcribed by Ammianus (xxiv. 5, 6.), Libanius (Orat. Parent. c. 124—128. p. 347—353.), Greg. Nazianzen (Orat. iv. p. 115.), Zoſimus (l. iii. p. 181—183.), and Sextus Rufus (de Provinciis, c. 28.).

[73] The fleet and army were formed in three diviſions, of which the firſt only had paſſed during the night (Ammian. xxiv. 6.). The πασῃ δορυφορια, whom Zoſimus tranſports on the third day (l. iii. p. 183.), might conſiſt of the protectors, among whom the hiſtorian Ammianus, and the future emperor Jovian, actually ſerved; ſome *ſchools* of the *domeſtics*, and perhaps the Jovians and Herculians, who often did duty as guards.

[74] Moſes of Chorene (Hiſt. Armen. l. iii. c. 15. p. 246.) ſupplies us with a national tradition, and a ſpurious letter. I have borrowed only the leading circumſtance, which is conſiſtent with truth, probability, and Libanius (Orat. Parent. c. 131. p. 355.).

and

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and pernicious undertaking. It is not eaſy for us to conceive, by what arts of fortification, a city thrice beſieged and taken by the predeceſſors of Julian, could be rendered impregnable againſt an army of ſixty thouſand Romans, commanded by a brave and experienced general, and abundantly ſupplied with ſhips, proviſions, battering engines, and military ſtores. But we may reſt aſſured, from the love of glory, and contempt of danger, which formed the character of Julian, that he was not diſcouraged by any trivial or imaginary obſtacles [75]. At the very time when he declined the ſiege of Cteſiphon, he rejected, with obſtinacy and diſdain, the moſt flattering offers of a negociation of peace. Sapor, who had been ſo long accuſtomed to the tardy oſtentation of Conſtantius, was ſurpriſed by the intrepid diligence of his ſucceſſor. As far as the confines of India and Scythia, the ſatraps of the diſtant provinces were ordered to aſſemble their troops, and to march, without delay, to the aſſiſtance of their monarch. But their preparations were dilatory, their motions ſlow; and before Sapor could lead an army into the field, he received the melancholy intelligence of the devaſtation of Aſſyria, the ruin of his palaces, and the ſlaughter of his braveſt troops, who defended the paſſage of the Tigris. The pride of royalty was humbled in the duſt; he took his repaſts on the ground; and the diſorder of his hair expreſſed the grief and anxiety of his mind. Perhaps he would not have refuſed to purchaſe, with one half of his kingdom, the ſafety of the remainder; and he would have gladly ſubſcribed himſelf, in a treaty of peace, the faithful and dependent ally of the Roman conqueror. Under the pretence of private buſineſs, a miniſter of rank and confidence was

[75] Civitas inexpugnabilis, facinus audax et importunum. Ammianus, xxiv. 7. His fellow-ſoldier, Eutropius, turns aſide from the difficulty, Aſſyriamque populatus, caſtra apud Cteſiphontem ſtativa aliquandiu habuit: remeanſque victor, &c. x. 16. Zoſimus is artful or ignorant, and Socrates inaccurate.

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ſecretly diſpatched to embrace the knees of Hormiſdas, and to requeſt, in the language of a ſuppliant, that he might be introduced into the preſence of the emperor. The Saſſanian prince, whether he liſtened to the voice of pride or humanity, whether he conſulted the ſentiments of his birth, or the duties of his ſituation, was equally inclined to promote a ſalutary meaſure, which would terminate the calamities of Perſia, and ſecure the triumph of Rome. He was aſtoniſhed by the inflexible firmneſs of a hero, who remembered, moſt unfortunately for himſelf, and for his country, that Alexander had uniformly rejected the propoſitions of Darius. But as Julian was ſenſible, that the hope of a ſafe and honourable peace might cool the ardour of his troops; he earneſtly requeſted, that Hormiſdas would privately diſmiſs the miniſter of Sapor, and conceal this dangerous temptation from the knowledge of the camp [76].

He burns his fleet,

The honour, as well as intereſt, of Julian, forbade him to conſume his time under the impregnable walls of Cteſiphon; and as often as he defied the Barbarians, who defended the city, to meet him on the open plain, they prudently replied, that if he deſired to exerciſe his valour, he might ſeek the army of the Great King. He felt the inſult, and he accepted the advice. Inſtead of confining his ſervile march to the banks of the Euphrates and Tigris, he reſolved to imitate the adventurous ſpirit of Alexander, and boldly to advance into the inland provinces, till he forced his rival to contend with him, perhaps in the plains of Arbela, for the empire of Aſia. The magnanimity of Julian was applauded and betrayed, by the arts of a noble Perſian, who, in the cauſe of his country, had generouſly ſubmitted to act a part full of danger, of falſehood, and of ſhame [77]. With a train

[76] Libanius, Orat. Parent. c. 130. p. 354. c. 139. p. 361. Socrates, l. iii. c. 21. The eccleſiaſtical hiſtorian imputes the refuſal of peace to the advice of Maximus. Such advice was unworthy of a philoſopher; but the philoſopher was likewiſe a magician, who flattered the hopes and paſſions of his maſter.

[77] The arts of this new Zopyrus (Greg. Nazianzen, Orat. iv. p. 115, 116.) may derive

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train of faithful followers, he deſerted to the Imperial camp; expoſed, in a ſpecious tale, the injuries which he had ſuſtained; exaggerated the cruelty of Sapor, the diſcontent of the people, and the weakneſs of the monarchy, and confidently offered himſelf as the hoſtage and guide of the Roman march. The moſt rational grounds of ſuſpicion were urged, without effect, by the wiſdom and experience of Hormiſdas; and the credulous Julian, receiving the traitor into his boſom, was perſuaded to iſſue an haſty order, which, in the opinion of mankind, appeared to arraign his prudence, and to endanger his ſafety. He deſtroyed, in a ſingle hour, the whole navy, which had been tranſported above five hundred miles, at ſo great an expence of toil, of treaſure, and of blood. Twelve, or at the moſt, twenty-two, ſmall veſſels were ſaved, to accompany, on carriages, the march of the army, and to form occaſional bridges for the paſſage of the rivers. A ſupply of twenty days proviſions was reſerved for the uſe of the ſoldiers; and the reſt of the magazines, with a fleet of eleven hundred veſſels, which rode at anchor in the Tigris, were abandoned to the flames, by the abſolute command of the emperor. The Chriſtian biſhops, Gregory and Auguſtin, inſult the madneſs of the apoſtate, who executed, with his own hands, the ſentence of divine juſtice. Their authority, of leſs weight, perhaps, in a military queſtion, is confirmed by the cool judgment of an experienced ſoldier, who was himſelf ſpectator of the conflagration, and who could not diſapprove the reluctant murmurs of the troops[78].

rive ſome credit from the teſtimony of two abbreviators (Sextus Rufus and Victor), and the caſual hints of Libanius (Orat. Parent. c. 134. p. 357.) and Ammianus (xxiv. 7.). The courſe of genuine hiſtory is interrupted by a moſt unſeaſonable chaſm in the text of Ammianus.

[78] See Ammianus (xxiv. 7.), Libanius (Orat. Parentalis, c. 132, 133. p. 356, 357.), Zoſimus (l. iii. p. 183.), Zonaras (tom. ii. l. xiii. p. 26.), Gregory (Orat. iv. p. 116.), Auguſtin (de Civitate Dei, l. iv. c. 29. l. v. c. 21.). Of theſe, Libanius alone attempts a faint apology for his hero; who, according to Ammianus, pronounced his own condemnation, by a tardy and ineffectual attempt to extinguiſh the flames.

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Yet there are not wanting ſome ſpecious, and perhaps ſolid, reaſons, which might juſtify the reſolution of Julian. The navigation of the Euphrates never aſcended above Babylon, nor that of the Tigris above Opis [79]. The diſtance of the laſt-mentioned city from the Roman camp was not very conſiderable; and Julian muſt ſoon have renounced the vain and impracticable attempt of forcing upwards a great fleet againſt the ſtream of a rapid river [80], which in ſeveral places was embarraſſed by natural or artificial cataracts [81]. The power of ſails and oars was inſufficient; it became neceſſary to tow the ſhips againſt the current of the river; the ſtrength of twenty thouſand ſoldiers was exhauſted in this tedious and ſervile labour; and if the Romans continued to march along the banks of the Tigris, they could only expect to return home without atchieving any enterpriſe worthy of the genius or fortune of their leader. If, on the contrary, it was adviſable to advance into the inland country, the deſtruction of the fleet and magazines was the only meaſure which could ſave that valuable prize from the hands of the numerous and active troops which might ſuddenly be poured from the gates of Cteſiphon. Had the arms of Julian been victorious, we ſhould now admire the conduct, as well as the courage, of a hero, who, by depriving his ſoldiers of the hopes of a retreat, left them only the alternative of death or conqueſt [82].

and marches againſt Sapor.

The cumberſome train of artillery and waggons, which retards the operations of a modern army, were in a great meaſure unknown

[79] Conſult Herodotus (l. i. c. 194.), Strabo (l. xvi. p. 1074.) and Tavernier (p. i. l. ii. p. 152.).

[80] A celeritate Tigris incipit vocari, ita appellant Medi ſagittam. Plin. Hiſt. Natur. vi. 31.

[81] One of theſe dykes, which produces an artificial caſcade or cataract, is deſcribed by Tavernier (part i. l. ii. p. 226.) and Thevenot (part ii. l. i. p. 193.). The Perſians, or Aſſyrians, laboured to interrupt the navigation of the river (Strabo, l. xv. p. 1075. D'Anville, l'Euphrate et le Tigre, p. 98, 99.).

[82] Recollect the ſucceſsful and applauded raſhneſs of Agathocles and Cortez, who burnt their ſhips on the coaſts of Africa and Mexico.

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in the camps of the Romans [83]. Yet, in every age, the ſubſiſtence of ſixty thouſand men muſt have been one of the moſt important cares of a prudent general; and that ſubſiſtence could only be drawn from his own or from the enemy's country. Had it been poſſible for Julian to maintain a bridge of communication on the Tigris, and to preſerve the conquered places of Aſſyria, a deſolated province could not afford any large or regular ſupplies, in a ſeaſon of the year when the lands were covered by the inundation of the Euphrates [84], and the unwholeſome air was darkened with ſwarms of innumerable inſects [85]. The appearance of the hoſtile country was far more inviting. The extenſive region that lies between the river Tigris and the mountains of Media, was filled with villages and towns; and the fertile ſoil, for the moſt part, was in a very improved ſtate of cultivation. Julian might expect, that a conqueror, who poſſeſſed the two forcible inſtruments of perſuaſion, ſteel and gold, would eaſily procure a plentiful ſubſiſtence from the fears or avarice of the natives. But, on the approach of the Romans, this rich and ſmiling proſpect was inſtantly blaſted. Wherever they moved, the inhabitants deſerted the open villages, and took ſhelter in the fortified towns; the cattle was driven away; the graſs and ripe corn were conſumed with fire; and, as ſoon as the flames had ſubſided which interrupted the march of Julian, he beheld the melancholy face of a ſmoking and naked deſert. This deſperate but effectual method

[83] See the judicious reflections of the author of the Eſſai ſur la Tactique, tom. ii. p. 287—353. and the learned remarks of M. Guichardt, Nouveaux Memoires Militaires, tom. i. p. 351—382. on the baggage and ſubſiſtence of the Roman armies.

[84] The Tigris riſes to the ſouth, the Euphrates to the north, of the Armenian mountains. The former overflows in March, the latter in July. Theſe circumſtances are well explained in the Geographical Diſſertation of Foſter, inſerted in Spelman's Expedition of Cyrus, vol. ii. p. 26.

[85] Ammianus (xxiv. 8.) deſcribes, as he had felt, the inconveniency of the flood, the heat, and the inſects. The lands of Aſſyria, oppreſſed by the Turks, and ravaged by the Curds, or Arabs, yield an increaſe of ten, fifteen, and twenty fold, for the ſeed which is caſt into the ground by the wretched and unſkilful huſbandman. Voyages de Niebuhr, tom. ii. p. 279. 285.

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of defence, can only be executed by the enthuſiaſm of a people who prefer their independence to their property; or by the rigour of an arbitrary government, which conſults the public ſafety without ſubmitting to their inclinations the liberty of choice. On the preſent occaſion, the zeal and obedience of the Perſians ſeconded the commands of Sapor; and the emperor was ſoon reduced to the ſcanty ſtock of proviſions, which continually waſted in his hands. Before they were entirely conſumed he might ſtill have reached the wealthy and unwarlike cities of Ecbatana, or Suſa, by the effort of a rapid and well-directed march [86]; but he was deprived of this laſt reſource by his ignorance of the roads, and by the perfidy of his guides. The Romans wandered ſeveral days in the country to the eaſtward of Bagdad: the Perſian deſerter, who had artfully led them into the ſnare, eſcaped from their reſentment: and his followers, as ſoon as they were put to the torture, confeſſed the ſecret of the conſpiracy. The viſionary conqueſts of Hyrcania and India, which had ſo long amuſed, now tormented, the mind of Julian. Conſcious that his own imprudence was the cauſe of the public diſtreſs, he anxiouſly balanced the hopes of ſafety or ſucceſs, without obtaining a ſatisfactory anſwer either from gods or men. At length, as the only practicable meaſure, he embraced the reſolution of directing his ſteps towards the banks of the Tigris, with the deſign of ſaving the army by a haſty march to the confines of Corduene; a fertile and friendly province, which acknowledged the ſovereignty of Rome. The deſponding troops obeyed the ſignal of the retreat, only ſeventy days after they had paſſed the Chaboras, with the ſanguine expectation of ſubverting the throne of Perſia [87].

June 16.

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[86] Iſidore of Charax (Manſion. Parthic. p. 5, 6. in Hudſon, Geograph. Minor. tom. ii.) reckons 129 ſchæni from Seleucia, and Thevenot (part i. l. i. ii. p. 209—245.) 128 hours of march from Bagdad to Ecbatana, or Hamadan. Theſe meaſures cannot exceed an ordinary paraſang, or three Roman miles.

[87] The march of Julian from Cteſiphon, is circumſtantially, but not clearly, deſcribed by Ammianus (xxiv. 7, 8.), Libanius (Orat. Parent.

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Retreat and diſtreſs of the Roman army.

As long as the Romans ſeemed to advance into the country, their march was obſerved and inſulted from a diſtance, by ſeveral bodies of Perſian cavalry; who ſhewing themſelves, ſometimes in looſe, and ſometimes in cloſer, order, faintly ſkirmiſhed with the advanced guards. Theſe detachments were, however, ſupported by a much greater force; and the heads of the columns were no ſooner pointed towards the Tigris, than a cloud of duſt aroſe on the plain. The Romans, who now aſpired only to the permiſſion of a ſafe and ſpeedy retreat, endeavoured to perſuade themſelves, that this formidable appearance was occaſioned by a troop of wild aſſes, or perhaps by the approach of ſome friendly Arabs. They halted, pitched their tents, fortified their camp, paſſed the whole night in continual alarms; and diſcovered, at the dawn of day, that they were ſurrounded by an army of Perſians. This army, which might be conſidered only as the van of the Barbarians, was ſoon followed by the main body of cuiraſſiers, archers, and elephants, commanded by Meranes, a general of rank and reputation. He was accompanied by two of the king's ſons, and many of the principal ſatraps; and fame and expectation exaggerated the ſtrength of the remaining powers, which ſlowly advanced under the conduct of Sapor himſelf. As the Romans continued their march, their long array, which was forced to bend or divide, according to the varieties of the ground, afforded frequent and favourable opportunities to their vigilant enemies. The Perſians repeatedly charged with fury; they were repeatedly repulſed with firmneſs; and the action at Maronga, which almoſt deſerved the name of a battle, was marked by a conſiderable loſs of ſatraps and elephants, perhaps of equal value in the eyes of their monarch. Theſe ſplendid advantages were not obtained without

Parent, c. 134. p. 357.), and Zoſimus (l. iii. p. 183.). The two laſt ſeem ignorant that their conqueror was retreating; and Libanius abſurdly confines him to the banks of the Tigris.

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an adequate ſlaughter on the ſide of the Romans: ſeveral officers of diſtinction were either killed or wounded; and the emperor himſelf, who, on all occaſions of danger, inſpired and guided the valour of his troops, was obliged to expoſe his perſon, and exert his abilities. The weight of offenſive and defenſive arms, which ſtill conſtituted the ſtrength and ſafety of the Romans, diſabled them from making any long or effectual purſuit; and as the horſemen of the Eaſt were trained to dart their javelins, and ſhoot their arrows, at full ſpeed, and in every poſſible direction[88], the cavalry of Perſia was never more formidable than in the moment of a rapid and diſorderly flight. But the moſt certain and irreparable loſs of the Romans, was that of time. The hardy veterans, accuſtomed to the cold climate of Gaul and Germany, fainted under the ſultry heat of an Aſſyrian ſummer; their vigour was exhauſted by the inceſſant repetition of march and combat; and the progreſs of the army was ſuſpended by the precautions of a ſlow and dangerous retreat, in the preſence of an active enemy. Every day, every hour, as the ſupply diminiſhed, the value and price of ſubſiſtence increaſed in the Roman camp[89]. Julian, who always contented himſelf with ſuch food as a hungry ſoldier would have diſdained, diſtributed, for the uſe of the troops, the proviſions of the Imperial houſehold, and whatever could be ſpared from the ſumpter-horſes of the tribunes and generals. But this feeble relief ſerved only to aggravate the ſenſe of the public diſtreſs; and the Romans began to entertain the moſt gloomy apprehenſions, that before they could reach the frontiers of the empire, they

[88] Chardin, the moſt judicious of modern travellers, deſcribes (tom. iii. p. 57, 58, &c. edit. in 4to.) the education and dexterity of the Perſian horſemen. Briſſonius (de Regno Perſico, p. 650. 661, &c.) has collected the teſtimonies of antiquity.

[89] In Mark Antony's retreat, an Attic chœnix ſold for fifty drachmæ, or, in other words, a pound of flour for twelve or fourteen ſhillings: barley-bread was ſold for its weight in ſilver. It is impoſſible to peruſe the intereſting narrative of Plutarch (tom. v. p. 102—116.), without perceiving that Mark Antony and Julian were purſued by the ſame enemies, and involved in the ſame diſtreſs.

ſhould

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should all perish, either by famine, or by the sword of the Barbarians [90].

Julian is mortally wounded.

While Julian struggled with the almost insuperable difficulties of his situation, the silent hours of the night were still devoted to study and contemplation. Whenever he closed his eyes in short and interrupted slumbers, his mind was agitated with painful anxiety; nor can it be thought surprising, that the Genius of the empire should once more appear before him, covering with a funereal veil, his head, and his horn of abundance, and slowly retiring from the Imperial tent. The monarch started from his couch, and stepping forth, to refresh his wearied spirits with the coolness of the midnight air, he beheld a fiery meteor, which shot athwart the sky, and suddenly vanished. Julian was convinced that he had seen the menacing countenance of the god of war [91]; the council which he summoned, of Tuscan Haruspices [92], unanimously pronounced that he should abstain from action: but on this occasion, necessity and reason were more prevalent than superstition; and the trumpets sounded at the break of day. The army marched through a hilly country; and the hills had been secretly occupied by the Persians. Julian led the van, with the skill and attention of a consummate general; he was alarmed by the intelligence that his rear was suddenly attacked. The heat of the weather had tempted him to lay aside his cuirass; but he snatched a shield from one of his attendants, and hastened, with a sufficient reinforcement, to the relief of

[90] Ammian. xxiv. 8. xxv. 1. Zosimus, l. iii. p. 184, 185, 186. Libanius, Orat. Parent. c. 134, 135. p. 357, 358, 359. The sophist of Antioch appears ignorant that the troops were hungry.

[91] Ammian. xxv. 2. Julian had sworn in a passion, nunquam se Marti sacra facturum (xxiv. 6.). Such whimsical quarrels were not uncommon between the gods and their insolent votaries; and even the prudent Augustus, after his fleet had been twice shipwrecked, excluded Neptune from the honours of public professions. See Hume's philosophical reflections, Essays, vol. ii. p. 418.

[92] They still retained the monopoly of the vain, but lucrative, science which had been invented in Hetruria, and professed to derive their knowledge of signs and omens, from the ancient books of Tarquitius, a Tuscan sage.

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the rear-guard. A ſimilar danger recalled the intrepid prince to the defence of the front; and as he galloped between the columns, the centre of the left was attacked, and almoſt overpowered, by a furious charge of the Perſian cavalry and elephants. This huge body was ſoon defeated, by the well-timed evolution of the light infantry, who aimed their weapons, with dexterity and effect, againſt the backs of the horſemen, and the legs of the elephants. The Barbarians fled; and Julian, who was foremoſt in every danger, animated the purſuit with his voice and geſtures. His trembling guards, ſcattered and oppreſſed by the diſorderly throng of friends and enemies, reminded their fearleſs ſovereign that he was without armour; and conjured him to decline the fall of the impending ruin. As they exclaimed [91], a cloud of darts and arrows was diſcharged from the flying ſquadrons; and a javelin, after razing the ſkin of his arm, tranſpierced the ribs, and fixed in the inferior part of the liver. Julian attempted to draw the deadly weapon from his ſide; but his fingers were cut by the ſharpneſs of the ſteel, and he fell ſenſeleſs from his horſe. His guards flew to his relief; and the wounded emperor was gently raiſed from the ground, and conveyed out of the tumult of the battle into an adjacent tent. The report of the melancholy event paſſed from rank to rank; but the grief of the Romans inſpired them with invincible valour, and the deſire of revenge. The bloody and obſtinate conflict was maintained by the two armies till they were ſeparated by the total darkneſs of the night. The Perſians derived ſome honour from the advantage which they obtained againſt the left wing, where Anatolius, maſter of the offices, was ſlain, and the præfect Salluſt very narrowly eſcaped. But the event of the day was adverſe to the Barbarians. They abandoned the field; their two generals, Me-

[91] Clamabant hinc inde *candidati* (ſee the note of Valeſius) quos disjecerat terror, ut fugientium molem tanquam ruinam male compoſiti culminis declinaret. Ammian. xxv. 3.

ranes,

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ranes and Nohordates [94], fifty nobles or ſatraps, and a multitude of their braveſt ſoldiers: and the ſucceſs of the Romans, if Julian had ſurvived, might have been improved into a deciſive and uſeful victory.

The death of Julian, A. D. 363. June 26.

The firſt words that Julian uttered, after his recovery from the fainting fit, into which he had been thrown by loſs of blood, were expreſſive of his martial ſpirit. He called for his horſe and arms, and was impatient to ruſh into the battle. His remaining ſtrength was exhauſted by the painful effort; and the ſurgeons, who examined his wound, diſcovered the ſymptoms of approaching death. He employed the awful moments with the firm temper of a hero and a ſage; the philoſophers who had accompanied him in this fatal expedition, compared the tent of Julian with the priſon of Socrates; and the ſpectators, whom duty, or friendſhip, or curioſity, had aſſembled round his couch, liſtened with reſpectful grief to the funeral oration of their dying emperor [95]. "Friends and fellow-ſoldiers, the ſeaſonable period of my departure is now arrived, and I diſcharge, with the cheerfulneſs of a ready debtor, the demands of nature. I have learned from philoſophy, how much the ſoul is more excellent than the body; and that the ſeparation of the nobler ſubſtance ſhould be the ſubject of joy, rather than of affliction. I have learned from religion, that an early death has often been the reward of piety [96]; and I accept, as a favour of the gods, the

[94] Sapor himſelf declared to the Romans, that it was his practice, to comfort the families of his deceaſed ſatraps, by ſending them, as a preſent, the heads of the guards and officers who had not fallen by their maſter's ſide. Libanius, de nece Julian. ulciſ. c. xiii. p. 163.

[95] The character and ſituation of Julian might countenance the ſuſpicion, that he had previouſly compoſed the elaborate oration, which Ammianus heard, and has tranſcribed. The verſion of the Abbé de la Bleterie is faithful and elegant. I have followed him in expreſſing the Platonic idea of emanations, which is darkly inſinuated in the original.

[96] Herodotus (l. i. c. 31.) has diſplayed that doctrine in an agreeable tale. Yet the Jupiter (in the 16th book of the Iliad), who laments with tears of blood the death of Sarpedon his ſon, had a very imperfect notion of happineſs or glory beyond the grave.

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" mortal ſtroke, that ſecures me from the danger of diſgracing a " character, which has hitherto been ſupported by virtue and forti- " tude. I die without remorſe, as I have lived without guilt. I " am pleaſed to reflect on the innocence of my private life; and I " can affirm with confidence, that the ſupreme authority, that ema- " nation of the Divine Power, has been preſerved in my hands pure " and immaculate. Deteſting the corrupt and deſtructive maxims of " deſpotiſm, I have conſidered the happineſs of the people as the " end of government. Submitting my actions to the laws of pru- " dence, of juſtice, and of moderation, I have truſted the event to " the care of Providence. Peace was the object of my counſels, as " long as peace was conſiſtent with the public welfare; but when " the imperious voice of my country ſummoned me to arms, I ex- " poſed my perſon to the dangers of war, with the clear fore-know- " ledge (which I had acquired from the art of divination) that I " was deſtined to fall by the ſword. I now offer my tribute of " gratitude to the Eternal Being, who has not ſuffered me to periſh " by the cruelty of a tyrant, by the ſecret dagger of conſpiracy, or " by the ſlow tortures of lingering diſeaſe. He has given me, in " the midſt of an honourable career, a ſplendid and glorious depar- " ture from this world; and I hold it equally abſurd, equally baſe, " to ſolicit, or to decline, the ſtroke of fate.——Thus much I have " attempted to ſay; but my ſtrength fails me, and I feel the ap- " proach of death.—I ſhall cautiouſly refrain from any word that " may tend to influence your ſuffrages in the election of an empe- " ror. My choice might be imprudent, or injudicious; and if it " ſhould not be ratified by the conſent of the army, it might be fatal " to the perſon whom I ſhould recommend. I ſhall only, as a " good citizen, expreſs my hopes, that the Romans may be bleſſed " with the government of a virtuous ſovereign." After this diſ- courſe, which Julian pronounced in a firm and gentle tone of voice, he

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he distributed, by a military testament [97], the remains of his private fortune; and making some enquiry why Anatolius was not present, he understood, from the answer of Sallust, that Anatolius was killed; and bewailed, with amiable inconsistency, the loss of his friend. At the same time he reproved the immoderate grief of the spectators; and conjured them not to disgrace, by unmanly tears, the fate of a prince, who in a few moments would be united with heaven, and with the stars [98]. The spectators were silent; and Julian entered into a metaphysical argument with the philosophers Priscus and Maximus, on the nature of the soul. The efforts which he made, of mind, as well as body, most probably hastened his death. His wound began to bleed with fresh violence; his respiration was embarrassed by the swelling of the veins: he called for a draught of cold water, and, as soon as he had drank it, expired without pain, about the hour of midnight. Such was the end of that extraordinary man, in the thirty-second year of his age, after a reign of one year and about eight months, from the death of Constantius. In his last moments he displayed, perhaps with some ostentation, the love of virtue and of fame, which had been the ruling passions of his life [99].

Election of the emperor Jovian, A. D. 363, June 27.

The triumph of Christianity, and the calamities of the empire, may, in some measure, be ascribed to Julian himself, who had neglected to secure the future execution of his designs, by the timely

[97] The soldiers who made their verbal, or nuncupatory, testaments upon actual service (in procinctû) were exempted from the formalities of the Roman law. See Heineccius (Antiquit. Jur. Roman. tom. i. p. 504.) and Montesquieu (Esprit des Loix, l. xxvii.).

[98] This union of the human soul with the divine ætherial substance of the universe, is the ancient doctrine of Pythagoras and Plato; but it seems to exclude any personal or conscious immortality. See Warburton's learned and rational observations, Divine Legation, vol. ii. p. 199—216.

[99] The whole relation of the death of Julian is given by Ammianus (xxv. 3.), an intelligent spectator. Libanius, who turns with horror from the scene, has supplied some circumstances (Orat. Parental. c. 136—140. p. 359—362.). The calumnies of Gregory, and the legends of more recent saints, may now be *silently* despised.

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and judicious nomination of an aſſociate and ſucceſſor. But the royal race of Conſtantius Chlorus was reduced to his own perſon; and if he entertained any ſerious thoughts of inveſting with the purple the moſt worthy among the Romans, he was diverted from his reſolution by the difficulty of the choice, the jealouſy of power, the fear of ingratitude, and the natural preſumption of health, of youth, and of proſperity. His unexpected death left the empire without a maſter, and without an heir, in a ſtate of perplexity and danger, which, in the ſpace of fourſcore years, had never been experienced, ſince the election of Diocletian. In a government, which had almoſt forgotten the diſtinction of pure and noble blood, the ſuperiority of birth was of little moment; the claims of official rank were accidental and precarious; and the candidates, who might aſpire to aſcend the vacant throne, could be ſupported only by the conſciouſneſs of perſonal merit, or by the hopes of popular favour. But the ſituation of a famiſhed army, encompaſſed on all ſides by an hoſt of Barbarians, ſhortened the moments of grief and deliberation. In this ſcene of terror and diſtreſs, the body of the deceaſed prince, according to his own directions, was decently embalmed; and, at the dawn of day, the generals convened a military ſenate, at which the commanders of the legions, and the officers, both of cavalry and infantry, were invited to aſſiſt. Three or four hours of the night had not paſſed away without ſome ſecret cabals; and when the election of an emperor was propoſed, the ſpirit of faction began to agitate the aſſembly. Victor and Arinthæus collected the remains of the court of Conſtantius; the friends of Julian attached themſelves to the Gallic chiefs, Dagalaiphus and Nevitta; and the moſt fatal conſequences might be apprehended from the diſcord of two factions, ſo oppoſite in their character and intereſt, in their maxims of government, and perhaps in their religious principles. The ſuperior virtues of Salluſt could alone reconcile their diviſions, and unite

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unite their ſuffrages; and the venerable præfect would immediately have been declared the ſucceſſor of Julian, if he himſelf, with ſincere and modeſt firmneſs, had not alleged his age and infirmities, ſo unequal to the weight of the diadem. The generals, who were ſurpriſed and perplexed by his refuſal, ſhewed ſome diſpoſition to adopt the ſalutary advice of an inferior officer [100], that they ſhould act as they would have acted in the abſence of the emperor; that they ſhould exert their abilities to extricate the army from the preſent diſtreſs; and, if they were fortunate enough to reach the confines of Meſopotamia, they ſhould proceed with united and deliberate counſels in the election of a lawful ſovereign. While they debated, a few voices ſaluted Jovian, who was no more than *firſt* [101] of the domeſtics, with the names of Emperor and Auguſtus. The tumultuary acclamation was inſtantly repeated by the guards who ſurrounded the tent, and paſſed, in a few minutes, to the extremities of the line. The new prince, aſtoniſhed with his own fortune, was haſtily inveſted with the Imperial ornaments, and received an oath of fidelity from the generals, whoſe favour and protection he ſo lately ſolicited. The ſtrongeſt recommendation of Jovian was the merit of his father, count Varronian, who enjoyed in honourable retirement, the fruit of his long ſervices. In the obſcure freedom of a private ſtation, the ſon indulged his taſte for wine and women; yet he ſupported, with credit, the character of a Chriſtian [102] and a

[100] Honoratior aliquis miles; perhaps Ammianus himſelf. The modeſt and judicious hiſtorian deſcribes the ſcene of the election, at which he was undoubtedly preſent (xxv. 5.).

[101] The *primus*, or *primicerius*, enjoyed the dignity of a ſenator; and though only a tribune, he ranked with the military dukes. Cod. Theodoſian. l. vi. tit. xxiv. Theſe privileges are perhaps more recent than the time of Jovian.

[102] The eccleſiaſtical hiſtorians, Socrates (l. iii. c. 22.), Sozomen (l. vi. c. 3.), and Theodoret (l. iv. c. i.), aſcribe to Jovian the merit of a confeſſor under the preceding reign; and piouſly ſuppoſe, that he refuſed the purple, till the whole army unanimouſly exclaimed that they were Chriſtians. Ammianus, calmly purſuing his narrative, overthrows the legend by a ſingle ſentence. Hoſtiis pro Joviano extiſque inſpectis pronuntiatum eſt, &c. xxv. 6.

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ſoldier. Without being conſpicuous for any of the ambitious qualifications which excite the admiration and envy of mankind, the comely perſon of Jovian, his cheerful temper, and familiar wit, had gained the affection of his fellow-ſoldiers; and the generals of both parties acquieſced in a popular election, which had not been conducted by the arts of their enemies. The pride of this unexpected elevation was moderated by the juſt apprehenſion, that the ſame day might terminate the life and reign of the new emperor. The preſſing voice of neceſſity was obeyed without delay; and the firſt orders iſſued by Jovian, a few hours after his predeceſſor had expired, were to proſecute a march, which could alone extricate the Romans from their actual diſtreſs [103].

Danger and difficulty of the retreat.

June 27th—July 1ſt.

The eſteem of an enemy is moſt ſincerely expreſſed by his fears; and the degree of fear may be accurately meaſured by the joy with which he celebrates his deliverance. The welcome news of the death of Julian, which a deſerter revealed to the camp of Sapor, inſpired the deſponding monarch with a ſudden confidence of victory. He immediately detached the royal cavalry, perhaps the ten thouſand *Immortals* [104], to ſecond and ſupport the purſuit; and diſcharged the whole weight of his united forces on the rear-guard of the Romans. The rear-guard was thrown into diſorder; the renowned legions, which derived their titles from Diocletian, and his warlike colleague, were broke and trampled down by the elephants; and three tribunes loſt their lives in attempting to ſtop the flight of

[103] Ammianus (xxv. 10.) has drawn from the life an impartial portrait of Jovian: to which the younger Victor has added ſome remarkable ſtrokes. The Abbé de la Bleterie (Hiſtoire de Jovien, tom. i. p. 1—238.) has compoſed an elaborate hiſtory of his ſhort reign; a work remarkably diſtinguiſhed by elegance of ſtyle, critical diſquiſition, and religious prejudice.

[104] Regius equitatus. It appears, from Procopius, that the Immortals, ſo famous under Cyrus and his ſucceſſors, were revived, if we may uſe that improper word, by the Saſſanides. Briſſon de Regno Perſico, p. 268, &c.

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their ſoldiers. The battle was at length reſtored by the perſevering valour of the Romans; the Perſians were repulſed with a great ſlaughter of men and elephants; and the army, after marching and fighting a long ſummer's day, arrived, in the evening, at Samara on the banks of the Tigris, about one hundred miles above Cteſiphon[105]. On the enſuing day, the Barbarians, inſtead of haraſſing the march, attacked the camp, of Jovian; which had been ſeated in a deep and ſequeſtered valley. From the hills, the archers of Perſia inſulted and annoyed the wearied legionaries; and a body of cavalry, which had penetrated with deſperate courage through the Prætorian gate, was cut in pieces, after a doubtful conflict, near the Imperial tent. In the ſucceeding night, the camp of Carche was protected by the lofty dykes of the river; and the Roman army, though inceſſantly expoſed to the vexatious purſuit of the Saracens, pitched their tents near the city of Dura[106] four days after the death of Julian. The Tigris was ſtill on their left; their hopes and proviſions were almoſt conſumed; and the impatient ſoldiers, who had fondly perſuaded themſelves, that the frontiers of the empire were not far diſtant, requeſted their new ſovereign, that they might be permitted to hazard the paſſage of the river. With the aſſiſtance of his wiſeſt officers, Jovian endeavoured to check their raſhneſs; by repreſenting, that if they poſſeſſed ſufficient ſkill and vigour to ſtem the torrent of a deep and rapid ſtream, they would only deliver themſelves naked and defenceleſs to the Barbarians, who had occupied the oppoſite banks. Yielding at length to their clamorous impor-

[105] The obſcure villages of the inland country are irrecoverably loſt, nor can we name the field of battle where Julian fell: but M. d'Anville has demonſtrated the preciſe ſituation of Sumere, Carche, and Dura, along the banks of the Tigris (Geographie Ancienne, tom. ii. p. 248. l'Euphrate et le Tigre, p. 95. 97.). In the ninth century, Sumere, or Samara, became, with a ſlight change of name, the royal reſidence of the Khalifs of the houſe of Abbas.

[106] Dura was a fortified place in the wars of Antiochus againſt the rebels of Media and Perſia (Polybius, l. v. c. 48—52. p. 548—552. edit. Caſaubon, in 8vo.).

tunities,

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tunities, he conſented, with reluctance, that five hundred Gauls and Germans, accuſtomed from their infancy to the waters of the Rhine and Danube, ſhould attempt the bold adventure, which might ſerve either as an encouragement, or as a warning, for the reſt of the army. In the ſilence of the night, they ſwam the Tigris, ſurpriſed an unguarded poſt of the enemy, and diſplayed at the dawn of day the ſignal of their reſolution and fortune. The ſucceſs of this trial diſpoſed the emperor to liſten to the promiſes of his architects, who propoſed to conſtruct a floating bridge of the inflated ſkins of ſheep, oxen, and goats, covered with a floor of earth and faſcines [107]. Two important days were ſpent in the ineffectual labour; and the Romans, who already endured the miſeries of famine, caſt a look of deſpair on the Tigris, and upon the Barbarians; whoſe numbers and obſtinacy increaſed with the diſtreſs of the Imperial army [108].

Negociation and treaty of peace. July.

In this hopeleſs ſituation, the fainting ſpirits of the Romans were revived by the ſound of peace. The tranſient preſumption of Sapor had vaniſhed: he obſerved, with ſerious concern, that, in the repetition of doubtful combats, he had loſt his moſt faithful and intrepid nobles, his braveſt troops, and the greateſt part of his train of elephants: and the experienced monarch feared to provoke the reſiſtance of deſpair, the viciſſitudes of fortune, and the unexhauſted powers of the Roman empire; which might ſoon advance to relieve, or to revenge, the ſucceſſor of Julian. The Surenas himſelf, ac-

[107] A ſimilar expedient was propoſed to the leaders of the ten thouſand, and wiſely rejected. Xenophon. Anabaſis, l. iii. p. 255, 256, 257. It appears from our modern travellers, that rafts floating on bladders perform the trade and navigation of the Tigris.

[108] The firſt military acts of the reign of Jovian are related by Ammianus (xxv. 6.), Libanius (Orat. Parent. c. 146. p. 364.), and Zoſimus (l. iii. p. 189, 190, 191.). Though we may diſtruſt the fairneſs of Libanius, the ocular teſtimony of Eutropius (uno a Perſis atque altero prœlio victus, x. 17.) muſt incline us to ſuſpect, that Ammianus has been too jealous of the honour of the Roman arms.

companied

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companied by another ſatrap, appeared in the camp of Jovian [109]; and declared, that the clemency of his ſovereign was not averſe to ſignify the conditions, on which he would conſent to ſpare and to diſmiſs the Cæſar, with the relics of his captive army. The hopes of ſafety ſubdued the firmneſs of the Romans; the emperor was compelled, by the advice of his council, and the cries of the ſoldiers, to embrace the offer of peace; and the præfect Salluſt was immediately ſent, with the general Arinthæus, to underſtand the pleaſure of the Great King. The crafty Perſian delayed, under various pretences, the concluſion of the agreement; ſtarted difficulties, required explanations, ſuggeſted expedients, receded from his conceſſions, increaſed his demands, and waſted four days in the arts of negociation, till he had conſumed the ſtock of proviſions which yet remained in the camp of the Romans. Had Jovian been capable of executing a bold and prudent meaſure, he would have continued his march with unremitting diligence; the progreſs of the treaty would have ſuſpended the attacks of the Barbarians; and, before the expiration of the fourth day, he might have ſafely reached the fruitful province of Corduene, at the diſtance only of one hundred miles [110]. The irreſolute emperor, inſtead of breaking through the toils of the enemy, expected his fate with patient reſignation; and accepted the humiliating conditions of peace, which it was no longer in his power to refuſe. The five provinces beyond the Tigris, which had been ceded by the grandfather of Sapor, were reſtored to the Perſian monarchy. He acquired, by a ſingle article, the impregnable city of Niſibis; which had ſuſtained, in three ſucceſſive ſieges, the

[109] Sextus Rufus (de Provinciis, c. 29.) embraces a poor ſubterfuge of national vanity. Tanta reverentia nominis Romani fuit, ut a Perſis *primus* de pace ſermo haberetur.

[110] It is preſumptuous to controvert the opinion of Ammianus, a ſoldier and a ſpectator. Yet it is difficult to underſtand, *how* the mountains of Corduene could extend over the plain of Aſſyria, as low as the conflux of the Tigris and the great Zab: or *how* an army of ſixty thouſand men could march one hundred miles in four days.

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effort of his arms. Singara, and the caſtle of the Moors, one of the ſtrongeſt places of Meſopotamia, were likewiſe diſmembered from the empire. It was conſidered as an indulgence, that the inhabitants of thoſe fortreſſes were permitted to retire with their effects; but the conqueror rigorouſly inſiſted, that the Romans ſhould for ever abandon the king and kingdom of Armenia. A peace, or rather a long truce, of thirty years, was ſtipulated between the hoſtile nations; the faith of the treaty was ratified by ſolemn oaths, and religious ceremonies; and hoſtages of diſtinguiſhed rank were reciprocally delivered to ſecure the performance of the conditions [111].

The weakneſs and diſgrace of Jovian.

The ſophiſt of Antioch, who ſaw with indignation the ſceptre of his hero in the feeble hand of a Chriſtian ſucceſſor, profeſſes to admire the moderation of Sapor, in contenting himſelf with ſo ſmall a portion of the Roman empire. If he had ſtretched as far as the Euphrates the claims of his ambition, he might have been ſecure, ſays Libanius, of not meeting with a refuſal. If he had fixed, as the boundary of Perſia, the Orontes, the Cydnus, the Sangarius, or even the Thracian Boſphorus, flatterers would not have been wanting in the court of Jovian, to convince the timid monarch, that his remaining provinces would ſtill afford the moſt ample gratifications of power and luxury [112]. Without adopting in its full force this malicious inſinuation, we muſt acknowledge, that the concluſion of ſo ignominious a treaty was facilitated by the private ambition of Jovian. The obſcure domeſtic, exalted to the throne by fortune, rather than by merit, was impatient to eſcape from the hands of the Perſians; that he might prevent the deſigns of Procopius, who

[111] The treaty of Dura is recorded with grief or indignation by Ammianus (xxv. 7.), Libanius (Orat. Parent. c. 142. p. 364.). Zoſimus (l. iii. p. 190, 191.), Gregory Nazianzen (Orat. iv. p. 117, 118. who imputes the diſtreſs to Julian, the deliverance to Jovian); and Eutropius (x. 17.). The laſt-mentioned writer, who was preſent in a military ſtation, ſtyles this peace neceſſariam quidem ſed ignobilem.

[112] Libanius, Orat. Parent. c. 143. p. 364, 365.

commanded

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commanded the army of Meſopotamia, and eſtabliſh his doubtful reign over the legions and provinces, which were ſtill ignorant of the haſty and tumultuous choice of the camp beyond the Tigris [113]. In the neighbourhood of the ſame river, at no very conſiderable diſtance from the fatal ſtation of Dura [114], the ten thouſand Greeks, without generals, or guides, or proviſions, were abandoned, above twelve hundred miles from their native country, to the reſentment of a victorious monarch. The difference of *their* conduct and ſucceſs depended much more on their character than on their ſituation. Inſtead of tamely reſigning themſelves to the ſecret deliberations and private views of a ſingle perſon, the united councils of the Greeks were inſpired by the generous enthuſiaſm of a popular aſſembly: where the mind of each citizen is filled with the love of glory, the pride of freedom, and the contempt of death. Conſcious of their ſuperiority over the Barbarians in arms and diſcipline, they diſdained to yield, they refuſed to capitulate; every obſtacle was ſurmounted by their patience, courage, and military ſkill; and the memorable retreat of the ten thouſand expoſed and inſulted the weakneſs of the Perſian monarchy [115].

He continues his retreat to Niſibis.

As the price of his diſgraceful conceſſions, the emperor might perhaps have ſtipulated, that the camp of the hungry Romans ſhould be plentifully ſupplied [116]; and that they ſhould be permitted to paſs the

[113] Conditionibus . . . diſpendioſis Romanæ reipublicæ impoſitis . . . . quibus cupidior regni quam gloriæ Jovianus imperio rudis adquievit. Sextus Rufus de Provinciis, c. 29. La Bleterie has expreſſed, in a long direct oration, theſe ſpecious conſiderations of public and private intereſt (Hiſt. de Jovien, tom. i. p. 39, &c.).

[114] The generals were murdered on the banks of the Zabatus (Anabaſis, l. ii. p. 156. l. iii. p. 226.), or great Zab, a river of Aſſyria, 400 feet broad, which falls into the Tigris fourteen hours below Moſul. The error of the Greeks beſtowed on the great and leſſer Zab the names of the *Wolf* (Lycus), and the *Goat* (Capros). They created theſe animals to attend the *Tyger* of the Eaſt.

[115] The *Cyropædia* is vague and languid: the *Anabaſis* circumſtantial and animated. Such is the eternal difference between fiction and truth.

[116] According to Rufinus, an immediat- ſupply

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the Tigris on the bridge which was conſtructed by the hands of the Perſians. But, if Jovian preſumed to ſolicit thoſe equitable terms, they were ſternly refuſed by the haughty tyrant of the Eaſt; whoſe clemency had pardoned the invaders of his country. The Saracens ſometimes intercepted the ſtragglers of the march; but the generals and troops of Sapor reſpected the ceſſation of arms; and Jovian was ſuffered to explore the moſt convenient place for the paſſage of the river. The ſmall veſſels, which had been ſaved from the conflagration of the fleet, performed the moſt eſſential ſervice. They firſt conveyed the emperor and his favourites; and afterwards tranſported, in many ſucceſſive voyages, a great part of the army. But, as every man was anxious for his perſonal ſafety, and apprehenſive of being left on the hoſtile ſhore, the ſoldiers, who were too impatient to wait the ſlow returns of the boats, boldly ventured themſelves on light hurdles, or inflated ſkins; and, drawing after them their horſes, attempted, with various ſucceſs, to ſwim acroſs the river. Many of theſe daring adventurers were ſwallowed by the waves; many others, who were carried along by the violence of the ſtream, fell an eaſy prey to the avarice, or cruelty, of the wild Arabs: and the loſs which the army ſuſtained in the paſſage of the Tigris, was not inferior to the carnage of a day of battle. As ſoon as the Romans had landed on the weſtern bank, they were delivered from the hoſtile purſuit of the Barbarians; but, in a laborious march of two hundred miles over the plains of Meſopotamia, they endured the laſt extremities of thirſt and hunger. They were obliged to traverſe a ſandy deſert, which, in the extent of ſeventy miles, did not afford a ſingle blade of ſweet graſs, nor a ſingle ſpring of freſh water; and the reſt of the inhoſpitable waſte was untrod by the footſteps either of

ſupply of proviſions was ſtipulated by the treaty; and Theodoret affirms, that the obligation was faithfully diſcharged by the Perſians. Such a fact is probable, but undoubtedly falſe. See Tillemont, Hiſt. des Empereurs, tom. iv. p. 702.

friends

friends or enemies. Whenever a ſmall meaſure of flour could be diſcovered in the camp, twenty pounds weight were greedily purchaſed with ten pieces of gold [117]: the beaſts of burden were ſlaughtered and devoured; and the deſert was ſtrewed with the arms and baggage of the Roman ſoldiers, whoſe tattered garments and meagre countenances diſplayed their paſt ſufferings, and actual miſery. A ſmall convoy of proviſions advanced to meet the army as far as the caſtle of Ur; and the ſupply was the more grateful, ſince it declared the fidelity of Sebaſtian and Procopius. At Thilſaphata [118], the emperor moſt graciouſly received the generals of Meſopotamia; and the remains of a once flouriſhing army at length repoſed themſelves under the walls of Niſibis. The meſſengers of Jovian had already proclaimed, in the language of flattery, his election, his treaty, and his return; and the new prince had taken the moſt effectual meaſures to ſecure the allegiance of the armies and provinces of Europe; by placing the military command in the hands of thoſe officers who, from motives of intereſt, or inclination, would firmly ſupport the cauſe of their benefactor [119].

Univerſal clamour againſt the treaty of peace.

The friends of Julian had confidently announced the ſucceſs of his expedition. They entertained a fond perſuaſion, that the temples of the gods would be enriched with the ſpoils of the Eaſt; that Perſia would be reduced to the humble ſtate of a tributary province,

[117] We may recollect ſome lines of Lucan (Pharſal. iv. 95.), who deſcribes a ſimilar diſtreſs of Cæſar's army in Spain:

Sæva fames aderat ——
Miles eget: toto cenſu non prodigus emit
Exiguam Cererem. Proh lucri pallida tabes!
Non deeſt prolato jejunus venditor auro.

See Guichardt (Nouveaux Memoires Militaires, tom. i. p. 379—382.). His Analyſis of the two Campaigns in Spain and Africa, is the nobleſt monument that has ever been raiſed to the fame of Cæſar.

[118] M. d'Anville (ſee his Maps, and l'Euphrate et le Tigre, p. 92, 93.) traces their march, and aſſigns the true poſition of Hatra, Ur, and Thilſaphata, which Ammianus has mentioned. He does not complain of the Samiel, the deadly hot wind, which Thevenot (Voyages, part ii. l. i. p. 192.) ſo much dreaded.

[119] The retreat of Jovian is deſcribed by Ammianus (xxv. 9.), Libanius (Orat. Parent. c. 143. p. 365.), and Zoſimus (l. iii. p. 194.).

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governed by the laws and magiſtrates of Rome; that the Barbarians would adopt the dreſs, and manners, and language, of their conquerors; and that the youth of Ecbatana and Suſa would ſtudy the art of rhetoric under Grecian maſters [120]. The progreſs of the arms of Julian interrupted his communication with the empire; and, from the moment that he paſſed the Tigris, his affectionate ſubjects were ignorant of the fate and fortunes of their prince. Their contemplation of fancied triumphs was diſturbed by the melancholy rumour of his death; and they perſiſted to doubt, after they could no longer deny, the truth of that fatal event [121]. The meſſengers of Jovian promulgated the ſpecious tale of a prudent and neceſſary peace: the voice of fame, louder and more ſincere, revealed the diſgrace of the emperor, and the conditions of the ignominious treaty. The minds of the people were filled with aſtoniſhment and grief, with indignation and terror, when they were informed, that the unworthy ſucceſſor of Julian relinquiſhed the five provinces, which had been acquired by the victory of Galerius; and that he ſhamefully ſurrendered to the Barbarians the important city of Niſibis, the firmeſt bulwark of the provinces of the Eaſt [122]. The deep and dangerous queſtion, how far the public faith ſhould be obſerved, when it becomes incompatible with the public ſafety, was freely agitated in popular converſation; and ſomes hopes were entertained, that the emperor would redeem his puſillanimous behaviour by a ſplendid

[120] Libanius, Orat. Parent. c. 145. p. 366. Such were the natural hopes and wiſhes of a rhetorician.

[121] The people of Carrhæ, a city devoted to Paganiſm, buried the inauſpicious meſſenger under a pile of ſtones (Zoſimus, l. iii. p. 196.). Libanius, when he received the fatal intelligence, caſt his eye on his ſword: but he recollected that Plato had condemned ſuicide, and that he muſt live to compoſe the panegyric of Julian (Libanius de Vitâ ſuâ, tom. ii. p. 45, 46.).

[122] Ammianus and Eutropius may be admitted as fair and credible witneſſes of the public language and opinions. The people of Antioch reviled an ignominious peace, which expoſed them to the Perſians, on a naked and defenceleſs frontier (Excerpt. Valeſiana, p. 845. ex Joanne Antiocheno).

act

act of patriotic perfidy. The inflexible ſpirit of the Roman ſenate had always diſclaimed the unequal conditions which were extorted from the diſtreſs of her captive armies; and if it were neceſſary to ſatisfy the national honour, by delivering the guilty general into the hands of the Barbarians, the greateſt part of the ſubjects of Jovian would have cheerfully acquieſced in the precedent of ancient times [123].

Jovian evacuates Niſibis, and reſtores the five provinces to the Perſians. Auguſt.

But the emperor, whatever might be the limits of his conſtitutional authority, was the abſolute maſter of the laws and arms of the ſtate; and the ſame motives which had forced him to ſubſcribe, now preſſed him to execute, the treaty of peace. He was impatient to ſecure an empire at the expence of a few provinces; and the reſpectable names of religion and honour concealed the perſonal fears and the ambition of Jovian. Notwithſtanding the dutiful ſolicitations of the inhabitants, decency, as well as prudence, forbade the emperor to lodge in the palace of Niſibis; but, the next morning after his arrival, Bineſes, the ambaſſador of Perſia, entered the place, diſplayed from the citadel the ſtandard of the Great King, and proclaimed, in his name, the cruel alternative of exile or ſervitude. The principal citizens of Niſibis, who, till that fatal moment had confided in the protection of their ſovereign, threw themſelves at his feet. They conjured him not to abandon, or, at leaſt, not to deliver a faithful colony to the rage of a Barbarian tyrant, exaſperated by the three ſucceſſive defeats which he had experienced under the walls of Niſibis. They ſtill poſſeſſed arms and courage to repel the invaders of their country: they requeſted only the permiſſion of uſing them in their own defence; and, as ſoon as they had aſſerted their independence, they ſhould implore the favour of being again

[123] The Abbe de la Bleterie (Hiſt. de Jovien, tom. i. p. 212—227.), though a ſevere caſuiſt, has pronounced that Jovian was not bound to execute his promiſe; ſince he *could not* diſmember the empire, nor alienate, without their conſent, the allegiance of his people. I have never found much delight or inſtruction in ſuch political metaphyſics.

admitted

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admitted into the rank of his ſubjects. Their arguments, their eloquence, their tears, were ineffectual. Jovian alleged, with ſome confuſion, the ſanctity of oaths; and, as the reluctance with which he accepted the preſent of a crown of gold, convinced the citizens of their hopeleſs condition, the advocate Sylvanus was provoked to exclaim, "O Emperor! may you thus be crowned by "all the cities of your dominions!" Jovian, who in a few weeks had aſſumed the habits of a prince [124], was diſpleaſed with freedom, and offended with truth: and as he reaſonably ſuppoſed, that the diſcontent of the people might incline them to ſubmit to the Perſian government, he publiſhed an edict, under pain of death, that they ſhould leave the city within the term of three days. Ammianus has delineated in lively colours the ſcene of univerſal deſpair, which he ſeems to have viewed with an eye of compaſſion [125]. The martial youth deſerted, with indignant grief, the walls which they had ſo glorioufly defended: the diſconſolate mourner dropt a laſt tear over the tomb of a ſon or huſband, which muſt ſoon be profaned by the rude hand of a Barbarian maſter; and the aged citizen kiſſed the threſhold, and clung to the doors, of the houſe, where he had paſſed the cheerful and careleſs hours of infancy. The highways were crowded with a trembling multitude: the diſtinctions of rank, and ſex, and age, were loſt in the general calamity. Every one ſtrove to bear away ſome fragment from the wreck of his fortunes; and as they could not command the immediate ſervice of an adequate number of horſes or waggons, they were obliged to leave behind them the greateſt part of their valuable effects. The ſavage inſenſibility of Jovian appears to have aggravated the hardſhips of theſe unhappy fugitives. They were ſeated, however, in a new-built quarter of

[124] At Niſibis he performed a *royal* act. A brave officer, his nameſake, who had been thought worthy of the purple, was dragged from ſupper, thrown into a well, and ſtoned to death, without any form of trial or evidence of guilt. Ammian. xxv. 8.

[125] See xxv. 9. and Zoſimus, l. iii. p. 194, 195.

Amida;

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Amida; and that riſing city, with the reinforcement of a very conſiderable colony, ſoon recovered its former ſplendour, and became the capital of Meſopotamia [126]. Similar orders were diſpatched by the emperor for the evacuation of Singara and the caſtle of the Moors; and for the reſtitution of the five provinces beyond the Tigris. Sapor enjoyed the glory and the fruits of his victory; and this ignominious peace has juſtly been conſidered as a memorable æra in the decline and fall of the Roman empire. The predeceſſors of Jovian had ſometimes relinquiſhed the dominion of diſtant and unprofitable provinces: but, ſince the foundation of the city, the Genius of Rome, the god Terminus, who guarded the boundaries of the republic, had never retired before the ſword of a victorious enemy [127].

Reflections on the death

After Jovian had performed thoſe engagements, which the voice of his poople might have tempted him to violate, he haſtened away from the ſcene of his diſgrace, and proceeded with his whole court to enjoy the luxury of Antioch [128]. Without conſulting the dictates of religious zeal, he was prompted by humanity and gratitude, to beſtow the laſt honours on the remains of his deceaſed ſovereign [129]; and Procopius, who ſincerely bewailed the loſs of his kinſman, was removed from the command of the army, under the decent pretence of conducting the funeral. The corpſe of Julian was tranſported from Niſibis to Tarſus, in a ſlow march of fifteen days; and, as it paſſed through the cities of the Eaſt, was ſaluted by the hoſtile factions, with mournful lamentations and clamorous inſults. The Pagans al-

[126] Chron. Paſchal. p. 300. The Eccleſiaſtical Notitiæ may be conſulted.

[127] Zoſimus, l. iii. p. 192, 193. Sextus Rufus de Provinciis, c. 29. Auguſtin de Civitat. Dei, l. iv. c. 29. This general poſition muſt be applied and interpreted with ſome caution.

[128] Ammianus, xxv. 9. Zoſimus, l. iii. p. 196. He might be edax, et vino Venerique induſgens. But I agree with La Bleterie (tom. i. p. 148—154.), in rejecting the fooliſh report of a Bacchanalian riot (ap. Suidam) celebrated at Antioch, by the emperor, his *wife*, and a troop of concubines.

[129] The Abbé de la Bleterie (tom. i. p. 156. 209.) handſomely expoſes the brutal bigotry of Baronius, who would have thrown Julian to the dogs, ne ceſpititiâ quidem ſepulturâ dignus.

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ready placed their beloved hero in the rank of thoſe gods whoſe worſhip he had reſtored; while the invectives of the Chriſtians purſued the ſoul of the apoſtate to hell, and his body to the grave [130]. One party lamented the approaching ruin of their altars; the other celebrated the marvellous deliverance of the church. The Chriſtians applauded, in lofty and ambiguous ſtrains, the ſtroke of divine vengeance, which had been ſo long ſuſpended over the guilty head of Julian. They acknowledged, that the death of the tyrant, at the inſtant he expired beyond the Tigris, was *revealed* to the ſaints of Egypt, Syria, and Cappadocia [131]; and, inſtead of ſuffering him to fall by the Perſian darts, their indiſcretion aſcribed the heroic deed to the obſcure hand of ſome mortal or immortal champion of the faith [132]. Such imprudent declarations were eagerly adopted by the malice, or credulity, of their adverſaries [133]; who darkly inſinuated, or confidently aſſerted, that the governors of the church had inſtigated and directed the fanaticiſm of a domeſtic aſſaſſin [134]. Above ſixteen years after the death of Julian, the charge was ſolemnly and vehemently urged, in a public oration,

[130] Compare the ſophiſt and the ſaint (Libanius, Monod. tom. ii. p. 251. and Orat. Parent. c. 145. p. 367. c. 156. p. 377. with Gregory Nazianzen, Orat. iv. p. 125—132.). The Chriſtian orator faintly mutters ſome exhortations to modeſty and forgiveneſs: but he is well ſatisfied, that the real ſufferings of Julian will far exceed the fabulous torments of Ixion or Tantalus.

[131] Tillemont (Hiſt. des Empereurs, tom. iv. p. 549.) has collected theſe viſions. Some ſaint or angel was obſerved to be abſent in the night on a ſecret expedition, &c.

[132] Sozomen (l. vi. 2.) applauds the Greek doctrine of *tyrannicide*; but the whole paſſage, which a Jeſuit might have tranſlated, is prudently ſuppreſſed by the preſident Couſin.

[133] Immediately after the death of Julian, an uncertain rumour was ſcattered, telo cecidiſſe Romano. It was carried, by ſome deſerters, to the Perſian camp; and the Romans were reproached as the aſſaſſins of the emperor by Sapor and his ſubjects (Ammian. xxv. 6. Libanius de ulciſcendâ Juliani nece, c. xiii. p. 162, 163.). It was urged, as a deciſive proof, that no Perſian had appeared to claim the promiſed reward (Liban. Orat. Parent. c. 141. p. 363.). But the flying horſeman, who darted the fatal javelin, might be ignorant of its effect; or he might be ſlain in the ſame action. Ammianus neither feels nor inſpires a ſuſpicion.

[134] Ος τις εντολην πληρων του σφων αυτων αρχοντος. This dark and ambiguous expreſſion may point to Athanaſius, the firſt, without a rival, of the Chriſtian clergy (Libanius de ulcif. Jul. nece, c. 5. p. 149. La Bleterie, Hiſt. de Jovien, tom. i. p. 179.).

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addreſſed by Libanius to the emperor Theodoſius. His ſuſpicions are unſupported by fact or argument; and we can only eſteem the generous zeal of the ſophiſt of Antioch, for the cold and neglected aſhes of his friend [135].

and funeral of Julian.

It was an ancient cuſtom in the funerals, as well as in the triumphs, of the Romans, that the voice of praiſe ſhould be corrected by that of ſatire and ridicule; and that, in the midſt of the ſplendid pageants, which diſplayed the glory of the living or of the dead, their imperfections ſhould not be concealed from the eyes of the world [136]. This cuſtom was practiſed in the funeral of Julian. The comedians, who reſented his contempt and averſion for the theatre, exhibited, with the applauſe of a Chriſtian audience, the lively and exaggerated repreſentation of the faults and follies of the deceaſed emperor. His various character and ſingular manners afforded an ample ſcope for pleaſantry and ridicule [137]. In the exerciſe of his uncommon talents, he often deſcended below the majeſty of his rank. Alexander was transformed into Diogenes; the philoſopher was degraded into a prieſt. The purity of his virtue was ſullied by exceſſive vanity: his ſuperſtition diſturbed the peace, and endangered the ſafety, of a mighty empire; and his irregular ſallies were the leſs entitled to indulgence, as they appeared to be the laborious efforts of art, or even of affectation. The remains of Julian were interred at Tarſus in Cilicia; but his ſtately tomb, which aroſe in that city, on the banks of the cold and

[135] The Orator (Fabricius, Bibliot. Græc. tom. vii. p. 145—179.) ſcatters ſuſpicions, demands an inquiry, and inſinuates, that proofs might ſtill be obtained. He aſcribes the ſucceſs of the Huns to the criminal neglect of revenging Julian's death.

[136] At the funeral of Veſpaſian, the comedian who perſonated that frugal emperor, anxiouſly inquired how much it coſt—Fourſcore thouſand pounds (centies)—Give me the tenth part of the ſum, and throw my body into the Tyber. Sueton. in Veſpaſian. c. 19. with the notes of Caſaubon and Gronovius.

[137] Gregory (Orat. iv. p. 119, 120.) compares this ſuppoſed ignominy and ridicule to the funeral honours of Conſtantius, whoſe body was chaunted over mount Taurus by a choir of angels.

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limpid Cydnus[138], was diſpleaſing to the faithful friends, who loved and revered the memory of that extraordinary man. The philoſopher expreſſed a very reaſonable wiſh, that the diſciple of Plato might have repoſed amidſt the groves of the academy[139]: while the ſoldier exclaimed in bolder accents, that the aſhes of Julian ſhould have been mingled with thoſe of Cæſar, in the field of Mars, and among the ancient monuments of Roman virtue[140]. The hiſtory of princes does not very frequently renew the example of a ſimilar competition.

[138] Quintus Curtius, l. iii. c. 4. The luxuriancy of his deſcriptions has been often cenſured. Yet it was almoſt the duty of the hiſtorian to deſcribe a river, whoſe waters had nearly proved fatal to Alexander.

[139] Libanius, Orat. Parent. c. 156. p. 377. Yet he acknowledges with gratitude the liberality of the two royal brothers in decorating the tomb of Julian (de ulcif. Jul. nece, c. 7. p. 152.).

[140] Cujus ſuprema et cineres, ſi qui tunc juſtè conſuleret, non Cydnus videre deberet, quamvis gratiſſimus amnis et liquidus: ſed ad perpetuandam gloriam rectè factorum prætterlambere Tiberis, interſecans urbem æternam, divorumque veterum monumenta præſtringens. Ammian. xxv. 10.

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The Government and Death of Jovian.—Election of Valentinian, who associates his Brother Valens, and makes the final Division of the Eastern and Western Empires.—Revolt of Procopius.—Civil and Ecclesiastical Administration.—Germany.—Britain.—Africa.—The East.—The Danube.—Death of Valentinian.—His two Sons, Gratian and Valentinian II., *succeed to the Western Empire.*

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State of the church, A. D. 363.

THE death of Julian had left the public affairs of the empire in a very doubtful and dangerous situation. The Roman army was saved by an inglorious, perhaps a necessary, treaty [1]; and the first moments of peace were consecrated by the pious Jovian to restore the domestic tranquillity of the church and state. The indiscretion of his predecessor, instead of reconciling, had artfully fomented the religious war: and the balance which he affected to preserve between the hostile factions, served only to perpetuate the contest, by the vicissitudes of hope and fear, by the rival claims of ancient possession and actual favour. The Christians had forgotten the spirit of the Gospel; and the Pagans had imbibed the spirit of the church. In private families, the sentiments of nature were extinguished by the blind fury of zeal and revenge: the majesty of the laws was violated or abused; the cities of the East were stained with blood; and the most implacable enemies of the Romans were

[1] The medals of Jovian adorn him with victories, laurel crowns, and prostrate captives. Ducange, Famil. Byzantin. p. 52. Flattery is a foolish suicide: she destroys herself with her own hands.

in

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in the boſom of their country. Jovian was educated in the profeſſion of Chriſtianity; and as he marched from Niſibis to Antioch, the banner of the Croſs, the LABARUM of Conſtantine, which was again diſplayed at the head of the legions, announced to the people the faith of their new emperor. As ſoon as he aſcended the throne, he tranſmitted a circular epiſtle to all the governors of provinces: in which he confeſſed the divine truth, and ſecured the legal eſtabliſhment, of the Chriſtian religion. The inſidious edicts of Julian were aboliſhed; the eccleſiaſtical immunities were reſtored and enlarged; and Jovian condeſcended to lament, that the diſtreſs of the times obliged him to diminiſh the meaſure of charitable diſtributions[2]. The Chriſtians were unanimous in the loud and ſincere applauſe which they beſtowed on the pious ſucceſſor of Julian. But they were ſtill ignorant, what creed, or what ſynod, he would chuſe for the ſtandard of othodoxy; and the peace of the church immediately revived thoſe eager diſputes which had been ſuſpended during the ſeaſon of perſecution. The epiſcopal leaders of the contending ſects, convinced, from experience, how much their fate would depend on the earlieſt impreſſions that were made on the mind of an untutored ſoldier, haſtened to the court of Edeſſa, or Antioch. The highways of the Eaſt were crowded with Homoouſian, and Arian, and Semi-Arian, and Eunomian biſhops, who ſtruggled to outſtrip each other in the holy race: the apartments of the palace reſounded with their clamours; and the ears of the prince were aſſaulted, and perhaps aſtoniſhed, by the ſingular mixture of metaphyſical argument and paſſionate invective[3]. The moderation of Jovian, who recom-

[2] Jovian reſtored to the church τον αρχαιον κοσμον; a forcible and comprehenſive expreſſion (Philoſtorgius, l. viii. c. 5. with Godefroy's Diſſertations, p. 329. Sozomen, l. vi. c. 3.). The new law, which condemned the rape or marriage of nuns (Cod. Theod. l. ix. tit. xxv. leg. 2.), is exaggerated by Sozomen; who ſuppoſes, that an amorous glance, the adultery of the heart, was puniſhed with death by the evangelic legiſlator.

[3] Compare Socrates, l. iii. c. 25. and Philoſtorgius, l. viii. c. 6. with Godefroy's Diſſertations, p. 330.

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mended concord and charity, and referred the diſputants to the ſentence of a future council, was interpreted as a ſymptom of indifference: but his attachment to the Nicene creed was at length diſcovered and declared, by the reverence which he expreſſed for the *cæleſtial*[4] virtues of the great Athanaſius. The intrepid veteran of the faith, at the age of ſeventy, had iſſued from his retreat on the firſt intelligence of the tyrant's death. The acclamations of the people ſeated him once more on the archiepiſcopal throne: and he wiſely accepted, or anticipated, the invitation of Jovian. The venerable figure of Athanaſius, his calm courage, and inſinuating eloquence, ſuſtained the reputation which he had already acquired in the courts of four ſucceſſive princes[5]. As ſoon as he had gained the confidence, and ſecured the faith, of the Chriſtian emperor, he returned in triumph to his dioceſe, and continued, with mature counſels, and undiminiſhed vigour, to direct, ten years longer[6], the eccleſiaſtical government of Alexandria, Egypt, and the Catholic church. Before his departure from Antioch, he aſſured Jovian that his orthodox devotion would be rewarded with a long and peaceful reign. Athanaſius had reaſon to hope, that he ſhould be allowed either the merit of a ſucceſsful prediction, or the excuſe of a grateful, though ineffectual, prayer[7].

The

[4] The word *cæleſtial* faintly expreſſes the impious and extravagant flattery of the emperor to the archbiſhop, της προς τον Θεον των ολων ομοιωσεως (See the original epiſtle in Athanaſius, tom. ii. p. 33.). Gregory Nazianzen (Orat. xxi. p. 392.) celebrates the friendſhip of Jovian and Athanaſius. The primate's journey was adviſed by the Egyptian monks (Tillemont, Mem. Eccleſ. tom. viii. p. 221.).

[5] Athanaſius, at the court of Antioch, is agreeably repreſented by La Bleterie (Hiſt. de Jovien, tom. i. p. 121—148.): he tranſlates the ſingular and original conferences of the emperor, the primate of Egypt, and the Arian deputies. The Abbé is not ſatisfied with the coarſe pleaſantry of Jovian; but his partiality for Athanaſius aſſumes, in *his* eyes, the character of juſtice.

[6] The true æra of his death is perplexed with ſome difficulties (Tillemont, Mem. Eccleſ. tom. viii. p. 719—723.). But the date (A. D. 373, May 2.), which ſeems the moſt conſiſtent with hiſtory and reaſon, is ratified by his authentic life (Maffei Oſſervazioni Letterarie, tom. iii. p. 81.).

[7] See the obſervations of Valeſius and Jortin (Remarks on Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, vol.

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Jovian proclaims universal toleration.

The ſlighteſt force, when it is applied to aſſiſt and guide the natural deſcent of its object, operates with irreſiſtible weight; and Jovian had the good fortune to embrace the religious opinions which were ſupported by the ſpirit of the times, and the zeal and numbers of the moſt powerful ſect[8]. Under his reign, Chriſtianity obtained an eaſy and laſting victory; and as ſoon as the ſmile of royal patronage was withdrawn, the genius of paganiſm, which had been fondly raiſed and cheriſhed by the arts of Julian, ſunk irrecoverably in the duſt. In many cities, the temples were ſhut or deſerted; the philoſophers, who had abuſed their tranſient favour, thought it prudent to ſhave their beards, and diſguiſe their profeſſion; and the Chriſtians rejoiced, that they were now in a condition to forgive, or to revenge, the injuries which they had ſuffered under the preceding reign[9]. The conſternation of the Pagan world was diſpelled by a wiſe and gracious edict of toleration; in which Jovian explicitly declared, that although he ſhould ſeverely puniſh the ſacrilegious rites of magic, his ſubjects might exerciſe, with freedom and ſafety, the ceremonies of the ancient worſhip. The memory of this law has been preſerved by the orator Themiſtius, who was deputed by the ſenate of Conſtantinople to expreſs their loyal devotion for the new emperor. Themiſtius expatiates on the clemency of the Divine Nature, the facility of human error, the rights of conſcience, and the independence of the mind; and, with ſome eloquence, inculcates the principles of philoſophical toleration; whoſe aid Superſtition

vol. iv. p. 38.) on the original letter of Athanaſius; which is preſerved by Theodoret (l. iv. c. 3.). In ſome MSS. this indiſcreet promiſe is omitted; perhaps by the Catholics, jealous of the prophetic fame of their leader.

[8] Athanaſius (apud Theodoret, l. iv. c. 3.) magnifies the number of the orthodox, who compoſed the whole world, παρὲξ ὀλιγων των τα Αρειυ φρονουντων. This aſſertion was verified in in the ſpace of thirty or forty years.

[9] Socrates, l. iii. c. 24. Gregory Nazianzen (Orat. iv. p. 131.), and Libanius (Orat. Parentalis, c. 148. p. 369.), expreſs the *living* ſentiments of their reſpective factions.

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herſelf, in the hour of her diſtreſs, is not aſhamed to implore. He juſtly obſerves, that in the recent changes, both religions had been alternately diſgraced by the ſeeming acquiſition of worthleſs proſelytes, of thoſe votaries of the reigning purple, who could paſs, without a reaſon, and without a bluſh, from the church to the temple, and from the altars of Jupiter to the ſacred table of the Chriſtians [10].

His progreſs from Antioch. A. D. 363, October.

In the ſpace of ſeven months, the Roman troops, who were now returned to Antioch, had performed a march of fifteen hundred miles; in which they had endured all the hardſhips of war, of famine, and of climate. Notwithſtanding their ſervices, their fatigues, and the approach of winter, the timid and impatient Jovian allowed only, to the men and horſes, a reſpite of ſix weeks. The emperor could not ſuſtain the indiſcreet and malicious raillery of the people of Antioch [11]. He was impatient to poſſeſs the palace of Conſtantinople; and to prevent the ambition of ſome competitor, who might occupy the vacant allegiance of Europe. But he ſoon received the grateful intelligence, that his authority was acknowledged from the Thracian Boſphorus to the Atlantic ocean. By the firſt letters which he diſpatched from the camp of Meſopotamia, he had delegated the military command of Gaul and Illyricum to Malarich, a brave and faithful officer of the nation of the Franks; and to his father-in-law, count Lucillian, who had formerly diſtinguiſhed his courage and conduct in the defence of Niſibis. Malarich had declined an office to which he thought himſelf unequal; and Lucillian was maſſacred

[10] Themiſtius, Orat. v. p. 63—71. edit. Harduin. Paris, 1684. The Abbé de la Bleterie judiciouſly remarks (Hiſt. de Jovien, tom. i. p. 199.), that Sozomen has forgot the general toleration; and Themiſtius, the eſtabliſhment of the Catholic religion. Each of them turned away from the object which he diſliked; and wiſhed to ſuppreſs the part of the edict, the leaſt honourable, in his opinion, to the emperor Jovian.

[11] Οι δε Αντιοχεις ουχ ηδεως διεκειντο προς αυτον: αλλ' επεσκωπτον αυτον ωδαις και παροδιαις, και τοις καλουμενοις φαμωσσοις (*famoſis libellis*). Johan. Antiochen. in Excerpt. Valeſian. p. 845. The libels of Antioch may be admitted on very ſlight evidence.

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at Rheims, in an accidental mutiny of the Batavian cohorts[12]. But the moderation of Jovinus, maſter-general of the cavalry, who forgave the intention of his diſgrace, ſoon appeaſed the tumult, and confirmed the uncertain minds of the ſoldiers. The oath of fidelity was adminiſtered, and taken, with loyal acclamations; and the deputies of the Weſtern armies[13] ſaluted their new ſovereign as he deſcended from Mount Taurus to the city of Tyana, in Cappadocia. From Tyana he continued his haſty march to Ancyra, capital of the province of Galatia; where Jovian aſſumed, with his infant ſon, the name and enſigns of the conſulſhip[14]. Dadaſtana[15], an obſcure town, almoſt at an equal diſtance between Ancyra and Nice, was marked for the fatal term of his journey and his life. After indulging himſelf with a plentiful, perhaps an intemperate ſupper, he retired to reſt; and the next morning the emperor Jovian was found dead in his bed. The cauſe of this ſudden death was variouſly underſtood. By ſome it was aſcribed to the conſequences of an indigeſtion, occaſioned either by the quantity of the wine, or the quality of the muſhrooms, which he had ſwallowed in the evening. According to others, he was ſuffocated in his ſleep by the vapour of charcoal; which extracted from the walls of the apartment the unwholeſome moiſture of the freſh plaiſter[16]. But the want of a regu-

A. D. 364. January 1.

Death of Jovian. February 17.

[12] Compare Ammianus (xxv. 10.), who omits the name of the Batavians, with Zoſimus (l. iii. p. 197.), who removes the ſcene of action from Rheims to Sirmium.

[13] Quos capita ſcholarum ordo caſtrenſis appellat. Ammian. xxv. 10. and Valeſ. ad locum.

[14] Cujus vagitus, pertinaciter reluctantis, ne in curuli ſellâ veheretur ex more, id quod mox accidit protendebat. Auguſtus, and his ſucceſſors, reſpectfully ſolicited a diſpenſation of age for the ſons or nephews, whom they raiſed to the conſulſhip. But the curule chair of the firſt Brutus had never been diſhonoured by an infant.

[15] The Itinerary of Antoninus fixes Dadaſtana 125 Roman miles from Nice; 117 from Ancyra (Weſſeling, Itinerar. p. 142.). The pilgrim of Bourdeaux, by omitting ſome ſtages, reduces the whole ſpace from 242 to 181 miles. Weſſeling, p. 574.

[16] See Ammianus (xxv. 10.), Eutropius (x. 18.), who might likewiſe be preſent; Jerom (tom. i. p. 26. ad Heliodorum), Oroſius (vii. 31.), Sozomen (l. vi. c. 6.), Zoſimus (l. iii. p. 197, 198.), and Zonaras (tom. ii. l. xiii. p. 28, 29.). We cannot expect a perfect agreement, and we ſhall not diſcuſs minute differences.

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lar enquiry into the death of a prince, whoſe reign and perſon were ſoon forgotten, appears to have been the only circumſtance which countenanced the malicious whiſpers of poiſon and domeſtic guilt [17]. The body of Jovian was ſent to Conſtantinople, to be interred with his predeceſſors; and the ſad proceſſion was met on the road by his wife Charito, the daughter of count Lucillian; who ſtill wept the recent death of her father, and was haſtening to dry her tears in the embraces of an Imperial huſband. Her diſappointment and grief were embittered by the anxiety of maternal tenderneſs. Six weeks before the death of Jovian, his infant ſon had been placed in the curule chair, adorned with the title of *Nobiliſſimus*, and the vain enſigns of the conſulſhip. Unconſcious of his fortune, the royal youth, who, from his grandfather, aſſumed the name of Varronian, was reminded only by the jealouſy of the government, that he was the ſon of an emperor. Sixteen years afterwards he was ſtill alive, but he had already been deprived of an eye; and his afflicted mother expected, every hour, that the innocent victim would be torn from her arms, to appeaſe, with his blood, the ſuſpicions of the reigning prince [18].

Vacancy of the throne. Feb. 17—26.

After the death of Jovian, the throne of the Roman world remained ten days [19] without a maſter. The miniſters and generals ſtill continued to meet in council; to exerciſe their reſpective functions; to maintain the public order; and peaceably to conduct the

[17] Ammianus, unmindful of his uſual candour and good ſenſe, compares the death of the harmleſs Jovian to that of the ſecond Africanus, who had excited the fears and reſentment of the popular faction.

[18] Chryſoſtom, tom. i. p. 336. 344. edit. Montfaucon. The Chriſtian orator attempts to comfort a widow by the examples of illuſtrious misfortunes; and obſerves, that of nine emperors (including the Cæſar Gallus), who had reigned in his time, only two (Conſtantine and Conſtantius) died a natural death. Such vague conſolations have never wiped away a ſingle tear.

[19] Ten days appear ſcarcely ſufficient for the march and election. But it may be obſerved: 1. That the generals might command the expeditious uſe of the public poſts for themſelves, their attendants, and meſſengers. 2. That the troops, for the eaſe of the cities, marched in many diviſions; and that the head of the column might arrive at Nice, when the rear halted at Ancyra.

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army to the city of Nice, in Bithynia, which was choſen for the place of the election [20]. In a ſolemn aſſembly of the civil and military powers of the empire, the diadem was again unanimouſly offered to the præfect Salluſt. He enjoyed the glory of a ſecond refuſal; and when the virtues of the father were alleged in favour of his ſon, the præfect, with the firmneſs of a diſintereſted patriot, declared to the electors, that the feeble age of the one, and the unexperienced youth of the other, were equally incapable of the laborious duties of government. Several candidates were propoſed: and, after weighing the objections of character or ſituation, they were ſucceſſively rejected: but, as ſoon as the name of Valentinian was pronounced, the merit of that officer united the ſuffrages of the whole aſſembly, and obtained the ſincere approbation of Salluſt himſelf.

Election and character of Valentinian.

Valentinian [21] was the ſon of count Gratian, a native of Cibalis, in Pannonia, who, from an obſcure condition, had raiſed himſelf, by matchleſs ſtrength and dexterity, to the military commands of Africa and Britain; from which he retired, with an ample fortune and ſuſpicious integrity. The rank and ſervices of Gratian contributed, however, to ſmooth the firſt ſteps of the promotion of his ſon; and afforded him an early opportunity of diſplaying thoſe ſolid and uſeful qualifications, which raiſed his character above the ordinary level of his fellow-ſoldiers. The perſon of Valentinian was tall, graceful, and majeſtic. His manly countenance, deeply marked with the impreſſion of ſenſe and ſpirit, inſpired his friends with awe, and his enemies with fear: and, to ſecond the efforts of his undaunted courage, the ſon of Gratian had inherited the advantages of a ſtrong and

[20] Ammianus, xxvi. 1. Zoſimus, l. iii. p. 198. Philoſtorgius, l. viii. c. 8. and Godefroy, Diſſertat. p. 334. Philoſtorgius, who appears to have obtained ſome curious and authentic intelligence, aſcribes the choice of Valentinian to the præfect Salluſt, the maſter-general Arintheus, Dagalaiphus, count of the domeſtics, and the patrician Datianus, whoſe preſſing recommendations from Ancyra had a weighty influence in the election.

[21] Ammianus (xxx. 7. 9.) and the younger Victor have furniſhed the portrait of Valentinian; which naturally precedes and illuſtrates the hiſtory of his reign.

healthy

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healthy conſtitution. By the habits of chaſtity and temperance, which reſtrain the appetites, and invigorate the faculties, Valentinian preſerved his own, and the public eſteem. The avocations of a military life had diverted his youth from the elegant purſuits of literature; he was ignorant of the Greek language, and the arts of rhetoric; but as the mind of the orator was never diſconcerted by timid perplexity, he was able, as often as the occaſion prompted him, to deliver his decided ſentiments with bold and ready elocution. The laws of martial diſcipline were the only laws that he had ſtudied; and he was ſoon diſtinguiſhed by the laborious diligence, and inflexible ſeverity, with which he diſcharged and inforced the duties of the camp. In the time of Julian he provoked the danger of diſgrace, by the contempt which he publicly expreſſed for the reigning religion[22]; and it ſhould ſeem, from his ſubſequent conduct, that the indiſcreet and unſeaſonable freedom of Valentinian was the effect of military ſpirit, rather than of Chriſtian zeal. He was pardoned, however, and ſtill employed by a prince who eſteemed his merit[23]: and in the various events of the Perſian war, he improved the reputation which he had already acquired on the banks of the Rhine. The celerity and ſucceſs with which he executed an important commiſſion, recommended him to the favour of Jovian; and to the honourable command of the ſecond *ſchool*, or company, of targetteers, of the domeſtic guards. In the march from Antioch, he had reached his quarters at Ancyra, when he was unexpectedly ſummoned, without guilt, and without intrigue, to aſſume, in the forty-third year of his age, the abſolute government of the Roman empire.

[22] At Antioch, where he was obliged to attend the emperor to the temple, he ſtruck a prieſt, who had preſumed to purify him with luſtral water (Sozomen, l. vi. c. 6. Theodoret, l. iii. c. 15.). Such public defiance might become Valentinian; but it could leave no room for the unworthy delation of the philoſopher Maximus, which ſuppoſes ſome more private offence (Zoſimus, l. iv. p. 200, 201.).

[23] Socrates, l. iv. A previous exile to Melitene, or Thebais (the firſt might be poſſible), is interpoſed by Sozomen (l. vi. c. 6.) and Philoſtorgius (l. vii. c. 7. with Godefroy's Diſſertations, p. 293.).

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He is acknowledged by the army, A. D. 364, February 26.

The invitation of the miniſters and generals at Nice was of little moment, unleſs it were confirmed by the voice of the army. The aged Salluſt, who had long obſerved the irregular fluctuations of popular aſſemblies, propoſed, under pain of death, that none of thoſe perſons, whoſe rank in the ſervice might excite a party in their favour, ſhould appear in public, on the day of the inauguration. Yet ſuch was the prevalence of ancient ſuperſtition, that a whole day was voluntarily added to this dangerous interval, becauſe it happened to be the intercalation of the Biſſextile [24]. At length, when the hour was ſuppoſed to be propitious, Valentinian ſhewed himſelf from a lofty tribunal: the judicious choice was applauded; and the new prince was ſolemnly inveſted with the diadem and the purple, amidſt the acclamations of the troops, who were diſpoſed in martial order round the tribunal. But when he ſtretched forth his hand to addreſs the armed multitude, a buſy whiſper was accidentally ſtarted in the ranks, and inſenſibly ſwelled into a loud and imperious clamour, that he ſhould name, without delay, a colleague in the empire. The intrepid calmneſs of Valentinian obtained ſilence, and commanded reſpect: and he thus addreſſed the aſſembly: "A few "minutes ſince it was in *your* power, fellow-ſoldiers, to have left "me in the obſcurity of a private ſtation. Judging, from the teſti-"mony of my paſt life, that I deſerved to reign, you have placed me "on the throne. It is now *my* duty to conſult the ſafety and intereſt "of the republic. The weight of the univerſe is undoubtedly too "great for the hands of a feeble mortal. I am conſcious of the "limits of my abilities, and the uncertainty of my life: and far "from declining, I am anxious to ſolicit, the aſſiſtance of a worthy

[24] Ammianus, in a long, becauſe unſeaſonable, digreſſion (xxvi. 1. and Valeſius ad locum), raſhly ſuppoſes that he underſtands an aſtronomical queſtion, of which his readers are ignorant. It is treated with more judgment and propriety by Cenſorinus (de Die Natali, c. 20.), and Macrobius (Saturnal. l. i. cap. 12–16.). The appellation of *Biſſextile*, which marks the inauſpicious year (Auguſtin. ad Januarium, Epiſt. 119.), is derived from the *repetition* of the *ſixth* day of the calends of March.

"colleague.

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" colleague. But, where diſcord may be fatal, the choice of a " faithful friend requires mature and ſerious deliberation. That " deliberation ſhall be *my* care. Let *your* conduct be dutiful and " conſiſtent. Retire to your quarters; refreſh your minds and " bodies; and expect the accuſtomed donative on the acceſſion of a " new emperor[25]." The aſtoniſhed troops, with a mixture of pride, of ſatisfaction, and of terror, confeſſed the voice of their maſter. Their angry clamours ſubſided into ſilent reverence; and Valentinian, encompaſſed with the eagles of the legions, and the various banners of the cavalry and infantry, was conducted, in warlike pomp, to the palace of Nice. As he was ſenſible, however, of the importance of preventing ſome raſh declaration of the ſoldiers, he conſulted the aſſembly of the chiefs: and their real ſentiments were conciſely expreſſed by the generous freedom of Dagalaiphus. " Moſt excellent prince," ſaid that officer, " if you conſider " only your family, you have a brother; if you love the republic, " look round for the moſt deſerving of the Romans[26]." The emperor, who ſuppreſſed his diſpleaſure, without altering his intention, ſlowly proceeded from Nice to Nicomedia and Conſtantinople. In one of the ſuburbs of that capital[27], thirty days after his own elevation, he beſtowed the title of Auguſtus on his brother Valens; and as the boldeſt patriots were convinced, that their oppoſition, without being ſerviceable to their country, would be fatal to themſelves, the declaration of his abſolute will was received with ſilent ſubmiſſion. Valens was now in the thirty-ſixth year of his age; but his abilities

And aſſociates his brother Valens, A. D. 364. March 28.

[25] Valentinian's firſt ſpeech is full in Ammianus (xxvi. 2.); conciſe and ſententious in Philoſtorgius (l. viii. c. 8.).

[26] Si tuos amas, Imperator optime, habes fratrem; ſi Rempublicam, quære quem veſtias. Ammian. xxvi. 4. In the diviſion of the empire, Valentinian retained that ſincere counſellor for himſelf (c. 6.).

[27] In ſuburbano, Ammian. xxvi. 4. The famous *Hebdomon*, or field of Mars, was diſtant from Conſtantinople either ſeven ſtadia, or ſeven miles. See Valeſius and his brother, ad loc. and Ducange, Conſt. l. ii. p. 140, 141. 172, 173.

had

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had never been exerciſed in any employment, military or civil; and his character had not inſpired the world with any ſanguine expectations. He poſſeſſed, however, one quality, which recommended him to Valentinian, and preſerved the domeſtic peace of the empire; a devout and grateful attachment to his benefactor, whoſe ſuperiority of genius, as well as of authority, Valens humbly and cheerfully acknowledged in every action of his life[28].

The final diviſion of the eaſtern and weſtern empires, A. D. 364. June.

Before Valentinian divided the provinces, he reformed the adminiſtration of the empire. All ranks of ſubjects, who had been injured or oppreſſed under the reign of Julian, were invited to ſupport their public accuſations. The ſilence of mankind atteſted the ſpotleſs integrity of the præfect Salluſt[29]; and his own preſſing ſolicitations, that he might be permitted to retire from the buſineſs of the ſtate, were rejected by Valentinian with the moſt honourable expreſſions of friendſhip and eſteem. But among the favourites of the late emperor, there were many who had abuſed his credulity or ſuperſtition; and who could no longer hope to be protected either by favour or juſtice[30]. The greater part of the miniſters of the palace, and the governors of the provinces, were removed from their reſpective ſtations; yet the eminent merit of ſome officers was diſtinguiſhed from the obnoxious crowd; and, notwithſtanding the oppoſite clamours of zeal and reſentment, the whole proceedings of this delicate enquiry appear to have been conducted with a reaſonable ſhare of wiſdom and moderation[31]. The

[28] Participem quidem legitimum poteſtatis; ſed in modum apparitoris morigerum, ut progrediens aperiet textus. Ammian. xxvi. 4.

[29] Notwithſtanding the evidence of Zonaras, Suidas, and the Paſchal Chronicle, M. de Tillemont (Hiſt. des Empereurs, tom. v. p. 671.) *wiſhes* to diſbelieve theſe ſtories ſi avantageuſes à un payen.

[30] Eunapius celebrates and exaggerates the ſufferings of Maximus (p. 82, 83.); yet he allows, that this ſophiſt or magician, the guilty favourite of Julian, and the perſonal enemy of Valentinian, was diſmiſſed on the payment of a ſmall fine.

[31] The looſe aſſertions of a general diſgrace (Zoſimus, l. iv. p. 201.) are detected and refuted by Tillemont (tom. v. p. 21.).

feſtivity

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festivity of a new reign received a short and suspicious interruption, from the sudden illness of the two princes: but as soon as their health was restored, they left Constantinople in the beginning of the spring. In the castle or palace of Mediana, only three miles from Naissus, they executed the solemn and final division of the Roman empire [32]. Valentinian bestowed on his brother the rich præfecture of the *East*, from the Lower Danube to the confines of Persia; whilst he reserved for his immediate government the warlike præfectures of *Illyricum*, *Italy*, and *Gaul*, from the extremity of Greece to the Caledonian rampart; and from the rampart of Caledonia, to the foot of Mount Atlas. The provincial administration remained on its former basis; but a double supply of generals and magistrates was required for two councils, and two courts: the division was made with a just regard to their peculiar merit and situation, and seven master-generals were soon created, either of the cavalry or infantry. When this important business had been amicably transacted, Valentinian and Valens embraced for the last time. The emperor of the West established his temporary residence at Milan; and the emperor of the East returned to Constantinople, to assume the dominion of fifty provinces, of whose language he was totally ignorant [33].

Revolt of Procopius, A.D. 365. September 28.

The tranquillity of the East was soon disturbed by rebellion; and the throne of Valens was threatened by the daring attempts of a rival, whose affinity to the emperor Julian [34] was his sole merit, and had been his only crime. Procopius had been hastily promoted

[32] Ammianus, xxvi. 5.

[33] Ammianus says, in general terms, subagrestis ingenii, nec bellicis nec liberalibus studiis eruditus. Ammian. xxxi. 14. The orator Themistius, with the genuine impertinence of a Greek, wished, for the first time, to speak the Latin language, the dialect of his sovereign, τῃ διαλεκτῳ χρασθαι. Orat. vi. p. 71.

[34] The uncertain degree of alliance, or consanguinity, is expressed by the words, ανεψιος, cognatus, consobrinus (See Valesius ad Ammian. xxiii. 3.). The mother of Procopius might be a sister of Basilina, and count Julian, the mother and uncle of the apostate. Ducange, Fam. Byzantin. p. 49.

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from the obſcure ſtation of a tribune, and a notary, to the joint command of the army of Meſopotamia; the public opinion already named him as the ſucceſſor of a prince who was deſtitute of natural heirs; and a vain rumour was propagated by his friends, or his enemies, that Julian, before the altar of the Moon, at Carrhæ, had privately inveſted Procopius with the Imperial purple[38]. He endeavoured, by his dutiful and ſubmiſſive behaviour, to diſarm the jealouſy of Jovian; reſigned, without a conteſt, his military command; and retired, with his wife and family, to cultivate the ample patrimony which he poſſeſſed in the province of Cappadocia. Theſe uſeful and innocent occupations were interrupted by the appearance of an officer, with a band of ſoldiers, who, in the name of his new ſovereigns, Valentinian and Valens, was diſpatched to conduct the unfortunate Procopius, either to a perpetual priſon, or an ignominious death. His preſence of mind procured him a longer reſpite, and a more ſplendid fate. Without preſuming to diſpute the royal mandate, he requeſted the indulgence of a few moments, to embrace his weeping family; and, while the vigilance of his guards was relaxed by a plentiful entertainment, he dexterouſly eſcaped to the ſea-coaſt of the Euxine, from whence he paſſed over to the country of Boſphorus. In that ſequeſtered region he remained many months, expoſed to the hardſhips of exile, of ſolitude, and of want; his melancholy temper brooding over his misfortunes, and his mind agitated by the juſt apprehenſion, that, if any accident ſhould diſcover his name, the faithleſs Barbarians would violate, without much ſcruple, the laws of hoſpitality. In a moment of impatience and deſpair, Procopius embarked in a merchant veſſel, which made ſail for Conſtantinople; and boldly aſpired to the rank of a ſovereign,

[38] Ammian. xxiii. 3. xxvi. 6. He mentions the report with much heſitation; ſuſurravit obſcurior fama; nemo enim dicti auctor exſtitit verus. It ſerves, however, to mark, that Procopius was a pagan. Yet his religion does not appear to have promoted, or obſtructed, his pretenſions.

becauſe

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becauſe he was not allowed to enjoy the ſecurity of a ſubject. At firſt he lurked in the villages of Bithynia, continually changing his habitation, and his diſguiſe [36]. By degrees he ventured into the capital, truſted his life and fortune to the fidelity of two friends, a ſenator and an eunuch, and conceived ſome hopes of ſucceſs, from the intelligence which he obtained of the actual ſtate of public affairs. The body of the people was infected with a ſpirit of diſcontent: they regretted the juſtice and the abilities of Salluſt, who had been imprudently diſmiſſed from the præfecture of the Eaſt. They deſpiſed the character of Valens, which was rude without vigour, and feeble without mildneſs. They dreaded the influence of his father-in-law, the patrician Petronius, a cruel and rapacious miniſter, who rigorouſly exacted all the arrears of tribute, that might remain unpaid ſince the reign of the emperor Aurelian. The circumſtances were propitious to the deſigns of an uſurper. The hoſtile meaſures of the Perſians required the preſence of Valens in Syria: from the Danube to the Euphrates the troops were in motion; and the capital was occaſionally filled with the ſoldiers who paſſed, or repaſſed, the Thracian Boſphorus. Two cohorts of Gauls were perſuaded to liſten to the ſecret propoſals of the conſpirators; which were recommended by the promiſe of a liberal donative; and, as they ſtill revered the memory of Julian, they eaſily conſented to ſupport the hereditary claim of his proſcribed kinſman. At the dawn of day they were drawn up near the baths of Anaſtaſia; and Procopius, clothed in a purple garment, more ſuitable to a player than to a monarch, appeared, as if he roſe from the dead, in the midſt of Conſtantinople. The ſoldiers, who were prepared for his

[36] One of his retreats was a country-houſe of Eunomius, the heretic. The maſter was abſent, innocent, ignorant; yet he narrowly eſcaped a ſentence of death, and was baniſhed into the remote parts of Mauritania (Philoſtorg. l. ix. c. 5. 8. and Godefroy's Diſſer. p. 369—378.).

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reception, saluted their trembling prince with shouts of joy, and vows of fidelity. Their numbers were soon increased by a sturdy band of peasants, collected from the adjacent country; and Procopius, shielded by the arms of his adherents, was successively conducted to the tribunal, the senate, and the palace. During the first moments of his tumultuous reign, he was astonished and terrified by the gloomy silence of the people; who were either ignorant of the cause, or apprehensive of the event. But his military strength was superior to any actual resistance: the malecontents flocked to the standard of rebellion; the poor were excited by the hopes, and the rich were intimidated by the fear, of a general pillage; and the obstinate credulity of the multitude was once more deceived by the promised advantages of a revolution. The magistrates were seized; the prisons and arsenals broke open; the gates, and the entrance of the harbour, were diligently occupied; and, in a few hours, Procopius became the absolute, though precarious, master of the Imperial city. The usurper improved this unexpected success with some degree of courage and dexterity. He artfully propagated the rumours and opinions the most favourable to his interest; while he deluded the populace by giving audience to the frequent, but imaginary, ambassadors of distant nations. The large bodies of troops stationed in the cities of Thrace, and the fortresses of the Lower Danube, were gradually involved in the guilt of rebellion: and the Gothic princes consented to supply the sovereign of Constantinople with the formidable strength of several thousand auxiliaries. His generals passed the Bosphorus, and subdued, without an effort, the unarmed, but wealthy, provinces of Bithynia and Asia. After an honourable defence, the city and island of Cyzicus yielded to his power; the renowned legions of the Jovians and Herculians embraced the cause of the usurper, whom they were ordered to crush; and, as the veterans were continually augmented with new levies,

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levies, he ſoon appeared at the head of an army, whoſe valour, as well as numbers, were not unequal to the greatneſs of the conteſt. The ſon of Hormiſdas[37], a youth of ſpirit and ability, condeſcended to draw his ſword againſt the lawful emperor of the Eaſt; and the Perſian prince was immediately inveſted with the ancient and extraordinary powers of a Roman proconſul. The alliance of Fauſtina, the widow of the emperor Conſtantius, who entruſted herſelf, and her daughter, to the hands of the uſurper, added dignity and reputation to his cauſe. The princeſs Conſtantia, who was then about five years of age, accompanied, in a litter, the march of the army. She was ſhewn to the multitude in the arms of her adopted father; and, as often as ſhe paſſed through the ranks, the tenderneſs of the ſoldiers was inflamed into martial fury[38]: they recollected the glories of the houſe of Conſtantine, and they declared, with loyal acclamation, that they would ſhed the laſt drop of their blood in the defence of the royal infant[39].

His defeat and death, A. D. 366. May 28.

In the mean while, Valentinian was alarmed and perplexed, by the doubtful intelligence of the revolt of the Eaſt. The difficulties of a German war forced him to confine his immediate care to the ſafety of his own dominions; and, as every channel of communication was ſtopt or corrupted, he liſtened, with doubtful anxiety, to the rumours which were induſtriouſly ſpread; that the defeat and death of Valens had left Procopius ſole maſter of the eaſtern pro-

[37] Hormiſdæ maturo juveni Hormiſdæ regali illius filio, poteſtatem Proconſulis detulit; et civilia, more veterum, et bella, recturo. Ammian. xxvi. 8. The Perſian prince eſcaped with honour and ſafety, and was afterwards (A. D. 380) reſtored to the ſame extraordinary office of proconſul of Bithynia (Tillemont, Hiſt. des Empereurs, tom. v. p. 204.). I am ignorant whether the race of Saſſan was propagated. I find (A. D. 514) a pope Hormiſdas; but he was a native of Fruſino, in Italy (Pagi, Brev. Pontific. tom. i. p. 247.).

[38] The infant rebel was afterwards the wife of the emperor Gratian; but ſhe died young and childleſs. See Ducange, Fam. Byzantin. p. 48. 59.

[39] Sequimini culminis ſummi proſapiam, was the language of Procopius; who affected to deſpiſe the obſcure birth, and fortuitous election, of the upſtart Pannonian. Ammian. xxvi. 7.

vinces.

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vinces. Valens was not dead: but, on the news of the rebellion, which he received at Cæſarea, he baſely deſpaired of his life and fortune; propoſed to negociate with the uſurper, and diſcovered his ſecret inclination to abdicate the Imperial purple. The timid monarch was ſaved from diſgrace and ruin by the firmneſs of his miniſters, and their abilities ſoon decided in his favour the event of the civil war. In a ſeaſon of tranquillity, Salluſt had reſigned without a murmur; but as ſoon as the public ſafety was attacked, he ambitiouſly ſolicited the pre-eminence of toil and danger; and the reſtoration of that virtuous miniſter to the præfecture of the Eaſt, was the firſt ſtep which indicated the repentance of Valens, and ſatisfied the minds of the people. The reign of Procopius was apparently ſupported by powerful armies, and obedient provinces. But many of the principal officers, military as well as civil, had been urged, either by motives of duty or intereſt, to withdraw themſelves from the guilty ſcene; or to watch the moment of betraying, and deſerting, the cauſe of the uſurper. Lupicinus advanced by haſty marches, to bring the legions of Syria to the aid of Valens. Arintheus, who, in ſtrength, beauty, and valour, excelled all the heroes of the age, attacked with a ſmall troop a ſuperior body of the rebels. When he beheld the faces of the ſoldiers who had ſerved under his banner, he commanded them, with a loud voice, to ſeize and deliver up their pretended leader; and ſuch was the aſcendant of his genius, that this extraordinary order was inſtantly obeyed [40]. Arbetio, a reſpectable veteran of the great Conſtantine, who had been diſtinguiſhed by the honours of the conſulſhip, was perſuaded to leave

[40] Et dedignatus hominem ſuperare certamine deſpicabilem, auctoritatis et celſi fiduciâ corporis, ipſis hoſtibus juſſit, ſuum vincire rectorem: atque ita turmarum anteſignanus umbratilis comprenſus ſuorum manibus. The ſtrength and beauty of Arintheus, the new Hercules, are celebrated by St. Baſil; who ſuppoſes that God had created him as an inimitable model of the human ſpecies. The painters and ſculptors could not expreſs his figure: the hiſtorians appeared fabulous when they related his exploits (Ammian. xxvi. and Valeſ. ad loc.).

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his retirement, and once more to conduct an army into the field. In the heat of action, calmly taking off his helmet, he ſhewed his grey hairs, and venerable countenance; ſaluted the ſoldiers of Procopius by the endearing names of children and companions, and exhorted them, no longer to ſupport the deſperate cauſe of a contemptible tyrant; but to follow their old commander, who had ſo often led them to honour and victory. In the two engagements of Thyatira [41] and Nacoſia, the unfortunate Procopius was deſerted by his troops, who were ſeduced by the inſtructions and example of their perfidious officers. After wandering ſome time among the woods and mountains of Phrygia, he was betrayed by his deſponding followers, conducted to the Imperial camp, and immediately beheaded. He ſuffered the ordinary fate of an unſucceſsful uſurper; but the acts of cruelty which were exerciſed by the conqueror, under the forms of legal juſtice, excited the pity and indignation of mankind [42].

Severe inquiſition into the crime of magic at Rome and Antioch, A. D. 373, &c.

Such indeed are the common and natural fruits of deſpotiſm and rebellion. But the inquiſition into the crime of magic, which, under the reign of the two brothers, was ſo rigorouſly proſecuted both at Rome and Antioch, was interpreted as the fatal ſymptom, either of the diſpleaſure of heaven, or of the depravity of mankind [43]. Let us not heſitate to indulge a liberal pride, that, in the preſent age, the enlightened part of Europe has aboliſhed [44] a cruel and odious prejudice,

[41] The ſame field of battle is placed by Ammianus in Lycia, and by Zoſimus at Thyatira; which are at the diſtance of 150 miles from each other. But Thyatira alluitur *Lyco* (Plin. Hiſt. Natur. v. 31. Cellarius, Geograph. Antiq. tom. ii. p. 79.); and the tranſcribers might eaſily convert an obſcure river into a well-known province.

[42] The adventures, uſurpation, and fall of Procopius, are related, in a regular ſeries, by Ammianus (xxvi. 6, 7, 8, 9, 10.) and Zoſimus (l. iv. p. 203—210.). They often illuſtrate, and ſeldom contradict, each other. Themiſtius (Orat. vii. p. 91, 92.) adds ſome baſe panegyric; and Eunapius (p. 83, 84.) ſome malicious ſatire.

[43] Libanius de ulciſcend. Julian. nece, c. ix. p. 158, 159. The ſophiſt deplores the public frenzy, but he does not (after their deaths) impeach the juſtice of the emperors.

[44] The French and Engliſh lawyers, of the preſent age, allow the *theory*, and deny the *practice*, of witchcraft (Denifart, Recueil de

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dice, which reigned in every climate of the globe, and adhered to every ſyſtem of religious opinions [45]. The nations, and the ſects, of the Roman world, admitted with equal credulity, and ſimilar abhorrence, the reality of that infernal art [46], which was able to control the eternal order of the planets, and the voluntary operations of the human mind. They dreaded the myſterious power of ſpells and incantations, of potent herbs, and execrable rites; which could extinguiſh or recall life, inflame the paſſions of the ſoul, blaſt the works of creation, and extort from the reluctant dæmons the ſecrets of futurity. They believed, with the wildeſt inconſiſtency, that this præternatural dominion of the air, of earth, and of hell, was exerciſed, from the vileſt motives of malice or gain, by ſome wrinkled hags, and itinerant ſorcerers, who paſſed their obſcure lives in penury and contempt [47]. The arts of magic were equally condemned by the public opinion, and by the laws of Rome; but as they tended to gratify the moſt imperious paſſions of the heart of man, they were continually proſcribed, and continually practiſed [48]. An imaginary cauſe is capable of producing the moſt ſerious and miſchievous effects. The dark predictions of the death of an emperor,

de Deciſions de Juriſprudence, au mot *Sorciers*, tom. iv. p. 553. Blackſtone's Commentaries, vol. iv. p. 60.). As private reaſon always prevents, or outſtrips, public wiſdom, the preſident Monteſquieu (Eſprit des Loix, l. xii. c. 5, 6.) rejects the *exiſtence* of magic.

[45] See Oeuvres de Bayle, tom. iii. p. 567—589. The ſceptic of Rotterdam exhibits, according to his cuſtom, a ſtrange medley of looſe knowledge and lively wit.

[46] The pagans diſtinguiſhed between good and bad magic, the Theurgic and the Goetic (Hiſt. de l'Academie, &c. tom. vii. p. 25.). But they could not have defended this obſcure diſtinction againſt the acute logic of Bayle. In the Jewiſh and Chriſtian ſyſtem, *all* dæmons are infernal ſpirits; and *all* commerce with them is idolatry, apoſtacy, &c. which deſerves death and damnation.

[47] The Canidia of Horace (Carm. l. v. od. 5. with Dacier's and Sanadon's illuſtrations) is a vulgar witch. The Erictho of Lucan (Pharſal. vi. 430—830.) is tedious, diſguſting, but ſometimes ſublime. She chides the delay of the Furies; and threatens, with tremendous obſcurity, to pronounce their real names; to reveal the true infernal countenance of Hecate; to invoke the ſecret powers that lie *below* hell, &c.

[48] Genus hominum potentibus infidum, ſperantibus fallax, quod in civitate noſtrâ et vetabitur ſemper et retinebitur. Tacit. Hiſt. i. 22. See Auguſtin. de Civitate Dei, l. viii. c. 19. and the Theodoſian Code, l. ix. tit. xvi. with Godefroy's Commentary.

or

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or the ſucceſs of a conſpiracy, were calculated only to ſtimulate the hopes of ambition, and to diſſolve the ties of fidelity; and the intentional guilt of magic was aggravated by the actual crimes of treaſon and ſacrilege [49]. Such vain terrors diſturbed the peace of ſociety, and the happineſs of individuals; and the harmleſs flame which inſenſibly melted a waxen image, might derive a powerful and pernicious energy from the affrighted fancy of the perſon whom it was maliciouſly deſigned to repreſent [50]. From the infuſion of thoſe herbs, which were ſuppoſed to poſſeſs a ſupernatural influence, it was an eaſy ſtep to the uſe of more ſubſtantial poiſon; and the folly of mankind ſometimes became the inſtrument, and the maſk, of the moſt atrocious crimes. As ſoon as the zeal of informers was encouraged by the miniſters of Valens and Valentinian, they could not refuſe to liſten to another charge, too frequently mingled in the ſcenes of domeſtic guilt; a charge of a ſofter and leſs malignant nature, for which the pious, though exceſſive, rigour of Conſtantine had recently decreed the puniſhment of death [51]. This deadly and incoherent mixture of treaſon and magic, of poiſon and adultery, afforded infinite gradations of guilt and innocence, of excuſe and aggravation, which in theſe proceedings appear to have been confounded by the angry or corrupt paſſions of the judges.

[49] The perſecution of Antioch was occaſioned by a criminal conſultation. The twenty-four letters of the alphabet were arranged round a magic tripod; and a dancing ring, which had been placed in the centre, pointed to the four firſt letters in the name of the future emperor, Θ. Ε. Ο. Δ. Theodorus (perhaps with many others who owned the fatal ſyllables) was executed. Theodoſius ſucceeded. Lardner (Heathen Teſtimonies, vol. iv. p. 353—372.) has copiouſly and fairly examined this dark tranſaction of the reign of Valens.

[50] Limus ut hic dureſcit, et hæc ut cera liqueſcit
Uno eodemque igni——
Virgil. Bucolic. viii. 80.
Devovit abſentes, ſimulacraque cerea figit.
Ovid. in Epiſt. Hypſil. ad Jaſon. 91.
Such vain incantations could affect the mind, and increaſe the diſeaſe, of Germanicus. Tacit. Annal. ii. 69.

[51] See Heineccius Antiquitat. Juris Roman. tom. ii. p. 353, &c. Cod. Theodoſian. l. ix. tit. 7. with Godefroy's Commentary.

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They eaſily diſcovered, that the degree of their induſtry and diſcernment was eſtimated, by the Imperial court, according to the number of executions that were furniſhed from their reſpective tribunals. It was not without extreme reluctance that they pronounced a ſentence of acquittal; but they eagerly admitted ſuch evidence as was ſtained with perjury, or procured by torture, to prove the moſt improbable charges againſt the moſt reſpectable characters. The progreſs of the inquiry continually opened new ſubjects of criminal proſecution: the audacious informer, whoſe falſehood was detected, retired with impunity; but the wretched victim, who diſcovered his real, or pretended, accomplices, was ſeldom permitted to receive the price of his infamy. From the extremity of Italy and Aſia, the young, and the aged, were dragged in chains to the tribunals of Rome and Antioch. Senators, matrons, and philoſophers, expired in ignominious and cruel tortures. The ſoldiers who were appointed to guard the priſons declared, with a murmur of pity and indignation, that their numbers were inſufficient to oppoſe the flight, or reſiſtance, of the multitude of captives. The wealthieſt families were ruined by fines and confiſcations; the moſt innocent citizens trembled for their ſafety; and we may form ſome notion of the magnitude of the evil, from the extravagant aſſertion of an ancient writer, that, in the obnoxious provinces, the priſoners, the exiles, and the fugitives, formed the greateſt part of the inhabitants[52].

The cruelty of Valentinian and Valens. A. D. 364—375.

When Tacitus deſcribes the deaths of the innocent and illuſtrious Romans, who were ſacrificed to the cruelty of the firſt Cæſars, the

[52] The cruel perſecution of Rome and Antioch is deſcribed, and moſt probably exaggerated, by Ammianus (xxviii. 1. xxix. 1, 2.) and Zoſimus (l. iv. p. 216—218.). The philoſopher Maximus, with ſome juſtice, was involved in the charge of magic (Eunapius in Vit. Sophiſt. p. 88, 89.); and young Chryſoſtom, who had accidentally found one of the proſcribed books, gave himſelf for loſt (Tillemont, Hiſt. des Empereurs, tom. v. p. 340.).

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art of the hiſtorian, or the merit of the ſufferers, excite in our breaſts the moſt lively ſenſations of terror, of admiration, and of pity. The coarſe and undiſtinguiſhing pencil of Ammianus has delineated his bloody figures with tedious and diſguſting accuracy. But as our attention is no longer engaged by the contraſt of freedom and ſervitude, of recent greatneſs and of actual miſery, we ſhould turn with horror from the frequent executions which diſgraced, both at Rome and Antioch, the reign of the two brothers [53]. Valens was of a timid [54], and Valentinian of a choleric, diſpoſition [55]. An anxious regard to his perſonal ſafety was the ruling principle of the adminiſtration of Valens. In the condition of a ſubject, he had kiſſed, with trembling awe, the hand of the oppreſſor: and when he aſcended the throne, he reaſonably expected, that the ſame fears, which had ſubdued his own mind, would ſecure the patient ſubmiſſion of his people. The favourites of Valens obtained, by the privilege of rapine and confiſcation, the wealth which his œconomy would have refuſed [56]. They urged, with perſuaſive eloquence, *that*, in all caſes of treaſon, ſuſpicion is equivalent to proof; *that* the power, ſuppoſes the intention, of miſchief; *that* the intention is not leſs criminal than the act; and *that* a ſubject no longer deſerves to live, if his life may threaten the ſafety, or diſturb the re-

[53] Conſult the ſix laſt books of Ammianus, and more particularly the portraits of the two royal brothers (xxx. 8, 9. xxxi. 14.). Tillemont has collected (tom. v. p. 12—18. p. 127—133.) from all antiquity their virtues and vices.

[54] The younger Victor aſſerts, that he was valde timidus: yet he behaved, as almoſt every man would do, with decent reſolution at the *head* of an army. The ſame hiſtorian attempts to prove that his anger was harmleſs. Ammianus obſerves, with more candour and judgment, incidentia crimina ad contemptam vel læſam principis amplitudinem trahens, in ſanguinem ſæviebat.

[55] Cum eſſet ad acerbitatem naturæ calore propenſior . . . . pœnas per ignes augebat et gladios. Ammian. xxx. 8. See xxvii. 7.

[56] I have transferred the reproach of avarice from Valens to his ſervants. Avarice more properly belongs to miniſters than to kings; in whom that paſſion is commonly extinguiſhed by abſolute poſſeſſion.

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poſe, of his ſovereign. The judgment of Valentinian was ſometimes deceived, and his confidence abuſed; but he would have ſilenced the informers with a contemptuous ſmile, had they preſumed to alarm his fortitude by the ſound of danger. They praiſed his inflexible love of juſtice; and, in the purſuit of juſtice, the emperor was eaſily tempted to conſider clemency as a weakneſs, and paſſion as a virtue. As long as he wreſtled with his equals, in the bold competition of an active and ambitious life, Valentinian was ſeldom injured, and never inſulted, with impunity: if his prudence was arraigned, his ſpirit was applauded; and the proudeſt and moſt powerful generals were apprehenſive of provoking the reſentment of a fearleſs ſoldier. After he became maſter of the world, he unfortunately forgot, that where no reſiſtance can be made, no courage can be exerted; and inſtead of conſulting the dictates of reaſon and magnanimity, he indulged the furious emotions of his temper, at a time when they were diſgraceful to himſelf, and fatal to the defenceleſs objects of his diſpleaſure. In the government of his houſehold, or of his empire, ſlight, or even imaginary, offences; a haſty word, a caſual omiſſion, an involuntary delay, were chaſtiſed by a ſentence of immediate death. The expreſſions which iſſued the moſt readily from the mouth of the emperor of the Weſt were, "Strike off his head;" "burn him "alive;" "let him be beaten with clubs till he expires[57];" and his moſt favoured miniſters ſoon underſtood, that by a raſh attempt to diſpute, or ſuſpend, the execution of his ſanguinary commands, they might involve themſelves in the guilt and puniſhment of diſobedience. The repeated gratification of this ſavage juſtice hardened the mind of Valentinian againſt pity and remorſe; and the ſallies

57 He ſometimes expreſſed a ſentence of death with a tone of pleaſantry; "Abi, "Comes, et muta ei caput, qui ſibi mutari "provinciam cupit." A boy who had ſlipped too haſtily a Spartan hound; an armourer who had made a poliſhed cuiraſs that wanted ſome grains of the legitimate weight, &c. were the victims of his fury.

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of paſſion were confirmed by the habits of cruelty[58]. He could behold with calm ſatisfaction the convulſive agonies of torture and death: he reſerved his friendſhip for thoſe faithful ſervants whoſe temper was the moſt congenial to his own. The merit of Maximin, who had ſlaughtered the nobleſt families of Rome, was rewarded with the royal approbation, and the præfecture of Gaul. Two fierce and enormous bears, diſtinguiſhed by the appellations of *Innocence* and *Mica Aurea*, could alone deſerve to ſhare the favour of Maximin. The cages of thoſe truſty guards were always placed near the bed-chamber of Valentinian, who frequently amuſed his eyes with the grateful ſpectacle of ſeeing them tear and devour the bleeding limbs of the malefactors, who were abandoned to their rage. Their diet and exerciſes were carefully inſpected by the Roman emperor; and when *Innocence* had earned her diſcharg, by a long courſe of meritorious ſervice, the faithful animal was again reſtored to the freedom of her native woods[59].

Their laws and government.

But in the calmer moments of reflection, when the mind of Valens was not agitated by fear, or that of Valentinian by rage, the tyrant reſumed the ſentiments, or ar leaſt the conduct, of the father of his country. The diſpaſſionate judgment of the Weſtern emperor could clearly perceive, and accurately purſue, his own and the public intereſt; and the ſovereign of the Eaſt, who imitated with equal docility the various examples which he received from his elder brother, was ſometimes guided by the wiſdom and virtue of the præfect Salluſt. Both princes invariably retained, in the purple,

[58] The innocents of Milan were an agent and three apparitors, whom Valentinian condemned for ſignifying a legal ſummons. Ammianus (xxvii. 7.) ſtrangely ſuppoſes, that all who had been unjuſtly executed were worſhipped as martyrs by the Chriſtians. His impartial ſilence does not allow us to believe, that the great chamberlain Rhodanus was burnt alive for an act of oppreſſion (Chron. Paſchal. p. 302.).

[59] Ut bene meritam in ſylvas juſſit abire *Innoxiam*. Ammian. xxix. 3. and Valeſius ad locum.

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the chaſte and temperate ſimplicity which had adorned their private life; and, under their reign, the pleaſures of the court never coſt the people a bluſh or a ſigh. They gradually reformed many of the abuſes of the times of Conſtantius; judiciouſly adopted and improved the deſigns of Julian and his ſucceſſor; and diſplayed a ſtyle and ſpirit of legiſlation which might inſpire poſterity with the moſt favourable opinion of their character and government. It is not from the maſter of *Innocence*, that we ſhould expect the tender regard for the welfare of his ſubjects, which prompted Valentinian to condemn the expoſition of new-born infants[60]; and to eſtabliſh fourteen ſkilful phyſicians, with ſtipends and privileges, in the fourteen quarters of Rome. The good ſenſe of an illiterate ſoldier founded an uſeful and liberal inſtitution for the education of youth, and the ſupport of declining ſcience[61]. It was his intention, that the arts of rhetoric and grammar ſhould be taught, in the Greek and Latin languages, in the metropolis of every province; and as the ſize and dignity of the ſchool was uſually proportioned to the importance of the city, the academies of Rome and Conſtantinople claimed a juſt and ſingular pre-eminence. The fragments of the literary edicts of Valentinian imperfectly repreſent the ſchool of Conſtantinople, which was gradually improved by ſubſequent regulations. That ſchool conſiſted of thirty-one profeſſors in different branches of learning. One philoſopher, and two lawyers; five ſophiſts, and ten grammarians for the Greek, and three orators,

[60] See the Code of Juſtinian, l. viii. tit. lii. leg. 2. Unuſquiſque ſobolem ſuam nutriat. Quod ſi exponendam putaverit animadverſioni quæ conſtituta eſt ſubjacebit. For the preſent I ſhall not interfere in the diſpute between Noodt and Binkerſhoek; how far, or how long, this unnatural practice had been condemned or aboliſhed by law, philoſophy, and the more civilized ſtate of ſociety.

[61] Theſe ſalutary inſtitutions are explained in the Theodoſian Code, l. xiii. tit. iii. *De Profeſſoribus et Medicis*, and l. xiv. tit. ix. *De Studiis liberalibus Urbis Romæ*. Beſides our uſual guide (Godefroy), we may conſult Giannone (Iſtoria di Napoli, tom. i. p. 105—111.), who has treated the intereſting ſubject with the zeal and curioſity of a man of letters, who ſtudies his domeſtic hiſtory.

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and ten grammarians for the Latin tongue; beſides ſeven ſcribes, or, as they were then ſtyled, antiquarians, whoſe laborious pens ſupplied the public library with fair and correct copies of the claſſic writers. The rule of conduct, which was preſcribed to the ſtudents, is the more curious, as it affords the firſt outlines of the form and diſcipline of a modern univerſity. It was required, that they ſhould bring proper certificates from the magiſtrates of their native province. Their names, profeſſions, and places of abode, were regularly entered in a public regiſter. The ſtudious youth were ſeverely prohibited from waſting their time in feaſts, or in the theatre; and the term of their education was limited to the age of twenty. The præfect of the city was empowered to chaſtiſe the idle and refractory, by ſtripes or expulſion; and he was directed to make an annual report to the maſter of the offices, that the knowledge and abilities of the ſcholars might be uſefully applied to the public ſervice. The inſtitutions of Valentinian contributed to ſecure the benefits of peace and plenty: and the cities were guarded by the eſtabliſhment of the *Defenſors*[62]; freely elected as the tribunes and advocates of the people, to ſupport their rights, and to expoſe their grievances, before the tribunals of the civil magiſtrates, or even at the foot of the Imperial throne. The finances were diligently adminiſtered by two princes, who had been ſo long accuſtomed to the rigid œconomy of a private fortune; but in the receipt and application of the revenue, a diſcerning eye might obſerve ſome difference between the government of the Eaſt and of the Weſt. Valens was perſuaded, that royal liberality can be ſupplied only by public oppreſſion, and his ambition never aſpired to ſecure, by their actual diſtreſs, the future ſtrength and proſperity of his people. Inſtead of increaſing the weight of taxes, which, in the ſpace of forty years, had been

[62] Cod. Theodoſ. l. i. tit xi. with Godefroy's *Paratitlon*, which diligently gleans from the reſt of the code.

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gradually doubled, he reduced, in the firſt years of his reign, one-fourth of the tribute of the Eaſt [63]. Valentinian appears to have been leſs attentive and leſs anxious to relieve the burthens of his people. He might reform the abuſes of the fiſcal adminiſtration; but he exacted, without ſcruple, a very large ſhare of the private property; as he was convinced, that the revenues, which ſupported the luxury of individuals, would be much more advantageouſly employed for the defence and improvement of the ſtate. The ſubjects of the Eaſt, who enjoyed the preſent benefit, applauded the indulgence of their prince. The ſolid, but leſs ſplendid, merit of Valentinian was felt and acknowledged by the ſubſequent generation [64].

Valentinian maintains the religious toleration.

A.D. 364—375.

But the moſt honourable circumſtance of the character of Valentinian, is the firm and temperate impartiality which he uniformly preſerved in an age of religious contention. His ſtrong ſenſe, unenlightened, but uncorrupted, by ſtudy, declined, with reſpectful indifference, the ſubtle queſtions of theological debate. The government of the *Earth* claimed his vigilance, and ſatisfied his ambition; and while he remembered, that he was the diſciple of the church, he never forgot that he was the ſovereign of the clergy. Under the reign of an apoſtate, he had ſignalized his zeal for the honour of Chriſtianity: he allowed to his ſubjects the privilege which he had aſſumed for himſelf; and they might accept, with gratitude and confidence, the general toleration which was granted by a prince, addicted to paſſion, but incapable of fear or diſguiſe [65]. The Pagans, the Jews,

[63] Three lines of Ammianus (xxxi. 14.) countenance a whole oration of Themiſtius (viii. p. 101—120.), full of adulation, pedantry, and common-place morality. The eloquent M. Thomas (tom. i. p. 366—396.) has amuſed himſelf with celebrating the virtues and genius of Themiſtius, who was not unworthy of the age in which he lived.

[64] Zoſimus, l. iv. p. 202. Ammian. xxx. 9. His reformation of coſtly abuſes might entitle him to the praiſe of, in provinciales admodum parcus, tributorum ubique molliens ſarcinas. By ſome his frugality was ſtyled avarice (Jerom. Chron. p. 186.).

[65] Teſtes ſunt leges a me in exordio Imperii mei datæ: quibus unicuique quod animo imbibiſſet

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Jews, and all the various ſects which acknowledged the divine authority of Chriſt, were protected by the laws from arbitrary power or popular inſult; nor was any mode of worſhip prohibited by Valentinian, except thoſe ſecret and criminal practices, which abuſed the name of religion for the dark purpoſes of vice and diſorder. The art of magic, as it was more cruelly puniſhed, was more ſtrictly proſcribed; but the emperor admitted a formal diſtinction to protect the ancient methods of divination, which were approved by the ſenate, and exerciſed by the Tuſcan haruſpices. He had condemned, with the conſent of the moſt rational Pagans, the licence of nocturnal ſacrifices; but he immediately admitted the petition of Prætextatus, proconſul of Achaia, who repreſented, that the life of the Greeks would become dreary and comfortleſs, if they were deprived of the invaluable bleſſing of the Eleuſinian myſteries. Philoſophy alone can boaſt (and perhaps it is no more than the boaſt of philoſophy), that her gentle hand is able to eradicate from the human mind the latent and deadly principle of fanaticiſm. But this truce of twelve years, which was enforced by the wiſe and vigorous government of Valentinian, by ſuſpending the repetition of mutual injuries, contributed to ſoften the manners, and abate the prejudices, of the religious factions.

Valens profeſſes Arianiſm, and perſecutes the catholics, A. D. 367—378.

The friend of toleration was unfortunately placed at a diſtance from the ſcene of the fierceſt controverſies. As ſoon as the Chriſtians of the Weſt had extricated themſelves from the ſnares of the creed of Rimini, they happily relapſed into the ſlumber of orthodoxy; and the ſmall remains of the Arian party, that ſtill ſubſiſted at Sirmium or Milan, might be conſidered, rather as objects of contempt than of

imbibiſſet colendi libera facultas tributa eſt. Cod. Theodoſ. l. ix. tit. xvi. leg. 9. To this declaration of Valentinian, we may add the various teſtimonies of Ammianus (xxx. 9.), Zoſimus (l. iv. p. 204.), and Sozomen (l. vi. c. 7. 21.). Baronius would naturally blame ſuch rational toleration (Annal. Eccleſ. A. D. 370. N° 129—132. A. D. 376. N° 3, 4.).

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reſentment. But in the provinces of the Eaſt, from the Euxine to the extremity of Thebais, the ſtrength and numbers of the hoſtile factions were more equally balanced; and this equality, inſtead of recommending the counſels of peace, ſerved only to perpetuate the horrors of religious war. The monks and biſhops ſupported their arguments by invectives; and their invectives were ſometimes followed by blows. Athanaſius ſtill reigned at Alexandria; the thrones of Conſtantinople and Antioch were occupied by Arian prelates, and every epiſcopal vacancy was the occaſion of a popular tumult. The Homoouſians were fortified by the reconciliation of fifty-nine Macedonian, or Semi-Arian, biſhops; but their ſecret reluctance to embrace the divinity of the Holy Ghoſt, clouded the ſplendour of the triumph: and the declaration of Valens, who, in the firſt years of his reign, had imitated the impartial conduct of his brother, was an important victory on the ſide of Arianiſm. The two brothers had paſſed their private life in the condition of catechumens; but the piety of Valens prompted him to ſolicit the ſacrament of baptiſm, before he expoſed his perſon to the dangers of a Gothic war. He naturally addreſſed himſelf to Eudoxus [66], biſhop of the Imperial city; and if the ignorant monarch was inſtructed by that Arian paſtor in the principles of heterodox theology, his misfortune, rather than his guilt, was the inevitable conſequence of his erroneous choice. Whatever had been the determination of the emperor, he muſt have offended a numerous party of his Chriſtian ſubjects; as the leaders both of the Homoouſians and of the Arians believed, that, if they were not ſuffered to reign, they were moſt cruelly injured and oppreſſed. After he had taken this deciſive

[66] Eudoxus was of a mild and timid diſpoſition. When he baptized Valens (A. D. 367), he muſt have been extremely old; ſince he had ſtudied theology fifty-five years before, under Lucian, a learned and pious martyr. Philoſtorg. l. ii. c. 14—16. l. iv. c. 4. with Godefroy, p. 82. 206. and Tillemont, Mem. Eccleſ. tom. v. p. 474—480, &c.

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ſtep, it was extremely difficult for him to preſerve either the virtue, or the reputation, of impartiality. He never aſpired, like Conſtantius, to the fame of a profound theologian; but, as he had received with ſimplicity and reſpect the tenets of Eudoxus, Valens reſigned his conſcience to the direction of his eccleſiaſtical guides, and promoted, by the influence of his authority, the re-union of the *Athanaſian heretics* to the body of the catholic church. At firſt, he pitied their blindneſs; by degrees he was provoked at their obſtinacy; and he inſenſibly hated thoſe ſectaries to whom he was an object of hatred [67]. The feeble mind of Valens was always ſwayed by the perſons with whom he familiarly converſed; and the exile or impriſonment of a private citizen are the favours the moſt readily granted in a deſpotic court. Such puniſhments were frequently inflicted on the leaders of the Homoouſian party; and the misfortune of fourſcore eccleſiaſtics of Conſtantinople, who, perhaps accidentally, were burnt on ſhip-board, was imputed to the cruel and premeditated malice of the emperor, and his Arian miniſters. In every conteſt, the catholics (if we mayanticipate that name) were obliged to pay the penalty of their own faults, and of thoſe of their adverſaries. In every election, the claims of the Arian candidate obtained the preference; and if they were oppoſed by the majority of the people, he was uſually ſupported by the authority of the civil magiſtrate, or even by the terrors of a military force. The enemies of Athanaſius attempted to diſturb the laſt years of his venerable age; and his temporary retreat to his father's ſepulchre has been celebrated as a fifth exile. But the zeal of a great people, who inſtantly flew to arms, intimidated the præfect; and the archbiſhop was permitted to end his life in peace and in glory, after a reign of forty-ſeven

[67] Gregory Nazianzen (Orat. xxv. p. 432.) as an infallible ſymptom of error and heinſults the perſecuting ſpirit of the Arians, reſy.

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Death of Athanaſius, A. D. 373. May 2d.

years. The death of Athanaſius was the ſignal of the perſecution of Egypt; and the Pagan miniſter of Valens, who forcibly ſeated the worthleſs Lucius on the archiepiſcopal throne, purchaſed the favour of the reigning party by the blood and ſufferings of their Chriſtian brethren. The free toleration of the heathen and Jewiſh worſhip was bitterly lamented, as a circumſtance which aggravated the miſery of the catholics, and the guilt of the impious tyrant of the Eaſt[68].

Juſt idea of his perſecution.

The triumph of the orthodox party has left a deep ſtain of perſecution on the memory of Valens; and the character of a prince who derived his virtues, as well as his vices, from a feeble underſtanding, and a puſillanimous temper, ſcarcely deſerves the labour of an apology. Yet candour may diſcover ſome reaſons to ſuſpect that the eccleſiaſtical miniſters of Valens often exceeded the orders, or even the intentions, of their maſter; and that the real meaſure of facts has been very liberally magnified by the vehement declamation and eaſy credulity of his antagoniſts[69]. 1. The ſilence of Valentinian may ſuggeſt a probable argument, that the partial ſeverities, which were exerciſed in the name and provinces of his colleague, amounted only to ſome obſcure and inconſiderable deviations from the eſtabliſhed ſyſtem of religious toleration: and the judicious hiſtorian, who has praiſed the equal temper of the elder brother, has not thought himſelf obliged to contraſt the tranquillity of the Weſt with the cruel perſecution of the Eaſt[70]. 2. Whatever credit may

[68] This ſketch of the eccleſiaſtical government of Valens is drawn from Socrates (l. iv.), Sozomen (l. vi.), Theodoret (l. iv.), and the immenſe compilations of Tillemont (particularly tom. vi. viii. and ix.).

[69] Dr. Jortin (Remarks on Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, vol. iv. p. 78.) has already conceived and intimated the ſame ſuſpicion.

[70] This reflection is ſo obvious and forcible, that Oroſius (l. vii. c. 32, 33.) delays the perſecution till after the death of Valentinian. Socrates, on the other hand, ſuppoſes (l. iii. c. 32.) that it was appeaſed by a philoſophical oration, which Themiſtius pronounced in the year 374 (Orat. xii. p. 154. in Latin only). Such contradictions diminiſh the evidence, and reduce the term, of the perſecution of Valens.

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be allowed to vague and distant reports, the character, or at least the behaviour, of Valens may be most distinctly seen in his personal transactions with the eloquent Basil, archbishop of Cæsarea, who had succeeded Athanasius in the management of the Trinitarian cause[71]. The circumstantial narrative has been composed by the friends and admirers of Basil; and as soon as we have stripped away a thick coat of rhetoric and miracle, we shall be astonished by the unexpected mildness of the Arian tyrant, who admired the firmness of his character, or was apprehensive, if he employed violence, of a general revolt in the province of Cappadocia. The archbishop, who asserted, with inflexible pride[72], the truth of his opinions, and the dignity of his rank, was left in the free possession of his conscience, and his throne. The emperor devoutly assisted at the solemn service of the cathedral; and, instead of a sentence of banishment, subscribed the donation of a valuable estate for the use of an hospital which Basil had lately founded in the neighbourhood of Cæsarea[73]. 3. I am not able to discover, that any law (such as Theodosius afterwards enacted against the Arians) was published by Valens against the Athanasian sectaries; and the edict which excited the most violent clamours, may not appear so extremely reprehensible. The emperor had observed, that several of his subjects, gratifying their lazy disposition under the pretence of religion, had associated themselves with the monks of Egypt; and he directed the

[71] Tillemont, whom I follow and abridge, has extracted (Mem. Eccles. tom. viii. p. 153—167.) the most authentic circumstances from the Panegyrics of the two Gregories; the brother, and the friend, of Basil. The letters of Basil himself (Dupin, Bibliotheque Ecclesiastique, tom. ii. p. 155—180.) do not present the image of a very lively persecution.

[72] Basilius Cæsariensis episcopus Cappadociæ clarus habetur . . . . qui multa continentiæ et ingenii bona uno superbiæ malo perdidit. This irreverent passage is perfectly in the style and character of St. Jerom. It does not appear in Scaliger's edition of his Chronicle; but Isaac Vossius found it in some old MSS. which had not been reformed by the monks.

[73] This noble and charitable foundation (almost a new city) surpassed in merit, if not in greatness, the pyramids, or the walls of Babylon. It was principally intended for the reception of lepers (Greg. Nazianzen, Orat. xx. p. 439.).

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count of the East to drag them from their solitude; and to compel those deserters of society to accept the fair alternative, of renouncing their temporal possessions, or of discharging the public duties of men and citizens[74]. The ministers of Valens seem to have extended the sense of this penal statute, since they claimed a right of enlisting the young and able-bodied monks in the Imperial armies. A detachment of cavalry and infantry, consisting of three thousand men, marched from Alexandria into the adjacent desert of Nitria[75], which was peopled by five thousand monks. The soldiers were conducted by Arian priests; and it is reported, that a considerable slaughter was made in the monasteries which disobeyed the commands of their sovereign[76].

Valentinian restrains the avarice of the clergy. A. D. 370.

The strict regulations which have been framed by the wisdom of modern legislators to restrain the wealth and avarice of the clergy, may be originally deduced from the example of the emperor Valentinian. His edict[77] addressed to Damasus, bishop of Rome, was publicly read in the churches of the city. He admonished the ecclesiastics and monks not to frequent the houses of widows and virgins; and menaced their disobedience with the animadversion of the civil judge. The director was no longer permitted to receive any gift, or legacy, or inheritance, from the liberality of his spiritual daughter: every testament contrary to this edict was declared null

[74] Cod. Theodos. l. xii. tit. i. leg. 63. Godefroy (tom. iv. p. 409—413.) performs the duty of a commentator and advocate. Tillemont (Mem. Eccles. tom. viii. p. 808.) *supposes* a second law to excuse his orthodox friends, who had misrepresented the edict of Valens, and suppressed the liberty of choice.

[75] See d'Anville, Description de l'Egypte, p. 74. Hereafter I shall consider the monastic institutions.

[76] Socrates, l. iv. c. 24, 25. Orosius, l. vii. c. 33. Jerom in Chron. p. 189. and tom. ii. p. 212. The monks of Egypt performed many miracles, which prove the truth of their faith. Right, says Jortin (Remarks, vol. iv. p. 79.), but what proves the truth of those miracles?

[77] Cod. Theodos. l. xvi. tit. ii. leg. 20. Godefroy (tom. vi. p. 49.), after the example of Baronius, impartially collects all that the fathers have said on the subject of this important law; whose spirit was long afterwards revived by the emperor Frederic II., Edward I. of England, and other Christian princes who reigned after the twelfth century.

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and void; and the illegal donation was confiſcated for the uſe of the treaſury. By a ſubſequent regulation, it ſhould ſeem, that the ſame proviſions were extended to nuns and biſhops; and that all perſons of the eccleſiaſtical order were rendered incapable of receiving any teſtamentary gifts, and ſtrictly confined to the natural and legal rights of inheritance. As the guardian of domeſtic happineſs and virtue, Valentinian applied this ſevere remedy to the growing evil. In the capital of the empire, the females of noble and opulent houſes poſſeſſed a very ample ſhare of independent property: and many of thoſe devout females had embraced the doctrines of Chriſtianity not only with the cold aſſent of the underſtanding, but with the warmth of affection, and perhaps with the eagerneſs of faſhion. They ſacrificed the pleaſures of dreſs and luxury; and renounced, for the praiſe of chaſtity, the ſoft endearments of conjugal ſociety. Some eccleſiaſtic, of real or apparent ſanctity, was choſen to direct their timorous conſcience, and to amuſe the vacant tenderneſs of their heart: and the unbounded confidence, which they haſtily beſtowed, was often abuſed by knaves and enthuſiaſts; who haſtened from the extremities of the Eaſt, to enjoy, on a ſplendid theatre, the privileges of the monaſtic profeſſion. By their contempt of the world, they inſenſibly acquired its moſt deſirable advantages; the lively attachment, perhaps, of a young and beautiful woman, the delicate plenty of an opulent houſehold, and the reſpectful homage of the ſlaves, the freedmen, and the clients of a ſenatorial family. The immenſe fortunes of the Roman ladies were gradually conſumed, in laviſh alms and expenſive pilgrimages; and the artful monk, who had aſſigned himſelf the firſt, or poſſibly the ſole place, in the teſtament of his ſpiritual daughter, ſtill preſumed to declare, with the ſmooth face of hypocriſy, that *he* was only the inſtrument of charity, and the ſteward of the poor. The lucrative, but diſgraceful, trade,

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trade[78], which was exercised by the clergy to defraud the expectations of the natural heirs, had provoked the indignation of a superstitious age: and two of the most respectable of the Latin fathers very honestly confess, that the ignominious edict of Valentinian was just and necessary; and that the Christian priests had deserved to lose a privilege, which was still enjoyed by comedians, charioteers, and the ministers of idols. But the wisdom and authority of the legislator are seldom victorious in a contest with the vigilant dexterity of private interest: and Jerom, or Ambrose, might patiently acquiesce in the justice of an ineffectual or salutary law. If the ecclesiastics were checked in the pursuit of personal emolument, they would exert a more laudable industry to increase the wealth of the church; and dignify their covetousness with the specious names of piety and patriotism[79].

Ambition and luxury of Damasus, bishop of Rome.

A. D. 366—384.

Damasus, bishop of Rome, who was constrained to stigmatize the avarice of his clergy by the publication of the law of Valentinian, had the good sense, or the good fortune, to engage in his service the zeal and abilities of the learned Jerom; and the grateful saint has celebrated the merit and purity of a very ambiguous character[80]. But the splendid vices of the Church of Rome, under the reign of Valentinian and Damasus, have been curiously observed by the histo-

[78] The expressions which I have used are temperate and feeble, if compared with the vehement invectives of Jerom (tom. i. p. 13. 45. 144, &c.). In *his* turn, he was reproached with the guilt which he imputed to his brother monks: and the *Sceleratus*, the *Verispellis*, was publicly accused as the lover of the widow Paula (tom. ii. p. 363.). He undoubtedly possessed the affections, both of the mother and the daughter; but he declares, that he never abused his influence, to any selfish or sensual purpose.

[79] Pudet dicere, sacerdotes idolorum, mimi et aurigæ, et scorta, hæreditates capiunt: solis *clericis* ac *monachis* hâc lege prohibetur. Et non prohibetur a persecutoribus, sed a principibus Christianis. Nec de lege queror; sed doleo cur *meruerimus* hanc legem. Jerom (tom. i. p. 13.) discreetly insinuates the secret policy of his patron Damasus.

[80] Three words of Jerom, *sanctæ memoriæ Damasus* (tom. ii. p. 109.) wash away all his stains; and blind the devout eyes of Tillemont (Mem. Eccles. tom. viii. p. 386—424.).

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rian Ammianus, who delivers his impartial ſenſe in theſe expreſſive words: "The præfecture of Juventius was accompanied with peace "and plenty: but the tranquillity of his government was ſoon diſ- "turbed by a bloody ſedition of the diſtracted people. The ardour "of Damaſus and Urſinus, to ſeize the epiſcopal ſeat, ſurpaſſed the "ordinary meaſure of human ambition. They contended with the "rage of party; the quarrel was maintained by the wounds and "death of their followers; and the præfect, unable to reſiſt or to "appeaſe the tumult, was conſtrained, by ſuperior violence, to re- "tire into the ſuburbs. Damaſus prevailed: the well-diſputed vic- "tory remained on the ſide of his faction; one hundred and thirty- "ſeven dead bodies [81] were found in the *Baſilica* of Sicininus [82], "where the Chriſtians hold their religious aſſemblies; and it was "long before the angry minds of the people reſumed their accuſtomed "tranquillity. When I conſider the ſplendour of the capital, I am "not aſtoniſhed that ſo valuable a prize ſhould inflame the deſires "of ambitious men, and produce the fierceſt and moſt obſtinate "conteſts. The ſucceſsful candidate is ſecure, that he will be en- "riched by the offerings of matrons [83]; that, as ſoon as his dreſs is "compoſed with becoming care and elegance, he may proceed, in "his chariot, through the ſtreets of Rome [84]; and, that the ſump- "tuouſneſs of the Imperial table will not equal the profuſe and

[81] Jerom himſelf is forced to allow, crudeliſſimæ interfectiones diverſi ſexûs perpetratæ (in Chron. p. 186.). But an original *libel* or petition of two preſbyters of the adverſe party, has unaccountably eſcaped. They affirm, that the doors of the Baſilica were burnt, and that the roof was untiled; that Damaſus marched at the head of his own clergy, gravediggers, charioteers, and hired gladiators; that none of *his* party were killed, but that one hundred and ſixty dead bodies were found. This petition is publiſhed by the P. Sirmond, in the firſt volume of his works.

[82] The *Baſilica* of Sicininus, or Liberius, is probably the church of S^ta^ Maria Maggiore, on the Eſquiline hill. Baronius, A. D. 367. N° 3.; and Donatus, Roma Antiqua et Nova, l. iv. c. 3. p. 462.

[83] The enemies of Damaſus ſtyled him *Auriſcalpius Matronarum*, the ladies earſcratcher.

[84] Gregory Nazianzen (Orat. xxxii. p. 526.) deſcribes the pride and luxury of the prelates, who reigned in the Imperial cities; their gilt car, fiery ſteeds, numerous train, &c. The crowd gave way as to a wild beaſt.

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"delicate entertainments provided by the taſte, and at the expence, "of the Roman pontiffs. How much more rationally," continues the honeſt Pagan, "would thoſe pontiffs conſult their true happineſs, "if inſtead of alleging the greatneſs of the city as an excuſe "for their manners, they would imitate the exemplary life of ſome "provincial biſhops, whoſe temperance and ſobriety, whoſe mean "apparel, and downcaſt looks, recommend their pure and modeſt "virtue to the Deity, and his true worſhippers[85]." The ſchiſm of Damaſus and Urſinus was extinguiſhed by the exile of the latter; and the wiſdom of the præfect Prætextatus[86] reſtored the tranquillity of the city. Prætextatus was a philoſophic Pagan, a man of learning, of taſte, and politeneſs; who diſguiſed a reproach in the form of a jeſt, when he aſſured Damaſus, that if he could obtain the biſhopric of Rome, he himſelf would immediately embrace the Chriſtian religion[87]. This lively picture of the wealth and luxury of the popes in the fourth century, becomes the more curious, as it repreſents the intermediate degree, between the humble poverty of the apoſtolic fiſherman, and the royal ſtate of a temporal prince, whoſe dominions extend from the confines of Naples to the banks of the Po.

Foreign wars. A. D. 364—375.

When the ſuffrage of the generals and of the army committed the ſceptre of the Roman empire to the hands of Valentinian, his repu-

[85] Ammian. xxvii. 3. Perpetuo Numini, *veriſque* ejus cultoribus. The incomparable pliancy of a Polytheiſt!

[86] Ammianus, who makes a fair report of his præfecture (xxvii. 9.), ſtyles him præclaræ indolis, gravitatiſque, ſenator (xxii. 7. and Valeſ. ad loc.). A curious inſcription (Gruter, MCII. N°. 2.) records, in two columns, his religious and civil honours. In one line he was Pontiff of the Sun, and of Veſta, Augur, Quindecemvir, Hierophant, &c. &c. In the other, 1. Quæſtor candidatus, more probably titular. 2. Prætor. 3. Corrector of Tuſcany and Umbria. 4. Conſular of Luſitania. 5. Proconſul of Achaia. 6. Præfect of Rome. 7. Prætorian præfect of Italy. 8. Of Illyricum. 9. Conſul elect; but he died before the beginning of the year 385. See Tillemont, Hiſt. des Empereurs, tom. v. p. 241. 736.

[87] Facite me Romanæ urbis epiſcopum; et ero protinus Chriſtianus (Jerom, tom. ii. p. 165.). It is more than probable, that Damaſus would not have purchaſed his converſion at ſuch a price.

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tation in arms, his military ſkill and experience, and his rigid attachment to the forms, as well as ſpirit, of ancient diſcipline, were the principal motives of their judicious choice. The eagerneſs of the troops who preſſed him to nominate his colleague, was juſtified by the dangerous ſituation of public affairs; and Valentinian himſelf was conſcious, that the abilities of the moſt active mind were unequal to the defence of the diſtant frontiers of an invaded monarchy. As ſoon as the death of Julian had relieved the Barbarians from the terror of his name, the moſt ſanguine hopes of rapine and conqueſt excited the nations of the Eaſt, of the North, and of the South. Their inroads were often vexatious, and ſometimes formidable; but, during the twelve years of the reign of Valentinian, his firmneſs and vigilance protected his own dominions; and his powerful genius ſeemed to inſpire and direct the feeble counſels of his brother. Perhaps the method of annals would more forcibly expreſs the urgent and divided cares of the two emperors; but the attention of the reader, likewiſe, would be diſtracted by a tedious and deſultory narrative. A ſeparate view of the five great theatres of war: I. Germany; II. Britain; III. Africa; IV. The Eaſt; and, V. The Danube; will impreſs a more diſtinct image of the military ſtate of the empire under the reigns of Valentinian and Valens.

A. D. 364—375.

I. The ambaſſadors of the Alemanni had been offended by the harſh and haughty behaviour of Urſacius, maſter of the offices[88]; who, by an act of unſeaſonable parſimony, had diminiſhed the value, as well as the quantity, of the preſents, to which they were entitled, either from cuſtom or treaty, on the acceſſion of a new emperor. They expreſſed, and they communicated to their countrymen, their ſtrong ſenſe of the national affront. The iraſcible minds of the chiefs were exaſperated by the ſuſpicion of contempt; and the martial youth crowded to their ſtandard. Before Valentinian could paſs the

I. GERMANY. The Alemanni invade Gaul. A. D. 365.

[88] Ammian. xxvi. 5. Valeſius adds a long and good note on the maſter of the offices.

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A. D. 366. January.

Alps, the villages of Gaul were in flames; before his general Dagalaiphus could encounter the Alemanni, they had ſecured the captives and the ſpoil in the foreſts of Germany. In the beginning of the enſuing year, the military force of the whole nation, in deep and ſolid columns, broke through the barrier of the Rhine, during the ſeverity of a northern winter. Two Roman counts were defeated and mortally wounded; and the ſtandard of the Heruli and Batavians fell into the hands of the conquerors, who diſplayed, with inſulting ſhouts and menaces, the trophy of their victory. The ſtandard was recovered; but the Batavians had not redeemed the ſhame of their diſgrace and flight in the eyes of their ſevere judge. It was the opinion of Valentinian, that his ſoldiers muſt learn to fear their commander, before they could ceaſe to fear the enemy. The troops were ſolemnly aſſembled: and the trembling Batavians were incloſed within the circle of the Imperial army. Valentinian then aſcended his tribunal: and, as if he diſdained to puniſh cowardice with death, he inflicted a ſtain of indelible ignominy on the officers, whoſe miſconduct and puſillanimity were found to be the firſt occaſion of the defeat. The Batavians were degraded from their rank, ſtripped of their arms, and condemned to be ſold for ſlaves to the higheſt bidder. At this tremendous ſentence the troops fell proſtrate on the ground; deprecated the indignation of their ſovereign; and proteſted, that if he would indulge them in another trial, they would approve themſelves not unworthy of the name of Romans, and of his ſoldiers. Valentinian, with affected reluctance, yielded to their entreaties: the Batavians reſumed their arms; and with their arms, the invincible reſolution of wiping away their diſgrace in the blood of the Alemanni [89]. The principal command was declined by

[89] Ammian. xxvii. 1. Zoſimus, l. iv. p. 208. The diſgrace of the Batavians is ſuppreſſed by the contemporary ſoldier, from a regard for military honour, which could not affect a Greek rhetorician of the ſucceeding age.

Dagalaiphus;

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Dagalaiphus; and that experienced general, who had repreſented, perhaps with too much prudence, the extreme difficulties of the undertaking, had the mortification, before the end of the campaign, of ſeeing his rival Jovinus convert thoſe difficulties into a deciſive advantage over the ſcattered forces of the Barbarians. At the head of a well-diſciplined army of cavalry, infantry, and light troops, Jovinus advanced, with cautious and rapid ſteps, to Scarponna[90], in the territory of Metz, where he ſurpriſed a large diviſion of the Alemanni, before they had time to run to their arms; and flushed his ſoldiers with the confidence of an eaſy and bloodleſs victory. Another diviſion, or rather army, of the enemy, after the cruel and wanton devaſtation of the adjacent country, repoſed themſelves on the ſhady banks of the Moſelle. Jovinus, who had viewed the ground with the eye of a general, made his ſilent approach through a deep and woody vale, till he could diſtinctly perceive the indolent ſecurity of the Germans. Some were bathing their huge limbs in the river; others were combing their long and flaxen hair; others again were ſwallowing large draughts of rich and delicious wine. On a ſudden they heard the ſound of the Roman trumpet; they ſaw the enemy in their camp. Aſtoniſhment produced diſorder; diſorder was followed by flight and diſmay; and the confuſed multitude of the braveſt warriors was pierced by the ſwords and javelins of the legionaries and auxiliaries. The fugitives eſcaped to the third, and moſt conſiderable, camp, in the Catalaunian plains, near Chalons in Champagne: the ſtraggling detachments were haſtily recalled to their ſtandard; and the Barbarian chiefs, alarmed and admoniſhed by the fate of their companions, prepared to encounter, in a deciſive battle, the victorious forces of the lieutenant of Valentinian. The bloody and obſtinate conflict laſted a whole ſummer's day, with equal

Their defeat.

[90] See d'Anville, Notice de l'ancienne Gaule, p. 587. The name of the Moſelle, which is not ſpecified by Ammianus, is clearly underſtood by Maſcou (Hiſt. of the ancient Germans, vii. 2.).

valour,

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valour, and with alternate ſucceſs. The Romans at length prevailed, with the loſs of about twelve hundred men. Six thouſand of the Alemanni were ſlain, four thouſand were wounded; and the brave Jovinus, after chaſing the flying remnant of their hoſt as far as the banks of the Rhine, returned to Paris, to receive the applauſe of his ſovereign, and the enſigns of the conſulſhip for the enſuing year[91]. The triumph of the Romans was indeed ſullied by their treatment of the captive king, whom they hung on a gibbet, without the knowledge of their indignant general. This diſgraceful act of cruelty, which might be imputed to the fury of the troops, was followed by the deliberate murder of Withicab, the ſon of Vadomair; a German prince, of a weak and ſickly conſtitution, but of a daring and formidable ſpirit. The domeſtic aſſaſſin was inſtigated and protected by the Romans[92]; and the violation of the laws of humanity and juſtice betrayed their ſecret apprehenſion of the weakneſs of the declining empire. The uſe of the dagger is ſeldom adopted in public councils, as long as they retain any confidence in the power of the ſword.

July.

Valentinian paſſes, and fortifies the Rhine, A. D. 368.

While the Alemanni appeared to be humbled by their recent calamities, the pride of Valentinian was mortified by the unexpected ſurpriſal of Moguntiacum, or Mentz, the principal city of the Upper Germany. In the unſuſpicious moment of a Chriſtian feſtival, Rando, a bold and artful chieftain, who had long meditated his attempt, ſuddenly paſſed the Rhine; entered the defenceleſs town, and retired with a multitude of captives of either ſex. Valentinian reſolved to execute ſevere vengeance on the whole body of the nation. Count Sebaſtian, with the bands of Italy and Illyricum, was ordered to invade their country, moſt probably on the ſide of Rhætia. The emperor in perſon, accompanied by his ſon Gratian, paſſed the

[91] The battles are deſcribed by Ammianus (xxvii. 2.), and by Zoſimus (l. iv. p. 209.), who ſuppoſes Valentinian to have been preſent.

[92] Studio ſolicitante noſtrorum, occubuit. Ammian. xxvii. 10.

Rhine

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Rhine at the head of a formidable army, which was ſupported on both flanks by Jovinus and Severus, the two maſters-general of the cavalry and infantry of the Weſt. The Alemanni, unable to prevent the devaſtation of their villages, fixed their camp on a lofty, and almoſt inacceſſible, mountain, in the modern duchy of Wirtemberg, and reſolutely expected the approach of the Romans. The life of Valentinian was expoſed to imminent danger, by the intrepid curioſity with which he perſiſted to explore ſome ſecret and unguarded path. A troop of Barbarians ſuddenly roſe from their ambuſcade: and the emperor, who vigorouſly ſpurred his horſe down a ſteep and ſlippery deſcent, was obliged to leave behind him his armour-bearer, and his helmet, magnificently enriched with gold and precious ſtones. At the ſignal of the general aſſault, the Roman troops encompaſſed and aſcended the mountain of Solicinium on three different ſides. Every ſtep which they gained, increaſed their ardour, and abated the reſiſtance of the enemy: and after their united forces had occupied the ſummit of the hill, they impetuouſly urged the Barbarians down the northern deſcent, where count Sebaſtian was poſted to intercept their retreat. After this ſignal victory, Valentinian returned to his winter-quarters at Treves; where he indulged the public joy by the exhibition of ſplendid and triumphal games [93]. But the wiſe monarch, inſtead of aſpiring to the conqueſt of Germany, confined his attention to the important and laborious defence of the Gallic frontier, againſt an enemy, whoſe ſtrength was renewed by a ſtream of daring volunteers, which inceſſantly flowed from the moſt diſtant tribes of the North [94]. The banks of the

[93] The expedition of Valentinian is related by Ammianus (xxvii. 10.); and celebrated by Auſonius (Moſell. 421, &c.), who fooliſhly ſuppoſes, that the Romans were ignorant of the ſources of the Danube.

[94] Immanis enim natio, jam inde ab incunabulis primis varietate caſuum imminuta; ita ſæpius adoleſcit, ut fuiſſe longis ſæculis æſtimetur intacta. Ammian. xxviii. 5. The Count de Buat (Hiſt. des Peuples de l'Europe, tom. vi. p. 370.) aſcribes the fecundity of the Alemanni to their eaſy adoption of ſtrangers.

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Rhine, from its ſource to the ſtreights of the ocean, were cloſely planted with ſtrong caſtles, and convenient towers; new works, and new arms, were invented by the ingenuity of a prince who was ſkilled in the mechanical arts; and his numerous levies of Roman and Barbarian youth were ſeverely trained in all the exerciſes of war. The progreſs of the work, which was ſometimes oppoſed by modeſt repreſentations, and ſometimes by hoſtile attempts, ſecured the tranquillity of Gaul during the nine ſubſequent years of the adminiſtration of Valentinian [95].

The Burgundians, A. D. 371.

That prudent emperor, who diligently practiſed the wiſe maxims of Diocletian, was ſtudious to foment and excite the inteſtine diviſions of the tribes of Germany. About the middle of the fourth century, the countries, perhaps of Luſace and Thuringia, on either ſide of the Elbe, were occupied by the vague dominion of the BURGUNDIANS; a warlike and numerous people, of the Vandal race [96], whoſe obſcure name inſenſibly ſwelled into a powerful kingdom, and has finally ſettled on a flouriſhing province. The moſt remarkable circumſtance in the ancient manners of the Burgundians, appears to have been the difference of their civil and eccleſiaſtical conſtitution. The appellation of *Hendinos* was given to the king or general, and the title of *Siniſtus* to the high-prieſt, of the nation. The perſon of the prieſt was ſacred, and his dignity perpetual; but the temporal government was held by a very precarious tenure. If the events of war accuſed the courage or conduct of the king, he was immediately depoſed; and the injuſtice of his ſubjects made him reſponſible for the fertility of the earth, and the regularity of the ſeaſons, which ſeemed to fall more properly within the ſacerdotal department [97].

The

[95] Ammian. xxviii. 2. Zoſimus, l. iv. p. 214. The younger Victor mentions the mechanical genius of Valentinian, nova arma meditari; fingere terrâ ſeu limo ſimulacra.

[96] Bellicoſos et pubis immenſæ viribus affluentes; et ideo metuendos finitimis univerſis. Ammian. xxviii. 5.

[97] I am always apt to ſuſpect hiſtorians and travellers

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The diſputed poſſeſſion of ſome ſalt-pits [98] engaged the Alemanni and the Burgundians in frequent conteſts: the latter were eaſily tempted, by the ſecret ſolicitations, and liberal offers, of the emperor; and their fabulous deſcent from the Roman ſoldiers, who had formerly been left to garriſon the fortreſſes of Druſus, was admitted with mutual credulity, as it was conducive to mutual intereſt [99]. An army of fourſcore thouſand Burgundians ſoon appeared on the banks of the Rhine; and impatiently required the ſupport and ſubſidies which Valentinian had promiſed: but they were amuſed with excuſes and delays, till at length, after a fruitleſs expectation, they were compelled to retire. The arms and fortifications of the Gallic frontier checked the fury of their juſt reſentment; and their maſſacre of the captives ſerved to embitter the hereditary feud of the Burgundians and the Alemanni. The inconſtancy of a wiſe prince may, perhaps, be explained by ſome alteration of circumſtances; and, perhaps, it was the original deſign of Valentinian to intimidate, rather than to deſtroy; as the balance of power would have been equally overturned by the extirpation of either of the German nations. Among the princes of the Alemanni, Macrianus, who, with a Roman name, had aſſumed the arts of a ſoldier and a ſtateſman, deſerved his hatred and eſteem. The emperor himſelf, with a light and unincumbered band, condeſcended to paſs the Rhine, marched fifty miles into the country, and would

travellers of improving extraordinary facts into general laws. Ammianus aſcribes a ſimilar cuſtom to Egypt; and the Chineſe have imputed it to the Tatſin, or Roman empire (de Guignes, Hiſt. des Huns, tom. ii. part i. p. 79.).

[98] Salinarum finiumque cauſâ Alemannis ſæpe jurgabant. Ammian. xxviii. 5. Poſſibly they diſputed the poſſeſſion of the *Sala*, a river which produced ſalt, and which had been the object of ancient contention. Tacit. Annal. xiii. 57., and Lipſius ad loc.

[99] Jam inde temporibus priſcis ſobolem ſe eſſe Romanam Burgundii ſciunt; and the vague tradition gradually aſſumed a more regular form (Oroſ. l. vii. c. 32.). It is annihilated by the deciſive authority of Pliny, who compoſed the hiſtory of Druſus, and ſerved in Germany (Plin. Secund. Epiſt. iii. 5.), within ſixty years after the death of that hero. *Germanorum genera* quinque; Vindili, quorum pars *Burgundiones*, &c. (Hiſt. Natur. iv. 28.)

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infallibly have ſeized the object of his purſuit, if his judicious meaſures had not been defeated by the impatience of the troops. Macrianus was afterwards admitted to the honour of a perſonal conference with the emperor; and the favours which he received, fixed him, till the hour of his death, a ſteady and ſincere friend of the republic [100].

The Saxons.

The land was covered by the fortifications of Valentinian; but the ſea-coaſt of Gaul and Britain was expoſed to the depredations of the Saxons. That celebrated name, in which we have a dear and domeſtic intereſt, eſcaped the notice of Tacitus; and in the maps of Ptolemy, it faintly marks the narrow neck of the Cimbric peninſula, and three ſmall iſlands towards the mouth of the Elbe [101]. This contracted territory, the preſent Duchy of Sleſwig, or perhaps of Holſtein, was incapable of pouring forth the inexhauſtible ſwarms of Saxons who reigned over the ocean, who filled the Britiſh iſland with their language, their laws, and their colonies; and who ſo long defended the liberty of the North againſt the arms of Charlemagne [102]. The ſolution of this difficulty is eaſily derived from the ſimilar manners, and looſe conſtitution, of the tribes of Germany: which were blended with each other by the ſlighteſt accidents of war or friendſhip. The ſituation of the native Saxons diſpoſed them to embrace the hazardous profeſſions of fiſhermen and pirates: and the ſucceſs of their firſt adventures would naturally excite the emula-

[100] The wars and negociations, relative to the Burgundians and Alemanni, are diſtinctly related by Ammianus Marcellinus (xxviii. 5. xxix. 4. xxx. 3.). Oroſius (l. vii. c. 32.), and the Chronicles of Jerom and Caſſiodorius, fix ſome dates and add ſome circumſtances.

[101] Επι τον αυχενα της Κιμβρικης χερσονησου, Σαξονες. At the northern extremity of the peninſula (the Cimbric promontory of Pliny, iv. 27.) Ptolemy fixes the remnant of the *Cimbri*. He fills the interval between the *Saxons* and the Cimbri with ſix obſcure tribes, who were united, as early as the ſixth century, under the national appellation of *Danes*. See Cluver. German. Antiq. l. iii. c. 21, 22, 23.

[102] M. d'Anville (Etabliſſement des Etats de l'Europe, &c. p. 19—26.) has marked the extenſive limits of the Saxony of Charlemagne.

tion

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tion of their braveſt countrymen, who were impatient of the gloomy ſolitude of their woods and mountains. Every tide might float down the Elbe whole fleets of canoes, filled with hardy and intrepid aſſociates, who aſpired to behold the unbounded proſpect of the ocean, and to taſte the wealth and luxury of unknown worlds. It ſhould ſeem probable, however, that the moſt numerous auxiliaries of the Saxons were furniſhed by the nations who dwelt along the ſhores of the Baltic. They poſſeſſed arms and ſhips, the art of navigation, and the habits of naval war; but the difficulty of iſſuing through the northern columns of Hercules [103] (which, during ſeveral months of the year, are obſtructed with ice) confined their ſkill and courage within the limits of a ſpacious lake. The rumour of the ſucceſsful armaments which ſailed from the mouth of the Elbe, would ſoon provoke them to croſs the narrow iſthmus of Sleſwig, and to launch their veſſels on the great ſea. The various troops of pirates and adventurers, who fought under the ſame ſtandard, were inſenſibly united in a permanent ſociety, at firſt of rapine, and afterwards of government. A military confederation was gradually moulded into a national body, by the gentle operation of marriage and conſanguinity; and the adjacent tribes, who ſolicited the alliance, accepted the name and laws, of the Saxons. If the fact were not eſtabliſhed by the moſt unqueſtionable evidence, we ſhould appear to abuſe the credulity of our readers, by the deſcription of the veſſels in which the Saxon pirates ventured to ſport in the waves of the German Ocean, the Britiſh Channel, and the Bay of Biſcay. The keel of their large flat-bottomed boats was framed of light

[103] The fleet of Druſus had failed in their attempt to paſs, or even to approach, the *Sound* (ſtyled, from an obvious reſemblance, the columns of Hercules); and the naval enterpriſe was never reſumed (Tacit. de Moribus German. c. 34.). The knowledge which the Romans acquired of the naval powers of the Baltic (c. 44, 45.), was obtained by their land journies in ſearch of amber.

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timber, but the ſides and upper-works conſiſted only of wicker, with a covering of ſtrong hides [104]. In the courſe of their ſlow and diſtant navigations, they muſt always have been expoſed to the danger, and very frequently to the misfortune, of ſhipwreck; and the naval annals of the Saxons were undoubtedly filled with the accounts of the loſſes, which they ſuſtained on the coaſts of Britain and Gaul. But the daring ſpirit of the pirates braved the perils, both of the ſea, and of the ſhore: their ſkill was confirmed by the habits of enterpriſe; the meaneſt of their mariners was alike capable, of handling an oar, of rearing a ſail, or of conducting a veſſel; and the Saxons rejoiced in the appearance of a tempeſt, which concealed their deſign, and diſperſed the fleets of the enemy [105]. After they had acquired an accurate knowledge of the maritime provinces of the Weſt, they extended the ſcene of their depredations, and the moſt ſequeſtered places had no reaſon to preſume on their ſecurity. The Saxon boats drew ſo little water, that they could eaſily proceed fourſcore or an hundred miles up the great rivers; their weight was ſo inconſiderable, that they were tranſported on waggons from one river to another; and the pirates who had entered the mouth of the Seine, or of the Rhine, might deſcend, with the rapid ſtream of

A. D. 371. the Rhone, into the Mediterranean. Under the reign of Valentinian, the maritime provinces of Gaul were afflicted by the Saxons: a military count was ſtationed for the defence of the ſea-coaſt, or

[104] Quin et Aremoricus piratam *Saxona* tractus,——
Sperabat; cui pelle ſalum ſulcare Britannum
Ludus; et aſſuto glaucum mare findere lembo.
Sidon. in Panegyr. Avit. 369.
The genius of Cæſar imitated, for a particular ſervice, theſe rude, but light, veſſels, which were likewiſe uſed by the natives of Britain (Comment. de Bell. Civil. i. 51. and Guichardt, Nouveaux Memoires Militaires, tom. ii. p. 41, 42.). The Britiſh veſſels would now aſtoniſh the genius of Cæſar.

[105] The beſt original account of the Saxon pirates may be found in Sidonius Apollinaris (l. viii. epiſt. 6. p. 223. edit. Sirmond), and the beſt commentary in the Abbé du Bos (Hiſt. Critique de la Monarchie Françoiſe, &c. tom. i. l. i. c. 16. p. 148—155. See likewiſe p. 77, 78.).

Armorican

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Armorican limit; and that officer, who found his ſtrength, or his abilities, unequal to the taſk, implored the aſſiſtance of Severus, maſter-general of the infantry. The Saxons, ſurrounded and outnumbered, were forced to relinquiſh their ſpoil, and to yield a ſelect band of their tall and robuſt youth to ſerve in the Imperial armies. They ſtipulated only a ſafe and honourable retreat: and the condition was readily granted by the Roman general; who meditated an act of perfidy [106], imprudent as it was inhuman, while a Saxon remained alive, and in arms, to revenge the fate of his countrymen. The premature eagerneſs of the infantry, who were ſecretly poſted in a deep valley, betrayed the ambuſcade; and they would perhaps have fallen the victims of their own treachery, if a large body of cuiraſſiers, alarmed by the noiſe of the combat, had not haſtily advanced to extricate their companions, and to overwhelm the undaunted valour of the Saxons. Some of the priſoners were ſaved from the edge of the ſword, to ſhed their blood in the amphitheatre: and the orator Symmachus complains, that twenty-nine of thoſe deſperate ſavages, by ſtrangling themſelves with their own hands, had diſappointed the amuſement of the public. Yet the polite and philoſophic citizens of Rome were impreſſed with the deepeſt horror, when they were informed, that the Saxons conſecrated to the gods the tythe of their *human* ſpoil; and, that they aſcertained by lot the objects of the barbarous ſacrifice [107].

II. The fabulous colonies of Egyptians and Trojans, of Scandinavians and Spaniards, which flattered the pride, and amuſed the credulity, of our rude anceſtors, have inſenſibly vaniſhed in the

II. BRITAIN. The Scots and Picts.

[106] Ammianus (xxviii. 5.) juſtifies this breach of faith to pirates and robbers; and Oroſius (l. vii. c. 32.) more clearly expreſſes their real guilt; virtute atque agilitate terribiles.

[107] Symmachus (l. ii. epiſt. 46.) ſtill preſumes to mention the ſacred names of Socrates and philoſophy. Sidonius, biſhop of Clermont, might condemn (l. viii. epiſt. 6.), with *leſs* inconſiſtency, the human ſacrifices of the Saxons.

light

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light of ſcience and philoſophy [108]. The preſent age is ſatisfied with the ſimple and rational opinion, that the iſlands of Great Britain and Ireland were gradually peopled from the adjacent continent of Gaul. From the coaſt of Kent, to the extremity of Caithneſs and Ulſter, the memory of a Celtic origin was diſtinctly preſerved, in the perpetual reſemblance of language, of religion, and of manners: and the peculiar characters of the Britiſh tribes might be naturally aſcribed to the influence of accidental and local circumſtances [109]. The Roman province was reduced to the ſtate of civilized and peaceful ſervitude; the rights of ſavage freedom were contracted to the narrow limits of Caledonia. The inhabitants of that northern region were divided, as early as the reign of Conſtantine, between the two great tribes of the SCOTS and of the PICTS [110], who have ſince experienced a very different fortune. The power, and almoſt the memory, of the Picts, have been extinguiſhed by their ſucceſsful rivals; and the Scots, after maintaining for ages the dig-

[108] In the beginning of the laſt century, the learned Cambden was obliged to undermine, with reſpectful ſcepticiſm, the romance of *Brutus*, the Trojan; who is now buried, in ſilent oblivion, with *Scota*, the daughter of Pharaoh, and her numerous progeny. Yet I am informed, that ſome champions of the *Mileſian colony* may ſtill be found among the original natives of Ireland. A people diſſatisfied with their preſent condition, graſp at any viſions of their paſt or future glory.

[109] Tacitus, or rather his father-in-law Agricola, might remark the German or Spaniſh complexion of ſome Britiſh tribes. But it was their ſober deliberate opinion, "In univerſum tamen æſtimanti Gallos vicinum ſolum occupâſſe credibile eſt. Eorum ſacra deprehendas . . . ſermo haud multum diverſus" (in Vit. Agricol. c. xi.). Cæſar had obſerved their common religion (Comment. de Bello Gallico, vi. 13.); and in his time, the emigration from the Belgic Gaul was a recent, or at leaſt an hiſtorical, event (v. 10.). Cambden, the Britiſh Strabo, has modeſtly aſcertained our genuine antiquities (Britannia, vol. i. Introduction, p. ii—xxxi.).

[110] In the dark and doubtful paths of Caledonian antiquity, I have choſen for my guides two learned and ingenious Highlanders, whom their birth and education had peculiarly qualified for that office. See Critical Diſſertations on the Origin, Antiquities, &c. of the Caledonians, by Dr. John Macpherſon, London, 1768, in 4to; and, Introduction to the Hiſtory of Great Britain and Ireland, by James Macpherſon, Eſq; London, 1773, in 4to, third edit. Dr. Macpherſon was a miniſter in the Iſle of Sky: and it is a circumſtance honourable for the preſent age, that a work, replete with erudition and criticiſm, ſhould have been compoſed in the moſt remote of the Hebrides.

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nity of an independent kingdom, have multiplied, by an equal and voluntary union, the honours of the Engliſh name. The hand of nature had contributed to mark the ancient diſtinction of the Scots and Picts. The former were the men of the hills, and the latter thoſe of the plain. The eaſtern coaſt of Caledonia may be conſidered as a level and fertile country, which, even in a rude ſtate of tillage, was capable of producing a conſiderable quantity of corn: and the epithet of *cruitnich*, or wheat-eaters, expreſſed the contempt, or envy, of the carnivorous highlander. The cultivation of the earth might introduce a more accurate ſeparation of property, and the habits of a ſedentary life; but the love of arms and rapine was ſtill the ruling paſſion of the Picts: and their warriors, who ſtripped themſelves for a day of battle, were diſtinguiſhed, in the eyes of the Romans, by the ſtrange faſhion of painting their naked bodies, with gaudy colours and fantaſtic figures. The weſtern part of Caledonia irregularly riſes into wild and barren hills, which ſcarcely repay the toil of the huſbandman, and are moſt profitably uſed for the paſture of cattle. The highlanders were condemned to the occupations of ſhepherds and hunters; and, as they ſeldom were fixed to any permanent habitation, they acquired the expreſſive name of SCOTS, which, in the Celtic tongue, is ſaid to be equivalent to that of *wanderers*, or *vagrants*. The inhabitants of a barren land were urged to ſeek a freſh ſupply of food in the waters. The deep lakes and bays which interſect their country, are plentifully ſtored with fiſh; and they gradually ventured to caſt their nets in the waves of the ocean. The vicinity of the Hebrides, ſo profuſely ſcattered along the weſtern coaſt of Scotland, tempted their curioſity, and improved their ſkill; and they acquired, by ſlow degrees, the art, or rather the habit, of managing their boats in a tempeſtuous ſea, and of ſteering their nocturnal courſe by the light of the well-known ſtars. The two bold headlands of Caledonia almoſt touch the ſhores of a

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ſpacious iſland, which obtained, from its luxuriant vegetation, the epithet of *Green*; and has preſerved, with a ſlight alteration, the name of Erin, or Ierne, or Ireland. It is *probable*, that in ſome remote period of antiquity, the fertile plains of Ulſter received a colony of hungry Scots; and that the ſtrangers of the North, who had dared to encounter the arms of the legions, ſpread their conqueſts over the ſavage and unwarlike natives of a ſolitary iſland. It is *certain*, that, in the declining age of the Roman empire, Caledonia, Ireland, and the Iſle of Man, were inhabited by the Scots; and that the kindred tribes, who were often aſſociated in military enterpriſe, were deeply affected by the various accidents of their mutual fortunes. They long cheriſhed the lively tradition of their common name and origin: and the miſſionaries of the Iſle of Saints, who diffuſed the light of Chriſtianity over North Britain, eſtabliſhed the vain opinion, that their Iriſh countrymen were the natural, as well as ſpiritual, fathers of the Scottiſh race. The looſe and obſcure tradition has been preſerved by the venerable Bede, who ſcattered ſome rays of light over the darkneſs of the eighth century. On this ſlight foundation, an huge ſuperſtructure of fable was gradually reared, by the bards, and the monks; two orders of men, who equally abuſed the privilege of fiction. The Scottiſh nation, with miſtaken pride, adopted their Iriſh genealogy: and the annals of a long line of imaginary kings have been adorned by the fancy of Boethius, and the claſſic elegance of Buchanan [111].

[111] The Iriſh deſcent of the Scots has been revived, in the laſt moments of its decay, and ſtrenuouſly ſupported, by the Rev. Mr. Whitaker (Hiſt. of Manchester, vol. i. p. 430, 431.; and Genuine Hiſtory of the Britons aſſerted, &c. p. 154—293.). Yet he acknowledges, 1. *That* the Scots of Ammianus Marcellinus (A. D. 340) were already ſettled in Caledonia; and that the Roman authors do not afford any hints of their emigration from another country. 2. *That all* the accounts of ſuch emigrations, which have been aſſerted, or received, by Iriſh bards, Scotch hiſtorians, or Engliſh antiquaries (Buchanan, Cambden, Uſher, Stillingfleet, &c.), are totally fabulous. 3. *That* three of the Iriſh tribes, which are mentioned by Ptolemy (A. D. 150), were of Caledonian extraction. 4. *That*

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Their invaſion of Britain, A. D. 343—366.

Six years after the death of Conſtantine, the deſtructive inroads of the Scots and Picts required the preſence of his youngeſt ſon, who reigned in the weſtern empire. Conſtans viſited his Britiſh dominions: but we may form ſome eſtimate of the importance of his atchievements, by the language of panegyric, which celebrates only his triumph over the elements; or, in other words, the good fortune of a ſafe and eaſy paſſage, from the port of Boulogne to the harbour of Sandwich [112]. The calamities which the afflicted provincials continued to experience, from foreign war, and domeſtic tyranny, were aggravated by the feeble and corrupt adminiſtration of the eunuchs of Conſtantius; and the tranſient relief which they might obtain from the virtues of Julian, was ſoon loſt by the abſence and death of their benefactor. The ſums of gold and ſilver, which had been painfully collected, or liberally tranſmitted, for the payment of the troops, were intercepted by the avarice of the commanders; diſcharges, or, at leaſt, exemptions, from the military ſervice, were publicly ſold; the diſtreſs of the ſoldiers, who were injuriouſly deprived of their legal and ſcanty ſubſiſtence, provoked them to frequent deſertion; the nerves of diſcipline were relaxed, and the highways were infeſted with robbers [113]. The oppreſſion of the good, and the impunity of the wicked, equally contributed to diffuſe through the iſland a ſpirit of diſcontent and revolt; and every ambitious ſub-

4. *That* a younger branch of Caledonian princes, of the houſe of Fingal, acquired and poſſeſſed the monarchy of Ireland. After theſe conceſſions, the remaining difference between Mr. Whitaker and his adverſaries is minute and obſcure. The *genuine hiſtory*, which he produces, of a Fergus, the couſin of Oſſian, who was tranſplanted (A. D. 320) from Ireland to Caledonia, is built on a conjectural ſupplement to the Erſe poetry; and the feeble evidence of Richard of Cirenceſter, a monk of the fourteenth century. The lively ſpirit of the learned and ingenious antiquarian has tempted him to forget the nature of a queſtion, which he ſo *vehemently* debates, and ſo *abſolutely* decides.

[112] Hyeme tumentes ac fævientes undas calcâſtis Oceani ſub remis veſtris; . . . inſperatam imperatoris faciem Britannus expavit. Julius Firmicus Maternus de Errore Profan. Relig. p. 464. edit. Gronov. ad calcem Minuc. Fæl. See Tillemont, Hiſt. des Empereurs, tom. iv. p. 336.

[113] Libanius, Orat. Parent. c. xxxix. p. 264. This curious paſſage has eſcaped the diligence of our Britiſh antiquaries.

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ject, every desperate exile, might entertain a reasonable hope of subverting the weak and distracted government of Britain. The hostile tribes of the North, who detested the pride and power of the King of the World, suspended their domestic feuds; and the Barbarians of the land and sea, the Scots, the Picts, and the Saxons, spread themselves, with rapid and irresistible fury, from the wall of Antoninus to the shores of Kent. Every production of art and nature, every object of convenience or luxury, which they were incapable of creating by labour, or procuring by trade, was accumulated in the rich and fruitful province of Britain [114]. A philosopher may deplore the eternal discord of the human race, but he will confess, that the desire of spoil is a more rational provocation than the vanity of conquest. From the age of Constantine to that of the Plantagenets, this rapacious spirit continued to instigate the poor and hardy Caledonians: but the same people, whose generous humanity seems to inspire the songs of Ossian, was disgraced by a savage ignorance of the virtues of peace, and of the laws of war. Their southern neighbours have felt, and perhaps exaggerated, the cruel depredations of the Scots and Picts [115]: and a valiant tribe of Caledonia, the Attacotti [116], the enemies, and afterwards the soldiers, of Valentinian, are accused, by an eye-witness, of delighting in the taste of human flesh. When they hunted the woods for prey, it is said, that they attacked the shepherd rather than his flock; and that they curiously selected the most delicate and brawny

[114] The Caledonians praised and coveted the gold, the steeds, the lights, &c. of the *stranger*. See Dr. Blair's Dissertation on Ossian, vol. ii. p. 343.; and Mr. Macpherson's Introduction, p. 242—286.

[115] Lord Lyttelton has circumstantially related (History of Henry II. vol. i. p. 182.), and Sir David Dalrymple has slightly mentioned (Annals of Scotland, vol. i. p. 69.), a barbarous inroad of the Scots, at a time (A. D. 1137) when law, religion, and society, must have softened their primitive manners.

[116] Attacotti bellicosa hominum natio. Ammian. xxvii. 8. Camden (Introduct. p. clii.) has restored their true name in the text of Jerom. The bands of Attacotti, which Jerom had seen in Gaul, were afterwards stationed in Italy and Illyricum (Notitia, S. viii. xxxix. xl.).

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parts, both of males and females, which they prepared for their horrid repaſts [117]. If, in the neighbourhood of the commercial and literary town of Glaſgow, a race of cannibals has really exiſted, we may contemplate, in the period of the Scottiſh hiſtory, the oppoſite extremes of ſavage and civilized life. Such reflections tend to enlarge the circle of our ideas; and to encourage the pleaſing hope, that New Zealand may produce, in ſome future age, the Hume of the Southern Hemiſphere.

Reſtoration of Britain by Theodoſius, A. D. 367—370.

Every meſſenger who eſcaped acroſs the Britiſh channel, conveyed the moſt melancholy and alarming tidings to the ears of Valentinian; and the emperor was ſoon informed, that the two military commanders of the province had been ſurpriſed and cut off by the Barbarians. Severus, count of the domeſtics, was haſtily diſpatched, and as ſuddenly recalled, by the court of Treves. The repreſentations of Jovinus ſerved only to indicate the greatneſs of the evil; and, after a long and ſerious conſultation, the defence, or rather the recovery, of Britain, was intruſted to the abilities of the brave Theodoſius. The exploits of that general, the father of a line of emperors, have been celebrated, with peculiar complacency, by the writers of the age: but his real merit deſerved their applauſe; and his nomination was received by the army and province, as a ſure preſage of approaching victory. He ſeized the favourable moment of navigation, and ſecurely landed the numerous and veteran bands of the Heruli and Batavians, the Jovians and the Victors. In his march from Sandwich to London, Theodoſius defeated ſeveral parties of the Barbarians, releaſed a multitude of captives, and after diſtributing to his ſoldiers a ſmall portion of the

[117] Cum ipſe adoleſcentulus in Galliâ viderim Attacottos (or Scotos) gentem Britannicam humanis veſci carnibus; et cum per ſilvas porcorum greges, et armentorum pecudumque reperiant, paſtorum *nates* et feminarum *papillas* ſolere abſcindere; et has ſolas ciborum delicias arbitrari. Such is the evidence of Jerom (tom. ii. p. 75.), whoſe veracity I find no reaſon to queſtion.

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ſpoil, eſtabliſhed the fame of diſintereſted juſtice, by the reſtitution of the remainder to the rightful proprietors. The citizens of London, who had almoſt deſpaired of their ſafety, threw open their gates; and as ſoon as Theodoſius had obtained from the court of Treves the important aid of a military lieutenant, and a civil governor, he executed, with wiſdom and vigour, the laborious taſk of the deliverance of Britain. The vagrant ſoldiers were recalled to their ſtandard; an edict of amneſty diſpelled the public apprehenſions; and his cheerful example alleviated the rigour of martial diſcipline. The ſcattered and deſultory warfare of the Barbarians, who infeſted the land and ſea, deprived him of the glory of a ſignal victory; but the prudent ſpirit, and conſummate art, of the Roman general, were diſplayed in the operations of two campaigns, which ſucceſſively reſcued every part of the province from the hands of a cruel and rapacious enemy. The ſplendour of the cities, and the ſecurity of the fortifications, were diligently reſtored, by the paternal care of Theodoſius; who with a ſtrong hand confined the trembling Caledonians to the northern angle of the iſland; and perpetuated, by the name and ſettlement of the new province of *Valentia*, the glories of the reign of Valentinian [118]. The voice of poetry and panegyric may add, perhaps with ſome degree of truth, that the unknown regions of Thule were ſtained with the blood of the Picts; that the oars of Theodoſius daſhed the waves of the Hyperborean ocean; and that the diſtant Orkneys were the ſcene of his naval victory over the Saxon pirates [119]. He left the province with a fair, as well as ſplendid,

A. D. 368 and 369.

[118] Ammianus has conciſely repreſented (xx. 1. xxvi. 4. xxvii. 8. xxviii. 3.) the whole ſeries of the Britiſh war.

[119] Horreſcit . . . . ratibus . . . impervia Thule.
Ille . . . . nec falſo nomine Pictos
Edomuit. Scotumque vago mucrone ſecutus
Fregit Hyperboreas remis audacibus undas.
Claudian, in iii. Conſ. Honorii, ver. 53, &c.

——— Maduerunt Saxone fuſo
Orcades: incaluit Pictorum ſanguine Thule.
Scotorum cumulos flevit glacialis Ierne.
In iv. Conſ. Hon. ver. 31, &c.

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ſplendid, reputation: and was immediately promoted to the rank of maſter-general of the cavalry, by a prince, who could applaud, without envy, the merit of his ſervants. In the important ſtation of the upper Danube, the conqueror of Britain checked and defeated the armies of the Alemanni, before he was choſen to ſuppreſs the revolt of Africa.

III. AFRICA. Tyranny of Romanus. A. D. 366, &c.

III. The prince who refuſes to be the judge, inſtructs his people to conſider him as the accomplice, of his miniſters. The military command of Africa had been long exerciſed by count Romanus, and his abilities were not inadequate to his ſtation: but as ſordid intereſt was the ſole motive of his conduct, he acted, on moſt occaſions, as if he had been the enemy of the province, and the friend of the Barbarians of the deſert. The three flouriſhing cities of Oea, Leptis, and Sabrata, which, under the name of Tripoli, had long conſtituted a fœderal union [120], were obliged, for the firſt time, to ſhut their gates againſt a hoſtile invaſion; ſeveral of their moſt honourable citizens were ſurpriſed and maſſacred; the villages, and even the ſuburbs, were pillaged; and the vines and fruit-trees of that rich territory were extirpated by the malicious ſavages of Getulia. The unhappy provincials implored the protection of Romanus; but they ſoon found that their military governor was not leſs cruel and rapacious than the Barbarians. As they were incapable of furniſhing the four thouſand camels, and the exorbitant preſent, which he required, before he would march to the aſſiſtance of Tripoli; his demand was equivalent to a refuſal, and he might juſtly

See likewiſe Pacatus (in Panegyr. Vet. xii. 5.). But it is not eaſy to appreciate the intrinſic value of flattery and metaphor. Compare the *Britiſh* victories of Bolanus (Statius, Silv. v. 2.) with his real character (Tacit. in Vit. Agricol. c. 16.).

[120] Ammianus frequently mentions their concilium annuum legitimum, &c. Leptis and Sabrata are long ſince ruined; but the city of Oea, the native country of Apuleius, ſtill flouriſhes under the provincial denomination of *Tripoli*. See Cellarius (Geograph. Antiqua, tom. ii. part ii. p. 81.), D'Anville (Geographie Ancienne, tom. iii. p. 71, 72.), and Marmol (Afrique, tom. ii. p. 562.).

be

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be accuſed as the author of the public calamity. In the annual aſſembly of the three cities, they nominated two deputies, to lay at the feet of Valentinian the cuſtomary offering of a gold victory; and to accompany this tribute, of duty, rather than of gratitude, with their humble complaint, that they were ruined by the enemy, and betrayed by their governor. If the ſeverity of Valentinian had been rightly directed, it would have fallen on the guilty head of Romanus. But the Count, long exerciſed in the arts of corruption, had diſpatched a ſwift and truſty meſſenger to ſecure the venal friendſhip of Remigius, maſter of the offices. The wiſdom of the Imperial council was deceived by artifice; and their honeſt indignation was cooled by delay. At length, when the repetition of complaint had been juſtified by the repetition of public misfortunes, the notary Palladius was ſent from the court of Treves, to examine the ſtate of Africa, and the conduct of Romanus. The rigid impartiality of Palladius was eaſily diſarmed: he was tempted to reſerve for himſelf a part of the public treaſure, which he brought with him for the payment of the troops; and from the moment that he was conſcious of his own guilt, he could no longer refuſe to atteſt the innocence and merit of the Count. The charge of the Tripolitans was declared to be falſe and frivolous; and Palladius himſelf was ſent back from Treves to Africa, with a ſpecial commiſſion, to diſcover and proſecute the authors of this impious conſpiracy againſt the repreſentatives of the ſovereign. His inquiries were managed with ſo much dexterity and ſucceſs, that he compelled the citizens of Leptis, who had ſuſtained a recent ſiege of eight days, to contradict the truth of their own decrees, and to cenſure the behaviour of their own deputies. A bloody ſentence was pronounced, without heſitation, by the raſh and headſtrong cruelty of Valentinian. The preſident of Tripoli, who had preſumed to pity the diſtreſs of the province, was publicly executed at Utica; four

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four diſtinguiſhed citizens were put to death, as the accomplices of the imaginary fraud; and the tongues of two others were cut out, by the expreſs order of the emperor. Romanus, elated by impunity, and irritated by reſiſtance, was ſtill continued in the military command; till the Africans were provoked, by his avarice, to join the rebellious ſtand of Firmus, the Moor [121].

Revolt of Firmus, A. D. 372.

His father Nabal was one of the richeſt and moſt powerful of the Mooriſh princes, who acknowledged the ſupremacy of Rome. But as he left, either by his wives or concubines, a very numerous poſterity, the wealthy inheritance was eagerly diſputed; and Zamma, one of his ſons, was ſlain in a domeſtic quarrel by his brother Firmus. The implacable zeal, with which Romanus proſecuted the legal revenge of this murder, could be aſcribed only to a motive of avarice, or perſonal hatred; but, on this occaſion, his claims were juſt; his influence was weighty; and Firmus clearly underſtood, that he muſt either preſent his neck to the executioner, or appeal from the ſentence of the Imperial conſiſtory, to his ſword, and to the people [122]. He was received as the deliverer of his country; and, as ſoon as it appeared that Romanus was formidable only to a ſubmiſſive province, the tyrant of Africa became the object of univerſal contempt. The ruin of Cæſarea, which was plundered and burnt by the licentious Barbarians, convinced the refractory cities of the danger of reſiſtance; the power of Firmus was eſtabliſhed, at leaſt in the provinces of Mauritania and Numidia; and it ſeemed to be his only doubt, whether he ſhould aſſume the diadem of a Mooriſh

[121] Ammian. xviii. 6. Tillemont (Hiſt. des Empereurs, tom. v. p. 25. 676.) has diſcuſſed the chronological difficulties of the hiſtory of count Romanus.

[122] The chronology of Ammianus is looſe and obſcure: and Oroſius (l. vii. c. 33. p. 552. edit. Havercamp) ſeems to place the revolt of Firmus after the deaths of Valentinian and Valens. Tillemont (Hiſt. des Emp. tom. v. p. 691.) endeavours to pick his way. The patient and ſure-footed mule of the Alps may be truſted in the moſt ſlippery paths.

king,

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king, or the purple of a Roman emperor. But the imprudent and unhappy Africans ſoon diſcovered, that, in this raſh inſurrection, they had not ſufficiently conſulted their own ſtrength, or the abilities of their leader. Before he could procure any certain intelligence, that the emperor of the Weſt had fixed the choice of a general, or that a fleet of tranſports was collected at the mouth of the Rhone, he was ſuddenly informed, that the great Theodoſius, with a ſmall band of veterans, had landed near Igilgilis, or Gigeri, on the African coaſt; and the timid uſurper ſunk under the aſcendant of virtue and military genius. Though Firmus poſſeſſed arms and treaſures, his deſpair of victory immediately reduced him to the uſe of thoſe arts, which, in the ſame country, and in a ſimilar ſituation, had formerly been practiſed by the crafty Jugurtha. He attempted to deceive, by an apparent ſubmiſſion, the vigilance of the Roman general; to ſeduce the fidelity of his troops; and to protract the duration of the war, by ſucceſſively engaging the independent tribes of Africa to eſpouſe his quarrel, or to protect his flight. Theodoſius imitated the example, and obtained the ſucceſs, of his predeceſſor Metellus. When Firmus, in the character of a ſuppliant, accuſed his own raſhneſs, and humbly ſolicited the clemency of the emperor, the lieutenant of Valentinian received and diſmiſſed him with a friendly embrace; but he diligently required the uſeful and ſubſtantial pledges of a ſincere repentance; nor could he be perſuaded, by the aſſurances of peace, to ſuſpend, for an inſtant, the operations of an active war. A dark conſpiracy was detected by the penetration of Theodoſius; and he ſatisfied, without much reluctance, the public indignation, which he had ſecretly excited. Several of the guilty accomplices of Firmus were abandoned, according to ancient cuſtom, to the tumult of a military execution; many more, by the amputation of both their hands, continued to exhibit an inſtructive ſpectacle of horror; the hatred of the rebels was accompanied with fear; and the fear of the Roman ſol-

Theodoſius recovers Africa, A. D. 373.

diers

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diers was mingled with reſpectful admiration. Amidſt the boundleſs plains of Getulia, and the innumerable vallies of Mount Atlas, it was impoſſible to prevent the eſcape of Firmus: and if the uſurper could have tired the patience of his antagoniſt, he would have ſecured his perſon in the depth of ſome remote ſolitude, and expected the hopes of a future revolution. He was ſubdued by the perſeverance of Theodoſius; who had formed an inflexible determination, that the war ſhould end only by the death of the tyrant, and that every nation of Africa, which preſumed to ſupport his cauſe, ſhould be involved in his ruin. At the head of a ſmall body of troops, which ſeldom exceeded three thouſand five hundred men, the Roman general advanced, with a ſteady prudence, devoid of raſhneſs, or of fear, into the heart of a country, where he was ſometimes attacked by armies of twenty thouſand Moors. The boldneſs of his charge diſmayed the irregular Barbarians; they were diſconcerted by his ſeaſonable and orderly retreats; they were continually baffled by the unknown reſources of the military art; and they felt and confeſſed the juſt ſuperiority, which was aſſumed by the leader of a civilized nation. When Theodoſius entered the extenſive dominions of Igmazen, king of the Iſaflenſes, the haughty ſavage required, in words of defiance, his name, and the object of his expedition. "I am," replied the ſtern and diſdainful count, "I am the general of Valen-"tinian, the lord of the world; who has ſent me hither to purſue "and puniſh a deſperate robber. Deliver him inſtantly into my "hands; and be aſſured, that if thou doſt not obey the commands "of my invincible ſovereign, thou, and the people over whom thou "reigneſt, ſhall be utterly extirpated." As ſoon as Igmazen was ſatisfied, that his enemy had ſtrength and reſolution to execute the fatal menace, he conſented to purchaſe a neceſſary peace by the ſacrifice of a guilty fugitive. The guards that were placed to ſecure the perſon of Firmus, deprived him of the hopes of eſcape; and

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the Mooriſh tyrant, after wine had extinguiſhed the ſenſe of danger, diſappointed the inſulting triumph of the Romans, by ſtrangling himſelf in the night. His dead body, the only preſent which Igmazen could offer to the conqueror, was careleſsly thrown upon a camel: and Theodoſius, leading back his victorious troops to Sitifi, was ſaluted by the warmeſt acclamations of joy and loyalty [123].

He is executed at Carthage, A. D. 376.

Africa had been loſt by the vices of Romanus; it was reſtored by the virtues of Theodoſius: and our curioſity may be uſefully directed to the inquiry of the reſpective treatment, which the two generals received from the Imperial court. The authority of count Romanus had been ſuſpended by the maſter-general of the cavalry; and he was committed to ſafe and honourable cuſtody till the end of the war. His crimes were proved by the moſt authentic evidence; and the public expected, with ſome impatience, the decree of ſevere juſtice. But the partial and powerful favour of Mellobaudes encouraged him to challenge his legal judges, to obtain repeated delays for the purpoſe of procuring a crowd of friendly witneſſes, and, finally, to cover his guilty conduct, by the additional guilt of fraud and forgery. About the ſame time, the reſtorer of Britain and Africa, on a vague ſuſpicion, that his name and ſervices were ſuperior to the rank of a ſubject, was ignominiouſly beheaded at Carthage. Valentinian no longer reigned; and the death of Theodoſius, as well as the impunity of Romanus, may juſtly be imputed to the arts of the miniſters who abuſed the confidence, and deceived the inexperienced youth, of his ſons [124].

State of Africa.

If the geographical accuracy of Ammianus had been fortunately beſtowed on the Britiſh exploits of Theodoſius, we ſhould have traced, with eager curioſity, the diſtinct and domeſtic footſteps of

[123] Ammian. xxix. 5. The text of this long chapter (fifteen quarto pages) is broken and corrupted; and the narrative is perplexed by the want of chronological and geographical land-marks.

[124] Ammianus, xxviii. 4. Oroſius, l. vii. c. 33. p. 551, 552. Jerom in Chron. p. 187.

his

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his march. But the tedious enumeration of the unknown and uninteresting tribes of Africa may be reduced to the general remark, that they were all of the swarthy race of the Moors; that they inhabited the back settlements of the Mauritanian and Numidian provinces, the country, as they have since been termed by the Arabs, of dates and of locusts [125]; and that, as the Roman power declined in Africa, the boundary of civilized manners and cultivated land was insensibly contracted. Beyond the utmost limits of the Moors, the vast and inhospitable desert of the South extends above a thousand miles to the banks of the Niger. The ancients, who had a very faint and imperfect knowledge of the great peninsula of Africa, were sometimes tempted to believe, that the torrid zone must ever remain destitute of inhabitants [126]: and they sometimes amused their fancy by filling the vacant space with headless men, or rather monsters [127]; with horned and cloven-footed satyrs [128]; with fabulous centaurs [129]; and with human pygmies, who waged a bold and doubtful warfare against the cranes [130]. Carthage would have trembled at the strange intelligence, that

[125] Leo Africanus (in the Viaggi di Ramusio, tom. i. fol. 78—83.) has traced a curious picture of the people and the country; which are more minutely described in the Afrique de Marmol, tom. iii. p. 1—54.

[126] This uninhabitable zone was gradually reduced, by the improvements of ancient geography, from forty-five, to twenty-four, or even sixteen, degrees of latitude. See a learned and judicious note of Dr. Robertson, Hist. of America, vol. i. p. 426.

[127] Intra, si credere libet, vix jam homines et magis semiferi . . . Blemmyes, Satyri, &c. Pomponius Mela. i. 4. p. 26. edit. Voss. in 8vo. Pliny *philosophically* explains (vi. 35.) the irregularities of nature, which he had *credulously* admitted (v. 8.).

[128] If the satyr was the Orang-outang, the great human ape (Buffon, Hist. Nat. tom. xiv. p. 43, &c.), one of that species might actually be shewn alive at Alexandria in the reign of Constantine. Yet some difficulty will still remain about the conversation which St. Anthony held with one of these pious savages in the desert of Thebais (Jerom in Vit. Paul. Eremit. tom. i. p. 238.).

[129] St. Anthony likewise met one of *these* monsters; whose existence was seriously asserted by the emperor Claudius. The public laughed; but his præfect of Egypt had the address to send an artful preparation, the embalmed corpse of an *Hippocentaur*; which was preserved almost a century afterwards in the Imperial palace. See Pliny (Hist. Natur. vii. 3.), and the judicious observations of Freret (Memoires de l'Acad. tom. vii. p. 321, &c.).

[130] The fable of the pygmies is as old as Homer (Iliad iii. 6.). The pygmies of India and Æthiopia were (trispithami) twenty-seven inches high. Every spring their cavalry (mounted on rams and goats) marched,

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that the countries, on either ſide of the equator, were filled with innumerable nations, who differed only in their colour from the ordinary appearance of the human ſpecies; and the ſubjects of the Roman empire might have anxiouſly expected, that the ſwarms of Barbarians, which iſſued from the North, would ſoon be encountered from the South, by new ſwarms of Barbarians, equally fierce, and equally formidable. Theſe gloomy terrors would indeed have been diſpelled by a more intimate acquaintance with the character of their African enemies. The inaction of the negroes does not ſeem to be the effect, either of their virtue, or of their puſillanimity. They indulge, like the reſt of mankind, their paſſions and appetites; and the adjacent tribes are engaged in frequent acts of hoſtility [131]. But their rude ignorance has never invented any effectual weapons of defence, or of deſtruction; they appear incapable of forming any extenſive plans of government, or conqueſt; and the obvious inferiority of their mental faculties has been diſcovered and abuſed by the nations of the temperate zone. Sixty thouſand blacks are annually embarked from the coaſt of Guinea, never to return to their native country; but they are embarked in chains [132]: and this conſtant emigration, which, in the ſpace of two centuries, might have furniſhed armies to over-run the globe, accuſes the guilt of Europe, and the weakneſs of Africa.

IV. The East. The Perſian war, A. D. 365—378.

IV. The ignominious treaty, which ſaved the army of Jovian, had been faithfully executed on the ſide of the Romans: and as they had ſolemnly renounced the ſovereignty and alliance of Armenia and Iberia, thoſe tributary kingdoms were expoſed, without protection,

in battle array, to deſtroy the cranes eggs, aliter (ſays Pliny) futuris gregibus non reſiſti. Their houſes were built of mud, feathers, and egg-ſhells. See Pliny (vi. 35. vii. 2.) and Strabo (l. ii. p. 121.).

[131] The third and fourth volumes of the valuable Hiſtoire des Voyages deſcribe the preſent ſtate of the negroes. The nations of the ſea-coaſt have been poliſhed by European commerce; and thoſe of the inland country have been improved by Mooriſh colonies.

[132] Hiſtoire Philoſophique et Politique, &c. tom. iv. p. 192.

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to the arms of the Perſian monarch [133]. Sapor entered the Armenian territories at the head of a formidable hoſt of cuiraſſiers, of archers, and of mercenary foot: but it was the invariable practice of Sapor to mix war and negociation, and to conſider falſehood and perjury as the moſt powerful inſtruments of regal policy. He affected to praiſe the prudent and moderate conduct of the king of Armenia; and the unſuſpicious Tiranus was perſuaded, by the repeated aſſurances of inſidious friendſhip, to deliver his perſon into the hands of a faithleſs and cruel enemy. In the midſt of a ſplendid entertainment, he was bound in chains of ſilver, as an honour due to the blood of the Arſacides; and, after a ſhort confinement in the Tower of Oblivion at Ecbatana, he was releaſed from the miſeries of life, either by his own dagger, or by that of an aſſaſſin. The kingdom of Armenia was reduced to the ſtate of a Perſian province; the adminiſtration was ſhared between a diſtinguiſhed ſatrap and a favourite eunuch; and Sapor marched, without delay, to ſubdue the martial ſpirit of the Iberians. Sauromaces, who reigned in that country by the permiſſion of the emperors, was expelled by a ſuperior force; and, as an inſult on the majeſty of Rome, the King of kings placed a diadem on the head of his abject vaſſal Aſpacuras. The city of Artogeraſſa [134] was the only place of Armenia, which preſumed to reſiſt the effort of his arms. The treaſure depoſited in that ſtrong fortreſs tempted the avarice of Sapor; but the danger of Olympias, the wife, or widow, of the Armenian king, excited the public compaſſion, and animated the deſperate valour of her ſubjects and ſoldiers. The Perſians were ſurpriſed and repulſed under the walls

[133] The evidence of Ammianus is original and deciſive (xxvii. 12.). Moſes of Chorene (l. iii. c. 17. p. 249. and c. 34. p. 269.), and Procopius (de Bell. Perſico, l. i. c. 5. p. 17. edit. Louvre), have been conſulted: but thoſe hiſtorians, who confound diſtinct facts, repeat the ſame events, and introduce ſtrange ſtories, muſt be uſed with diffidence and caution.

[134] Perhaps Artagera, or Ardis; under whoſe walls Caius, the grandſon of Auguſtus, was wounded. This fortreſs was ſituate above Amida, near one of the ſources of the Tigris. See d'Anville, Geographie Ancienne, tom. ii. p. 106.

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of Artogeraſſa, by a bold and well-concerted ſally of the beſieged. But the forces of Sapor were continually renewed and increaſed; the hopeleſs courage of the garriſon was exhauſted; the ſtrength of the walls yielded to the aſſault; and the proud conqueror, after waſting the rebellious city with fire and ſword, led away captive an unfortunate queen; who, in a more auſpicious hour, had been the deſtined bride of the ſon of Conſtantine [135]. Yet if Sapor already triumphed in the eaſy conqueſt of two dependent kingdoms, he ſoon felt, that a country is unſubdued, as long as the minds of the people are actuated by an hoſtile and contumacious ſpirit. The ſatraps, whom he was obliged to truſt, embraced the firſt opportunity of regaining the affection of their countrymen, and of ſignaliſing their immortal hatred to the Perſian name. Since the converſion of the Armenians and Iberians, thoſe nations conſidered the Chriſtians as the favourites, and the Magians as the adverſaries, of the Supreme Being; the influence of the clergy over a ſuperſtitious people, was uniformly exerted in the cauſe of Rome; and as long as the ſucceſſors of Conſtantine diſputed with thoſe of Artaxerxes the ſovereignty of the intermediate provinces, the religious connexion always threw a deciſive advantage into the ſcale of the empire. A numerous and active party acknowledged Para, the ſon of Tiranus, as the lawful ſovereign of Armenia; and his title to the throne was deeply rooted in the hereditary ſucceſſion of five hundred years. By the unanimous conſent of the Iberians, the country was equally divided between the rival princes; and Aſpacuras, who owed his diadem to the choice of Sapor, was obliged to declare, that his regard for his children, who were detained as hoſtages by the tyrant, was the only conſideration, which prevented him from openly renouncing the alliance of Perſia. The emperor Valens, who

[135] Tillemont (Hiſt. des Empereurs, tom. v. p. 701.) proves from chronology, that Olympias muſt have been the mother of Para.

reſpected

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reſpected the obligations of the treaty, and who was apprehenſive of involving the Eaſt in a dangerous war, ventured, with ſlow and cautious meaſures, to ſupport the Roman party in the kingdoms of Iberia and Armenia. Twelve legions eſtabliſhed the authority of Sauromaces on the banks of the Cyrus. The Euphrates was protected by the valour of Arintheus. A powerful army, under the command of count Trajan, and of Vadomair, king of the Alemanni, fixed their camp on the confines of Armenia. But they were ſtrictly enjoined not to commit the firſt hoſtilities, which might be underſtood as a breach of the treaty: and ſuch was the implicit obedience of the Roman general, that they retreated, with exemplary patience, under a ſhower of Perſian arrows, till they had clearly acquired a juſt title to an honourable and legitimate victory. Yet theſe appearances of war inſenſibly ſubſided in a vain and tedious negociation. The contending parties ſupported their claims by mutual reproaches of perfidy and ambition; and it ſhould ſeem, that the original treaty was expreſſed in very obſcure terms, ſince they were reduced to the neceſſity of making their inconcluſive appeal to the partial teſtimony of the generals of the two nations, who had aſſiſted at the negociations[136]. The invaſion of the Goths and Huns, which ſoon afterwards ſhook the foundations of the Roman empire, expoſed the provinces of Aſia to the arms of Sapor. But the declining age, and perhaps the infirmities, of the monarch, ſuggeſted new maxims of tranquillity and moderation. His death, which A D. 380. happened in the full maturity of a reign of ſeventy years, changed in a moment the court and councils of Perſia; and their attention was moſt probably engaged by domeſtic troubles, and the diſtant

[136] Ammianus (xxvii. 12. xxix. 1. xxx. 1, 2.) has deſcribed the events, without the dates, of the Perſian war. Moſes of Chorene (Hiſt. Armen. l. iii. c. 28. p. 261. c. 31. p. 266. c. 35. p. 271.) affords ſome additional facts; but it is extremely difficult to ſeparate truth from fable.

efforts

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The treaty of peace, A. D. 384.

efforts of a Carmanian war [137]. The remembrance of ancient injuries was loſt in the enjoyment of peace. The kingdoms of Armenia and Iberia were permitted, by the mutual, though tacit, conſent of both empires, to reſume their doubtful neutrality. In the firſt years of the reign of Theodoſius, a Perſian embaſſy arrived at Conſtantinople, to excuſe the unjuſtifiable meaſures of the former reign; and to offer, as the tribute of friendſhip, or even of reſpect, a ſplendid preſent of gems, of ſilk, and of Indian elephants [138].

Adventures of Para, king of Armenia.

In the general picture of the affairs of the Eaſt under the reign of Valens, the adventures of Para form one of the moſt ſtriking and ſingular objects. The noble youth, by the perſuaſion of his mother Olympias, had eſcaped through the Perſian hoſt that beſieged Artogeraſſa, and implored the protection of the emperor of the Eaſt. By his timid councils, Para was alternately ſupported, and recalled, and reſtored, and betrayed. The hopes of the Armenians were ſometimes raiſed by the preſence of their natural ſovereign; and the miniſters of Valens were ſatisfied, that they preſerved the integrity of the public faith, if their vaſſal was not ſuffered to aſſume the diadem and title of King. But they ſoon repented of their own raſhneſs. They were confounded by the reproaches and threats of the Perſian monarch. They found reaſon to diſtruſt the cruel and inconſtant temper of Para himſelf: who ſacrificed, to the ſlighteſt ſuſpicions, the lives of his moſt faithful ſervants; and held a ſecret and diſgraceful correſpondence with the aſſaſſin of his father, and the enemy of his country. Under the ſpecious pretence of conſulting with the emperor on the ſubject of their common intereſt, Para was

[137] Artaxerxes was the ſucceſſor and brother *(the couſin-german)* of the great Sapor; and the guardian of his ſon Sapor III. (Agathias, l. iv. p. 136. edit. Louvre). See the Univerſal Hiſtory, vol. xi. p. 86. 161. The authors of that unequal work have compiled the Saſſanian dynaſty with erudition and diligence: but it is a prepoſterous arrangement to divide the Roman and Oriental accounts into two diſtinct hiſtories.

[138] Pacatus in Panegyr. Vet. xii. 22. and Oroſius, l. vii. c. 34. Iſtumque tum fœdus eſt, quo univerſus Oriens uſque ad nunc (A. D. 416) tranquilliſſime fruitur.

perſuaded

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perſuaded to deſcend from the mountains of Armenia, where his party was in arms, and to truſt his independence and ſafety to the diſcretion of a perfidious court. The king of Armenia, for ſuch he appeared in his own eyes, and in thoſe of his nation, was received with due honours by the governors of the provinces through which he paſſed; but when he arrived at Tarſus in Cilicia, his progreſs was ſtopped under various pretences; his motions were watched with reſpectful vigilance; and he gradually diſcovered, that he was a priſoner in the hands of the Romans. Para ſuppreſſed his indignation, diſſembled his fears, and, after ſecretly preparing his eſcape, mounted on horſeback with three hundred of his faithful followers. The officer ſtationed at the door of his apartment immediately communicated his flight to the conſular of Cilicia, who overtook him in the ſuburbs, and endeavoured, without ſucceſs, to diſſuade him from proſecuting his raſh and dangerous deſign. A legion was ordered to purſue the royal fugitive; but the purſuit of infantry could not be very alarming to a body of light cavalry; and upon the firſt cloud of arrows that was diſcharged into the air, they retreated with precipitation to the gates of Tarſus. After an inceſſant march of two days and two nights, Para and his Armenians reached the banks of the Euphrates; but the paſſage of the river, which they were obliged to ſwim, was attended with ſome delay and ſome loſs. The country was alarmed; and the two roads, which were only ſeparated by an interval of three miles, had been occupied by a thouſand archers on horſeback, under the command of a count and a tribune. Para muſt have yielded to ſuperior force, if the accidental arrival of a friendly traveller had not revealed the danger, and the means of eſcape. A dark and almoſt impervious path ſecurely conveyed the Armenian troop through the thicket; and Para had left behind him the count and the tribune, while they patiently expected his approach along the public highways. They

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returned to the Imperial court to excuſe their want of diligence or ſucceſs: and ſeriouſly alleged, that the king of Armenia, who was a ſkilful magician, had transformed himſelf and his followers, and paſſed before their eyes under a borrowed ſhape. After his return to his native kingdom, Para ſtill continued to profeſs himſelf the friend and ally of the Romans; but the Romans had injured him too deeply ever to forgive, and the ſecret ſentence of his death was ſigned in the council of Valens. The execution of the bloody deed was committed to the ſubtle prudence of count Trajan; and he had the merit of inſinuating himſelf into the confidence of the credulous prince, that he might find an opportunity of ſtabbing him to the heart. Para was invited to a Roman banquet, which had been prepared with all the pomp and ſenſuality of the Eaſt: the hall reſounded with cheerful muſic, and the company was already heated with wine; when the count retired for an inſtant, drew his ſword, and gave the ſignal of the murder. A robuſt and deſperate Barbarian inſtantly ruſhed on the king of Armenia; and though he bravely defended his life with the firſt weapon that chance offered to his hand, the table of the Imperial general was ſtained with the royal blood of a gueſt, and an ally. Such were the weak and wicked maxims of the Roman adminiſtration, that to attain a doubtful object of political intereſt, the laws of nations, and the ſacred rights of hoſpitality, were inhumanly violated in the face of the world [139].

A. D. 374.

V. THE DANUBE. Conqueſts of Hermanric.

V. During a peaceful interval of thirty years, the Romans ſecured their frontiers, and the Goths extended their dominions. The victories of the great Hermanric [140], king of the Oſtrogoths, and

[139] See in Ammianus (xxx. 1.) the adventures of Para. Moſes of Chorene calls him Tiridates; and tells a long, and not improbable, ſtory of his ſon Gnelus; who afterwards made himſelf popular in Armenia, and provoked the jealouſy of the reigning king (l. iii. c. 21, &c. p. 253, &c.).

[140] The conciſe account of the reign and conqueſts

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and the moſt noble of the race of the Amali, have been compared, by the enthuſiaſm of his countrymen, to the exploits of Alexander: with this ſingular, and almoſt incredible, difference, that the martial ſpirit of the Gothic hero, inſtead of being ſupported by the vigour of youth, was diſplayed with glory and ſucceſs in the extreme period of human life; between the age of fourſcore and one hundred and ten years. The independent tribes were perſuaded, or compelled, to acknowledge the king of the Oſtrogoths as the ſovereign of the Gothic nation: the chiefs of the Viſigoths, or Thervingi, renounced the royal title, and aſſumed the more humble appellation of *Judges*; and, among thoſe judges, Athanaric, Fritigern, and Alavivus, were the moſt illuſtrious, by their perſonal merit, as well as by their vicinity to the Roman provinces. Theſe domeſtic conqueſts, which increaſed the military power of Hermanric, enlarged his ambitious deſigns. He invaded the adjacent countries of the North; and twelve conſiderable nations, whoſe names and limits cannot be accurately defined, ſucceſſively yielded to the ſuperiority of the Gothic arms [141]. The Heruli, who inhabited the marſhy lands near the lake Mæotis, were renowned for their ſtrength and agility; and the aſſiſtance of their light infantry was eagerly ſolicited, and highly eſteemed, in all the wars of the Barbarians. But the active ſpirit of the Heruli was ſubdued by the ſlow and ſteady perſeverance of the Goths; and, after a bloody action, in which the king was ſlain, the remains of that warlike tribe became an uſeful acceſſion to the camp of Hermanric.

conqueſts of Hermanric, ſeems to be one of the valuable fragments which Jornandes (c. 28.) borrowed from the Gothic hiſtories of Ablavius, or Caſſiodorius.

[141] M. de Buat (Hiſt. des Peuples de l'Europe, tom. vi. p. 311—329.) inveſtigates, with more induſtry than ſucceſs, the nations ſubdued by the arms of Hermanric. He denies the exiſtence of the *Vaſinobroncæ*, on account of the immoderate length of their name. Yet the French envoy to Ratiſbon, or Dreſden, muſt have traverſed the country of the *Mediomatrici*.

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He then marched againſt the Venedi; unſkilled in the uſe of arms, and formidable only by their numbers, which filled the wide extent of the plains of modern Poland. The victorious Goths, who were not inferior in numbers, prevailed in the conteſt, by the deciſive advantages of exerciſe and diſcipline. After the ſubmiſſion of the Venedi, the conqueror advanced, without reſiſtance, as far as the confines of the Æſtii [142]; an ancient people, whoſe name is ſtill preſerved in the province of Eſthonia. Thoſe diſtant inhabitants of the Baltic coaſt were ſupported by the labours of agriculture, enriched by the trade of amber, and conſecrated by the peculiar worſhip of the Mother of the Gods. But the ſcarcity of iron obliged the Æſtian warriors to content themſelves with wooden clubs; and the reduction of that wealthy country is aſcribed to the prudence, rather than to the arms, of Hermanric. His dominions, which extended from the Danube to the Baltic, included the native ſeats, and the recent acquiſitions, of the Goths; and he reigned over the greateſt part of Germany and Scythia with the authority of a conqueror, and ſometimes with the cruelty of a tyrant. But he reigned over a part of the globe incapable of perpetuating and adorning the glory of its heroes. The name of Hermanric is almoſt buried in oblivion; his exploits are imperfectly known; and the Romans themſelves appeared unconſcious of the progreſs of an aſpiring power, which threatened the liberty of the North, and the peace of the empire [143].

The cauſe of the Gothic war, A. D. 366.

The Goths had contracted an hereditary attachment for the Imperial houſe of Conſtantine, of whoſe power and liberality they had received ſo many ſignal proofs. They reſpected the public peace:

[142] The edition of Grotius (Jornandes, p. 642.) exhibits the name of *Æſtri*. But reaſon, and the Ambroſian MS. have reſtored the *Æſtii*, whoſe manners and ſituation are expreſſed by the pencil of Tacitus (Germania, c. 45.).

[143] Ammianus (xxxi. 3.) obſerves, in general terms: Ermenrichi . . . . nobiliſſimi Regis, et, per multa variaque fortiter facta, vicinis gentibus formidati, &c.

and

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and if an hoſtile band ſometimes preſumed to paſs the Roman limit, their irregular conduct was candidly aſcribed to the ungovernable ſpirit of the Barbarian youth. Their contempt for two new and obſcure princes, who had been raiſed to the throne by a popular election, inſpired the Goths with bolder hopes; and, while they agitated ſome deſign of marching their confederate force under the national ſtandard [144], they were eaſily tempted to embrace the party of Procopius; and to foment, by their dangerous aid, the civil diſcord of the Romans. The public treaty might ſtipulate no more than ten thouſand auxiliaries; but the deſign was ſo zealouſly adopted by the chiefs of the Viſigoths, that the army which paſſed the Danube amounted to the number of thirty thouſand men [145]. They marched with the proud confidence, that their invincible valour would decide the fate of the Roman empire; and the provinces of Thrace groaned under the weight of the Barbarians, who diſplayed the inſolence of maſters, and the licentiouſneſs of enemies. But the intemperance which gratified their appetites, retarded their progreſs; and before the Goths could receive any certain intelligence of the defeat and death of Procopius, they perceived, by the hoſtile ſtate of the country, that the civil and military powers were reſumed by his ſucceſsful rival. A chain of poſts and fortifications, ſkilfully diſpoſed by Valens, or the generals of Valens, reſiſted their march, prevented their retreat, and intercepted their ſubſiſtence. The fierceneſs of the Barbarians was tamed and ſuſpended by hunger: they indignantly threw down their arms at the feet of the conqueror, who offered them food and chains: the numerous captives were diſtributed in all the cities of the Eaſt; and the provincials, who were ſoon familiariſed

[144] Valens .... docetur relationibus Ducum, gentem Gothorum, eâ tempeſtate intactam ideoque fæviſſimam, conſpirantem in unum, ad pervadendam parari collimitia Thraciarum. Ammian. xxvi. 6.

[145] M. de Buat (Hiſt. des Peuples de l'Europe, tom. vi. p. 332.) has curiouſly aſcertained the real number of theſe auxiliaries. The 3000 of Ammianus, and the 10,000 of Zoſimus, were only the firſt diviſions of the Gothic army.

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familiariſed with their ſavage appearance, ventured, by degrees, to meaſure their own ſtrength, with theſe formidable adverſaries, whoſe name had ſo long been the object of their terror. The king of Scythia (and Hermanric alone could deſerve ſo lofty a title) was grieved and exaſperated by this national calamity. His ambaſſadors loudly complained, at the court of Valens, of the infraction of the ancient and ſolemn alliance, which had ſo long ſubſiſted between the Romans and the Goths. They alleged, that they had fulfilled the duty of allies, by aſſiſting the kinſman and ſucceſſor of the emperor Julian; they required the immediate reſtitution of the noble captives; and they urged a very ſingular claim, that the Gothic generals, marching in arms, and in hoſtile array, were entitled to the ſacred character and privileges of ambaſſadors. The decent, but peremptory, refuſal of theſe extravagant demands, was ſignified to the Barbarians by Victor, maſter-general of the cavalry; who expreſſed, with force and dignity, the juſt complaints of the emperor of the Eaſt [146]. The negociation was interrupted; and the manly exhortations of Valentinian encouraged his timid brother to vindicate the inſulted majeſty of the empire [147].

Hoſtilities and peace, A. D. 367, 368, 369.

The ſplendour and magnitude of this Gothic war are celebrated by a contemporary hiſtorian [148]: but the events ſcarcely deſerve the attention of poſterity, except as the preliminary ſteps of the approaching decline and fall of the empire. Inſtead of leading the nations of Germany and Scythia to the banks of the

[146] The march, and ſubſequent negociation, are deſcribed in the Fragments of Eunapius (Excerpt. Legat. p. 18. edit. Louvre). The provincials, who afterwards became familiar with the Barbarians, found that their ſtrength was more apparent than real. They were tall of ſtature; but their legs were clumſy, and their ſhoulders were narrow.

[147] Valens enim, ut conſulto placuerat fratri, cujus regebatur arbitrio, arma concuſſit in Gothos ratione juſtâ permotus. Ammianus (xxvii. 4.) then proceeds to deſcribe, not the country of the Goths, but the peaceful and obedient province of Thrace, which was not affected by the war.

[148] Eunapius, in Excerpt. Legat. p. 18, 19. The Greek ſophiſt muſt have conſidered as *one* and the *ſame* war, the whole ſeries of Gothic hiſtory till the victories and peace of Theodoſius.

Danube,

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Danube, or even to the gates of Conſtantinople, the aged monarch of the Goths reſigned to the brave Athanaric the danger and glory of a defenſive war, againſt an enemy, who wielded with a feeble hand the powers of a mighty ſtate. A bridge of boats was eſtabliſhed upon the Danube; the preſence of Valens animated his troops; and his ignorance of the art of war was compenſated by perſonal bravery, and a wiſe deference to the advice of Victor and Arintheus, his maſters-general of the cavalry and infantry. The operations of the campaign were conducted by their ſkill and experience; but they found it impoſſible to drive the Viſigoths from their ſtrong poſts in the mountains: and the devaſtation of the plains obliged the Romans themſelves to repaſs the Danube on the approach of winter. The inceſſant rains, which ſwelled the waters of the river, produced a tacit ſuſpenſion of arms, and confined the emperor Valens, during the whole courſe of the enſuing ſummer, to his camp of Marcianapolis. The third year of the war was more favourable to the Romans, and more pernicious to the Goths. The interruption of trade deprived the Barbarians of the objects of luxury, which they already confounded with the neceſſaries of life; and the deſolation of a very extenſive tract of country threatened them with the horrors of famine. Athanaric was provoked, or compelled, to riſk a battle, which he loſt, in the plains; and the purſuit was rendered more bloody by the cruel precaution of the victorious generals, who had promiſed a large reward for the head of every Goth, that was brought into the Imperial camp. The ſubmiſſion of the Barbarians appeaſed the reſentment of Valens and his council; the emperor liſtened with ſatisfaction to the flattering and eloquent remonſtrance of the ſenate of Conſtantinople, which aſſumed, for the firſt time, a ſhare in the public deliberations; and the ſame generals, Victor and Arintheus, who had ſucceſsfully directed the conduct of the war, were empowered to regulate the conditions of peace. The freedom of trade, which the Goths had hitherto

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hitherto enjoyed, was restricted to two cities on the Danube; the rashness of their leaders was severely punished by the suppression of their pensions and subsidies; and the exception, which was stipulated in favour of Athanaric alone, was more advantageous than honourable to the Judge of the Visigoths. Athanaric, who, on this occasion, appears to have consulted his private interest, without expecting the orders of his sovereign, supported his own dignity, and that of his tribe, in the personal interview which was proposed by the ministers of Valens. He persisted in his declaration, that it was impossible for him, without incurring the guilt of perjury, ever to set his foot on the territory of the empire; and it is more than probable, that his regard for the sanctity of an oath was confirmed by the recent and fatal examples of Roman treachery. The Danube, which separated the dominions of the two independent nations, was chosen for the scene of the conference. The emperor of the East, and the Judge of the Visigoths, accompanied by an equal number of armed followers, advanced in their respective barges to the middle of the stream. After the ratification of the treaty, and the delivery of hostages, Valens returned in triumph to Constantinople; and the Goths remained in a state of tranquillity about six years; till they were violently impelled against the Roman empire, by an innumerable host of Scythians, who appeared to issue from the frozen regions of the North [149].

War of the Quadi and Sarmatians, A. D. 374.

The emperor of the West, who had resigned to his brother the command of the Lower Danube, reserved for his immediate care the defence of the Rhætian and Illyrian provinces, which spread so many hundred miles along the greatest of the European rivers. The active

[149] The Gothic war is described by Ammianus (xxvii. 5.), Zosimus (l. iv. p. 211—214.), and Themistius (Orat. x. p. 129—141.). The orator Themistius was sent from the senate of Constantinople to congratulate the victorious emperor; and his servile eloquence compares Valens *on* the Danube, to Achilles *in* the Scamander. Jornandes forgets a war peculiar to the *Visi*-Goths, and inglorious to the Gothic name (Mascou's Hist. of the Germans, vii. 3.).

policy

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policy of Valentinian was continually employed in adding new fortifications to the ſecurity of the frontier: but the abuſe of this policy provoked the juſt reſentment of the Barbarians. The Quadi complained, that the ground for an intended fortreſs had been marked out on their territories; and their complaints were urged with ſo much reaſon and moderation, that Equitius, maſter-general of Illyricum, conſented to ſuſpend the proſecution of the work, till he ſhould be more clearly informed of the will of his ſovereign. This fair occaſion of injuring a rival, and of advancing the fortune of his ſon, was eagerly embraced by the inhuman Maximin, the præfect, or rather tyrant, of Gaul. The paſſions of Valentinian were impatient of control; and he credulouſly liſtened to the aſſurances of his favourite, that if the government of Valeria, and the direction of the work, were entruſted to the zeal of his ſon Marcellinus, the emperor ſhould no longer be importuned with the audacious remonſtrances of the Barbarians. The ſubjects of Rome, and the natives of Germany, were inſulted by the arrogance of a young and worthleſs miniſter, who conſidered his rapid elevation as the proof and reward of his ſuperior merit. He affected, however, to receive the modeſt application of Gabinius, king of the Quadi, with ſome attention and regard: but this artful civility concealed a dark and bloody deſign, and the credulous prince was perſuaded to accept the preſſing invitation of Marcellinus. I am at a loſs how to vary the narrative of ſimilar crimes; or how to relate, that, in the courſe of the ſame year, but in remote parts of the empire, the inhoſpitable table of two Imperial generals was ſtained with the royal blood of two gueſts and allies, inhumanly murdered by their order, and in their preſence. The fate of Gabinius, and of Para, was the ſame: but the cruel death of their ſovereign was reſented in a very different manner by the ſervile temper of the Armenians, and the free and daring ſpirit of the Germans. The Quadi were much de-

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clined from that formidable power, which, in the time of Marcus Antoninus, had ſpread terror to the gates of Rome. But they ſtill poſſeſſed arms and courage; their courage was animated by deſpair, and they obtained the uſual reinforcement of the cavalry of their Sarmatian allies. So improvident was the aſſaſſin Marcellinus, that he choſe the moment when the braveſt veterans had been drawn away, to ſuppreſs the revolt of Firmus; and the whole province was expoſed, with a very feeble defence, to the rage of the exaſperated Barbarians. They invaded Pannonia in the ſeaſon of harveſt; unmercifully deſtroyed every object of plunder which they could not eaſily tranſport; and either diſregarded, or demoliſhed, the empty fortifications. The princeſs Conſtantia, the daughter of the emperor Conſtantius, and the grand-daughter of the great Conſtantine, very narrowly eſcaped. That royal maid, who had innocently ſupported the revolt of Procopius, was now the deſtined wife of the heir of the Weſtern empire. She traverſed the peaceful province with a ſplendid and unarmed train. Her perſon was ſaved from danger, and the republic from diſgrace, by the active zeal of Meſſalla, governor of the provinces. As ſoon as he was informed that the village, where ſhe ſtopped only to dine, was almoſt encompaſſed by the Barbarians, he haſtily placed her in his own chariot, and drove full ſpeed till he reached the gates of Sirmium, which were at the diſtance of ſix-and-twenty miles. Even Sirmium might not have been ſecure, if the Quadi and Sarmatians had diligently advanced during the general conſternation of the magiſtrates and people. Their delay allowed Probus, the Prætorian præfect, ſufficient time to recover his own ſpirits, and to revive the courage of the citizens. He ſkilfully directed their ſtrenuous efforts to repair and ſtrengthen the decayed fortifications; and procured the ſeaſonable and effectual aſſiſtance of a company of archers, to protect the capital of the Illyrian provinces. Diſappointed in their attempts

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tempts againſt the walls of Sirmium, the indignant Barbarians turned their arms againſt the maſter-general of the frontier, to whom they unjuſtly attributed the murder of their king. Equitius could bring into the field no more than two legions; but they contained the veteran ſtrength of the Mæſian and Pannonian bands. The obſtinacy with which they diſputed the vain honours of rank and precedency, was the cauſe of their deſtruction; and, while they acted with ſeparate forces and divided councils, they were ſurpriſed and ſlaughtered by the active vigour of the Sarmatian horſe. The ſucceſs of this invaſion provoked the emulation of the bordering tribes; and the province of Mæſia would infallibly have been loſt, if young Theodoſius, the duke, or military commander, of the frontier, had not ſignaliſed, in the defeat of the public enemy, an intrepid genius, worthy of his illuſtrious father, and of his future greatneſs [150].

The expedition,

A. D. 375.

The mind of Valentinian, who then reſided at Treves, was deeply affected by the calamities of Illyricum; but the lateneſs of the ſeaſon ſuſpended the execution of his deſigns till the enſuing ſpring. He marched in perſon, with a conſiderable part of the forces of Gaul, from the banks of the Moſelle: and to the ſuppliant ambaſſadors of the Sarmatians, who met him on the way, he returned a doubtful anſwer, that, as ſoon as he reached the ſcene of action, he ſhould examine, and pronounce. When he arrived at Sirmium, he gave audience to the deputies of the Illyrian provinces; who loudly congratulated their own felicity under the auſpicious government of Probus, his Prætorian Præfect [151]. Valentinian, who was flattered by theſe demon-

[150] Ammianus (xxix. 6.) and Zoſimus (l. iv. p. 219, 220.) carefully mark the origin and progreſs of the Quadic and Sarmatian war.

[151] Ammianus (xxx. 5.), who acknowledges the merit, has cenſured, with becoming aſperity, the oppreſſive adminiſtration, of Petronius Probus. When Jerom tranſlated, and continued, the Chronicle of Euſebius (A. D. 380. See Tillemont, Mem. Eccleſ. tom. xii. p. 53. 626.), he expreſſed the truth, or at leaſt the public opinion of his country,

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demonſtrations of their loyalty and gratitude, imprudently aſked the deputy of Epirus, a Cynic philoſopher of intrepid ſincerity[132], whether he was freely ſent by the wiſhes of the province? "With tears "and groans am I ſent (replied Iphicles) by a reluctant people." The emperor pauſed: but the impunity of his miniſters eſtabliſhed the pernicious maxim, that they might oppreſs his ſubjects, without injuring his ſervice. A ſtrict inquiry into their conduct would have relieved the public diſcontent. The ſevere condemnation of the murder of Gabinius, was the only meaſure which could reſtore the confidence of the Germans, and vindicate the honour of the Roman name. But the haughty monarch was incapable of the magnanimity which dares to acknowledge a fault. He forgot the provocation, remembered only the injury, and advanced into the country of the Quadi with an inſatiate thirſt of blood and revenge. The extreme devaſtation, and promiſcuous maſſacre, of a ſavage war, were juſtified, in the eyes of the emperor, and perhaps in thoſe of the world, by the cruel equity of retaliation[133]: and ſuch was the diſcipline of the Romans, and the conſternation of the enemy, that Valentinian repaſſed the Danube without the loſs of a ſingle man. As he had reſolved to complete the deſtruction of the Quadi by a ſecond campaign, he fixed his winter-quarters at Bregetio, on the Danube, near the Hungarian city of Preſburgh. While the operations of war were ſuſpended by the ſeverity of the weather, the Quadi made an humble attempt to deprecate the wrath of their conqueror; and, at the earneſt

country, in the following words: "Probus "P. P. Illyrici iniquiſſimis tributorum ex- "actionibus, ante provincias quas regebat, "quam a Barbaris vaſtarentur, *craſit*." (Chron. edit. Scaliger, p. 187. Animadverſ. p. 259.). The Saint afterwards formed an intimate and tender friendſhip with the widow of Probus, and the name of count Equitius, with leſs propriety, but without much injuſtice, has been ſubſtituted in the text.

[132] Julian (Orat. vi. p. 198.) repreſents his friend Iphicles as a man of virtue and merit, who had made himſelf ridiculous and unhappy, by adopting the extravagant dreſs and manners of the Cynics.

[133] Ammian. xxx. v. Jerom, who exaggerates the misfortune of Valentinian, refuſes him even this laſt conſolation of revenge. Genitali vaſtato ſolo, et *inultam* patriam derelinquens (tom. i. p. 26.).

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neſt perſuaſion of Equitius, their ambaſſadors were introduced into the Imperial council. They approached the throne with bended bodies, and dejected countenances; and, without daring to complain of the murder of their king, they affirmed with ſolemn oaths, that the late invaſion was the crime of ſome irregular robbers, which the public council of the nation condemned and abhorred. The anſwer of the emperor left them but little to hope from his clemency or compaſſion. He reviled, in the moſt intemperate language, their baſeneſs, their ingratitude, their inſolence.—His eyes, his voice, his colour, his geſtures, expreſſed the violence of his ungoverned fury; and, while his whole frame was agitated with convulſive paſſion, a large blood-veſſel ſuddenly burſt in his body; and Valentinian fell ſpeechleſs into the arms of his attendants. Their pious care immediately concealed his ſituation from the crowd: but, in a few minutes, the emperor of the Weſt expired in an agony of pain, retaining his ſenſes till the laſt; and ſtruggling, without ſucceſs, to declare his intentions to the generals and miniſters, who ſurrounded the royal couch. Valentinian was about fifty-four years of age; and he wanted only one hundred days to accompliſh the twelve years of his reign [154].

and death, of Valentinian, A. D. 375, November 17th.

The polygamy of Valentinian is ſeriouſly atteſted by an eccleſiaſtical hiſtorian [155]. "The empreſs Severa (I relate the fable) admitted into her familiar ſociety the lovely Juſtina, the daughter

The emperors Gratian and Valentinian II.

[154] See, on the death of Valentinian, Ammianus (xxx. 6.), Zoſimus (l. iv. p. 221.), Victor (in Epitom.), Socrates (l. iv. c. 31.), and Jerom (in Chron. p. 187. and tom. i. p. 26. ad Heliodor.). There is much variety of circumſtances among them; and Ammianus is ſo eloquent, that he writes nonſenſe.

[155] Socrates (l. iv. c. 31.) is the only original witneſs of this fooliſh ſtory, ſo repugnant to the laws and manners of the Romans, that it ſcarcely deſerved the formal and elaborate diſſertation of M. Bonamy (Mem. de l'Academie, tom. xxx. p. 394—405.). Yet I would preſerve the natural circumſtance of the bath; inſtead of following Zoſimus, who repreſents Juſtina as an old woman, the widow of Magnentius.

"of

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"of an Italian governor: her admiration of thoſe naked charms, "which ſhe had often ſeen in the bath, was expreſſed with ſuch "laviſh and imprudent praiſe, that the emperor was tempted to "introduce a ſecond wife into his bed; and his public edict ex-"tended to all the ſubjects of the empire, the ſame domeſtic privi-"lege, which he had aſſumed for himſelf." But we may be aſſured, from the evidence of reaſon, as well as hiſtory, that the two marriages of Valentinian, with Severa, and with Juſtina, were *ſucceſſively* contracted; and that he uſed the ancient permiſſion of divorce, which was ſtill allowed by the laws, though it was condemned by the church. Severa was the mother of Gratian, who ſeemed to unite every claim which could entitle him to the undoubted ſucceſſion of the Weſtern empire. He was the eldeſt ſon of a monarch, whoſe glorious reign had confirmed the free and honourable choice of his fellow-ſoldiers. Before he had attained the ninth year of his age, the royal youth received from the hands of his indulgent father the purple robe and diadem, with the title of Auguſtus: the election was ſolemnly ratified by the conſent and applauſe of the armies of Gaul[156]; and the name of Gratian was added to the names of Valentinian and Valens, in all the legal tranſactions of the Roman government. By his marriage with the grand-daughter of Conſtantine, the ſon of Valentinian acquired all the hereditary rights of the Flavian family; which, in a ſeries of three Imperial generations, were ſanctified by time, religion, and the reverence of the people. At the death of his father, the royal youth was in the ſeventeenth year of his age; and his virtues already juſtified the favourable opinion of the army and people. But Gratian reſided, without apprehenſion, in the palace of Treves; whilſt, at the diſtance of many

[156] Ammianus (xxvii. 6.) deſcribes the form of this military election, and *auguſt* inveſtiture. Valentinian does not appear to have conſulted, or even informed, the ſenate of Rome.

hundred

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hundred miles, Valentinian ſuddenly expired in the camp of Bregetio. The paſſions, which had been ſo long ſuppreſſed by the preſence of a maſter, immediately revived in the Imperial council; and the ambitious deſign of reigning in the name of an infant, was artfully executed by Mellobaudes and Equitius, who commanded the attachment of the Illyrian and Italian bands. They contrived the moſt honourable pretences to remove the popular leaders, and the troops of Gaul, who might have aſſerted the claims of the lawful ſucceſſor: they ſuggeſted the neceſſity of extinguiſhing the hopes of foreign and domeſtic enemies, by a bold and deciſive meaſure. The empreſs Juſtina, who had been left in a palace about one hundred miles from Bregetio, was reſpectfully invited to appear in the camp, with the ſon of the deceaſed emperor. On the ſixth day after the death of Valentinian, the infant prince of the ſame name, who was only four years old, was ſhewn, in the arms of his mother, to the legions; and ſolemnly inveſted, by military acclamation, with the titles and enſigns of ſupreme power. The impending dangers of a civil war were ſeaſonably prevented by the wiſe and moderate conduct of the emperor Gratian. He cheerfully accepted the choice of the army; declared, that he ſhould always conſider the ſon of Juſtina as a brother, not as a rival; and adviſed the empreſs, with her ſon Valentinian, to fix their reſidence at Milan, in the fair and peaceful province of Italy; while he aſſumed the more arduous command of the countries beyond the Alps. Gratian diſſembled his reſentment till he could ſafely puniſh, or diſgrace, the authors of the conſpiracy; and though he uniformly behaved with tenderneſs and regard to his infant colleague, he gradually confounded, in the adminiſtration of the Weſtern empire, the office of a guardian with the authority of a ſovereign. The government of the Roman world was exerciſed in the united names of Valens and his two nephews; but the feeble

emperor

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emperor of the East, who succeeded to the rank of his elder brother, never obtained any weight or influence in the councils of the West [157].

[157] Ammianus, xxx. 10. Zosimus, l. iv. p. 222, 223. Tillemont has proved (Hist. des Empereurs, tom. v. p. 707—709.), that Gratian *reigned* in Italy, Africa, and Illyricum. I have endeavoured to express his authority over his brother's dominions, as he used it, in an ambiguous style.

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Manners of the Paſtoral Nations.—Progreſs of the Huns, from China to Europe.—Flight of the Goths.—They paſs the Danube.—Gothic War.—Defeat and Death of Valens.—Gratian inveſts Theodoſius with the Eaſtern Empire.—His Character and Succeſs.—Peace and Settlement of the Goths.

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Earthquakes, A. D. 365, July 21ſt.

IN the ſecond year of the reign of Valentinian and Valens, on the morning of the twenty-firſt day of July, the greateſt part of the Roman world was ſhaken by a violent and deſtructive earthquake. The impreſſion was communicated to the waters; the ſhores of the Mediterranean were left dry, by the ſudden retreat of the ſea; great quantities of fiſh were caught with the hand; large veſſels were ſtranded on the mud; and a curious ſpectator [1] amuſed his eye, or rather his fancy, by contemplating the various appearance of vallies and mountains, which had never, ſince the formation of the globe, been expoſed to the ſun. But the tide ſoon returned, with the weight of an immenſe and irreſiſtible deluge, which was ſeverely felt on the coaſts of Sicily, of Dalmatia, of Greece, and of Egypt: large boats were tranſported, and lodged on the roofs of houſes, or at the diſtance of two miles from the ſhore; the people,

[1] Such is the bad taſte of Ammianus (xxvi. 10.), that it is not eaſy to diſtinguiſh his facts from his metaphors. Yet he poſitively affirms, that he ſaw the rotten carcaſe of a ſhip, ad *ſecundum lapidem*, at Methone, or Modon, in Peloponneſus.

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with their habitations, were ſwept away by the waters; and the city of Alexandria annually commemorated the fatal day, on which fifty thouſand perſons had loſt their lives in the inundation. This calamity, the report of which was magnified from one province to another, aſtoniſhed and terrified the ſubjects of Rome; and their affrighted imagination enlarged the real extent of a momentary evil. They recollected the preceding earthquakes, which had ſubverted the cities of Paleſtine and Bithynia: they conſidered theſe alarming ſtrokes as the prelude only of ſtill more dreadful calamities, and their fearful vanity was diſpoſed to confound the ſymptoms of a declining empire, and a ſinking world[1]. It was the faſhion of the times, to attribute every remarkable event to the particular will of the Deity; the alterations of nature were connected, by an inviſible chain, with the moral and metaphyſical opinions of the human mind; and the moſt ſagacious divines could diſtinguiſh, according to the colour of their reſpective prejudices, that the eſtabliſhment of hereſy tended to produce an earthquake; or that a deluge was the inevitable conſequence of the progreſs of ſin and error. Without preſuming to diſcuſs the truth or propriety of theſe lofty ſpeculations, the hiſtorian may content himſelf with an obſervation, which ſeems to be juſtified by experience, that man has much more to fear from the paſſions of his fellow-creatures, than from the convulſions of the elements[2]. The miſchievous effects of an earthquake, or deluge, a hurricane, or the eruption of a volcano,

[1] The earthquakes and inundations are variouſly deſcribed by Libanius (Orat. de ulciſcendâ Juliani nece, c. x. in Fabricius, Bibl. Græc. tom. vii. p. 158. with a learned note of Olearius), Zoſimus (l. iv. p. 221.), Sozomen (l. vi. c. 2.), Cedrenus (p. 310. 314.), and Jerom (in Chron. p. 186. and tom. i. p. 250. in Vit. Hilarion.). Epidaurus muſt have been overwhelmed, had not the prudent citizens placed St. Hilarion, an Egyptian monk, on the beach. He made the ſign of the croſs. The mountain wave ſtopped, bowed, and returned.

[2] Dicæarchus, the Peripatetic, compoſed a formal treatiſe, to prove this obvious truth; which is not the moſt honourable to the human ſpecies (Cicero de Officiis, iii. 5.).

bear-

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bear a very inconſiderable proportion to the ordinary calamities of war; as they are now moderated by the prudence or humanity of the princes of Europe, who amuſe their own leiſure, and exerciſe the courage of their ſubjects, in the practice of the military art. But the laws and manners of modern nations protect the ſafety and freedom of the vanquiſhed ſoldier; and the peaceful citizen has ſeldom reaſon to complain, that his life, or even his fortune, is expoſed to the rage of war. In the diſaſtrous period of the fall of the Roman empire, which may juſtly be dated from the reign of Valens, the happineſs and ſecurity of each individual were perſonally attacked; and the arts and labours of ages were rudely defaced by the Barbarians of Scythia and Germany. The invaſion of the Huns precipitated on the provinces of the Weſt the Gothic nation, which advanced, in leſs than forty years, from the Danube to the Atlantic, and opened a way, by the ſucceſs of their arms, to the inroads of ſo many hoſtile tribes, more ſavage than themſelves. The original principle of motion was concealed in the remote countries of the North; and the curious obſervation of the paſtoral life of the Scythians [4], or Tartars [5], will illuſtrate the latent cauſe of theſe deſtructive emigrations.

The Huns and Goths, A. D. 376.

The different characters that mark the civilized nations of the globe, may be aſcribed to the uſe, and the abuſe, of reaſon; which ſo variouſly ſhapes, and ſo artificially compoſes, the manners and opinions of an European, or a Chineſe. But the operation of

The paſtoral manners of the Scythians, or Tartars.

[4] The original Scythians of Herodotus (l. iv. c. 47—57. 99—101.) were confined by the Danube and the Palus Mæotis, within a ſquare of 4000 ſtadia (400 Roman miles). See d'Anville, (Mem. de l'Academie, tom. xxxv. p. 573—591.). Diodorus Siculus (tom. i. l. ii. p. 155, edit. Weſſeling) has marked the gradual progreſs of the *name* and nation.

[5] The *Tatars*, or Tartars, were a primitive tribe, the rivals, and at length the ſubjects, of the Moguls. In the victorious armies of Zingis Khan, and his ſucceſſors, the Tartars formed the vanguard; and the name, which firſt reached the ears of foreigners, was applied to the whole nation (Freret, in the Hiſt. de l'Academie, tom. xviii. p. 60.). In ſpeaking of all, or any, of the northern ſhepherds of Europe, or Aſia, I indifferently uſe the appellations of *Scythians*, or *Tartars*.

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inſtinct is more ſure and ſimple than that of reaſon: it is much eaſier to aſcertain the appetites of a quadruped, than the ſpeculations of a philoſopher; and the ſavage tribes of mankind, as they approach nearer to the condition of animals, preſerve a ſtronger reſemblance to themſelves and to each other. The uniform ſtability of their manners, is the natural conſequence of the imperfection of their faculties. Reduced to a ſimilar ſituation, their wants, their deſires, their enjoyments, ſtill continue the ſame: and the influence of food or climate, which, in a more improved ſtate of ſociety, is ſuſpended, or ſubdued, by ſo many moral cauſes, moſt powerfully contributes to form, and to maintain, the national character of Barbarians. In every age, the immenſe plains of Scythia, or Tartary, have been inhabited by vagrant tribes of hunters and ſhepherds, whoſe indolence refuſes to cultivate the earth, and whoſe reſtleſs ſpirit diſdains the confinement of a ſedentary life. In every age, the Scythians, and Tartars, have been renowned for their invincible courage, and rapid conqueſts. The thrones of Aſia have been repeatedly overturned by the ſhepherds of the North; and their arms have ſpread terror and devaſtation over the moſt fertile and warlike countries of Europe[6]. On this occaſion, as well as on many others, the ſober hiſtorian is forcibly awakened from a pleaſing viſion; and is compelled, with ſome reluctance, to confeſs, that the paſtoral manners, which have been adorned with the faireſt attributes of peace and innocence, are much better adapted to the fierce and cruel habits of a military life. To illuſtrate this obſervation, I ſhall now proceed to conſider a nation of ſhepherds and of warriors, in the three important articles of, I. Their diet; II. Their habitations;

[6] Imperium Aſiæ *ter* quæſivere: ipſi perpetuo ab alieno imperio, aut intacti, aut invicti, manſere. Since the time of Juſtin (ii. 2.) they have multiplied this account. Voltaire, in a few words (tom. x. p. 64. Hiſt. Generale, c. 156.), has abridged the Tartar conqueſts.

Oft o'er the trembling nations from afar,
Has Scythia breath'd the living cloud of war.

habitations; and, III. Their exerciſes. The narratives of antiquity are juſtified by the experience of modern times[7]; and the banks of the Boryſthenes, of the Volga, or of the Selinga, will indifferently preſent the ſame uniform ſpectacle of ſimilar and native manners[8]. CHAP. XXVI.

I. The corn, or even the rice, which conſtitutes the ordinary and wholeſome food of a civilized people, can be obtained only by the patient toil of the huſbandman. Some of the happy ſavages, who dwell between the tropics, are plentifully nouriſhed by the liberality of nature; but in the climates of the North, a nation of ſhepherds is reduced to their flocks and herds. The ſkilful practitioners of the medical art will determine (if they are able to determine) how far the temper of the human mind may be affected by the uſe of animal, or of vegetable, food; and whether the common aſſociation of carnivorous and cruel, deſerves to be conſidered in any other light than that of an innocent, perhaps a ſalutary, prejudice of humanity[9]. Yet if it be true, that the ſentiment of compaſſion is imperceptibly weakened by the ſight and practice of domeſtic cruelty, we may obſerve, that Diet.

[7] The fourth book of Herodotus affords a curious, though imperfect, portrait of the Scythians. Among the moderns, who deſcribe the uniform ſcene, the Khan of Khowareſm, Abulghazi Bahadur, expreſſes his native feelings; and his Genealogical Hiſtory of the *Tatars* has been copiouſly illuſtrated by the French and Engliſh editors. Carpin, Aſcelin, and Rubruquis (in the Hiſt. des Voyages, tom. vii.), repreſent the Moguls of the fourteenth century. To theſe guides I have added Gerbillon, and the other Jeſuits (Deſcription de la Chine, par du Halde, tom. iv.), who accurately ſurveyed the Chineſe Tartary; and that honeſt and intelligent traveller Bell, of Antermony (two volumes in 4to. Glaſgow, 1763).

[8] The Uzbecks are the moſt altered from their primitive manners; 1. by the profeſſion of the Mahometan religion; and, 2. by the poſſeſſion of the cities and harveſts of the great Bucharia.

[9] Il eſt certain que les grands mangeurs de viande ſont en general cruels et feroces plus que les autres hommes. Cette obſervation eſt de tous les lieux, et de tous les tems: la barbare Angloiſe eſt connue, &c. Emile de Rouſſeau, tom. i. p. 274. Whatever we may think of the general obſervation, *we* ſhall not eaſily allow the truth of his example. The good-natured complaints of Plutarch, and the pathetic lamentations of Ovid, ſeduce our reaſon, by exciting our ſenſibility.

the

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the horrid objects which are disguised by the arts of European refinement, are exhibited in their naked and most disgusting simplicity, in the tent of a Tartarian shepherd. The ox, or the sheep, are slaughtered by the same hand from which they were accustomed to receive their daily food; and the bleeding limbs are served, with very little preparation, on the table of their unfeeling murderer. In the military profession, and especially in the conduct of a numerous army, the exclusive use of animal food appears to be productive of the most solid advantages. Corn is a bulky and perishable commodity; and the large magazines, which are indispensably necessary for the subsistence of our troops, must be slowly transported by the labour of men, or horses. But the flocks and herds, which accompany the march of the Tartars, afford a sure and increasing supply of flesh and milk: in the far greater part of the uncultivated waste, the vegetation of the grass is quick and luxuriant; and there are few places so extremely barren, that the hardy cattle of the North cannot find some tolerable pasture. The supply is multiplied and prolonged, by the undistinguishing appetite, and patient abstinence, of the Tartars. They indifferently feed on the flesh of those animals that have been killed for the table, or have died of disease. Horse-flesh, which in every age and country has been proscribed by the civilized nations of Europe and Asia, they devour with peculiar greediness; and this singular taste facilitates the success of their military operations. The active cavalry of Scythia is always followed, in their most distant and rapid incursions, by an adequate number of spare horses, who may be occasionally used, either to redouble the speed, or to satisfy the hunger, of the Barbarians. Many are the resources of courage and poverty. When the forage round a camp of Tartars is almost consumed, they slaughter the greatest part of their cattle, and preserve the flesh, either smoked, or dried in the sun. On the sudden emergency of a hasty

a haſty march, they provide themſelves with a ſufficient quantity of little balls of cheeſe, or rather of hard curd, which they occaſionally diſſolve in water; and this unſubſtantial diet will ſupport, for many days, the life, and even the ſpirits, of the patient warrior. But this extraordinary abſtinence, which the Stoic would approve, and the hermit might envy, is commonly ſucceeded by the moſt voracious indulgence of appetite. The wines of a happier climate are the moſt grateful preſent, or the moſt valuable commodity, that can be offered to the Tartars; and the only example of their induſtry ſeems to conſiſt in the art of extracting from mare's milk a fermented liquor, which poſſeſſes a very ſtrong power of intoxication. Like the animals of prey, the ſavages, both of the old and new world, experience the alternate viciſſitudes of famine and plenty; and their ſtomach is inured to ſuſtain, without much inconvenience, the oppoſite extremes of hunger and of intemperance. CHAP. XXVI.

II. In the ages of ruſtic and martial ſimplicity, a people of ſoldiers and huſbandmen are diſperſed over the face of an extenſive and cultivated country; and ſome time muſt elapſe before the warlike youth of Greece or Italy could be aſſembled under the ſame ſtandard, either to defend their own confines, or to invade the territories of the adjacent tribes. The progreſs of manufactures and commerce inſenſibly collects a large multitude within the walls of a city: but theſe citizens are no longer ſoldiers; and the arts which adorn and improve the ſtate of civil ſociety, corrupt the habits of the military life. The paſtoral manners of the Scythians ſeem to unite the different advantages of ſimplicity and refinement. The individuals of the ſame tribe are conſtantly aſſembled, but they are aſſembled in a camp; and the native ſpirit of theſe dauntleſs ſhepherds is animated by mutual ſupport and emulation. The houſes of the Tartars are no more than ſmall tents, of an oval form, which afford a cold and dirty habitation for the promiſcuous youth of both ſexes. Habitations.

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ſexes. The palaces of the rich conſiſt of wooden huts, of ſuch a ſize that they may be conveniently fixed on large waggons, and drawn by a team perhaps of twenty or thirty oxen. The flocks and herds, after grazing all day in the adjacent paſtures, retire, on the approach of night, within the protection of the camp. The neceſſity of preventing the moſt miſchievous confuſion, in ſuch a perpetual concourſe of men and animals, muſt gradually introduce in the diſtribution, the order, and the guard, of the encampment, the rudiments of the military art. As ſoon as the forage of a certain diſtrict is conſumed, the tribe, or rather army, of ſhepherds, makes a regular march to ſome freſh paſtures; and thus acquires, in the ordinary occupations of the paſtoral life, the practical knowledge of one of the moſt important and difficult operations of war. The choice of ſtations is regulated by the difference of the ſeaſons: in the ſummer, the Tartars advance towards the North, and pitch their tents on the banks of a river, or, at leaſt, in the neighbourhood of a running ſtream. But in the winter they return to the South, and ſhelter their camp, behind ſome convenient eminence, againſt the winds, which are chilled in their paſſage over the bleak and icy regions of Siberia. Theſe manners are admirably adapted to diffuſe, among the wandering tribes, the ſpirit of emigration and conqueſt. The connection between the people and their territory is of ſo frail a texture, that it may be broken by the ſlighteſt accident. The camp, and not the ſoil, is the native country of the genuine Tartar. Within the precincts of that camp, his family, his companions, his property are always included; and, in the moſt diſtant marches, he is ſtill ſurrounded by the objects which are dear, or valuable, or familiar in his eyes. The thirſt of rapine, the fear or the reſentment of injury, the impatience of ſervitude, have, in every age, been ſufficient cauſes to urge the tribes of Scythia boldly to advance into ſome unknown countries, where they might hope to find a more

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plentiful ſubſiſtence, or a leſs formidable enemy. The revolutions of the North have frequently determined the fate of the South; and in the conflict of hoſtile nations, the victor and the vanquiſhed have alternately drove, and been driven, from the confines of China to thoſe of Germany [10]. Theſe great emigrations, which have been ſometimes executed with almoſt incredible diligence, were rendered more eaſy by the peculiar nature of the climate. It is well known, that the cold of Tartary is much more ſevere than in the midſt of the temperate zone might reaſonably be expected: this uncommon rigour is attributed to the height of the plains, which riſe, eſpecially towards the Eaſt, more than half a mile above the level of the ſea; and to the quantity of ſalt-petre, with which the ſoil is deeply impregnated [11]. In the winter-ſeaſon, the broad and rapid rivers, that diſcharge their waters into the Euxine, the Caſpian, or the Icy Sea, are ſtrongly frozen; the fields are covered with a bed of ſnow; and the fugitive, or victorious, tribes may ſecurely traverſe, with their families, their waggons, and their cattle, the ſmooth and hard ſurface of an immenſe plain.

Exerciſes.

III. The paſtoral life, compared with the labours of agriculture and manufactures, is undoubtedly a life of idleneſs; and as the moſt honourable ſhepherds of the Tartar race devolve on their captives the domeſtic management of the cattle, their own leiſure is ſeldom diſturbed by any ſervile and aſſiduous cares. But this leiſure, inſtead of being devoted to the ſoft enjoyments of love and harmony, is uſefully ſpent in the violent and ſanguinary exerciſe of the

[10] Theſe Tartar emigrations have been diſcovered by M. de Guignes (Hiſtoire des Huns, tom. i. ii.), a ſkilful and laborious interpreter of the Chineſe language; who has thus laid open new and important ſcenes in the hiſtory of mankind.

[11] A plain in the Chineſe Tartary, only eighty leagues from the great wall, was found by the miſſionaries to be three thouſand geometrical paces above the level of the ſea. Monteſquieu, who has uſed, and abuſed, the relations of travellers, deduces the revolutions of Aſia from this important circumſtance, that heat and cold, weakneſs and ſtrength, touch each other without any temperate zone (Eſprit des Loix, l. xvii. c. 3.).

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chaſe. The plains of Tartary are filled with a ſtrong and ſerviceable breed of horſes, which are eaſily trained for the purpoſes of war and hunting. The Scythians of every age have been celebrated as bold and ſkilful riders: and conſtant practice had ſeated them ſo firmly on horſeback, that they were ſuppoſed by ſtrangers to perform the ordinary duties of civil life, to eat, to drink, and even to ſleep, without diſmounting from their ſteeds. They excel in the dexterous management of the lance; the long Tartar bow is drawn with a nervous arm; and the weighty arrow is directed to its object with unerring aim, and irreſiſtible force. Theſe arrows are often pointed againſt the harmleſs animals of the deſert, which increaſe and multiply in the abſence of their moſt formidable enemy; the hare, the goat, the roebuck, the fallow-deer, the ſtag, the elk, and the antelope. The vigour and patience both of the men and horſes are continually exerciſed by the fatigues of the chaſe; and the plentiful ſupply of game contributes to the ſubſiſtence, and even luxury, of a Tartar camp. But the exploits of the hunters of Scythia are not confined to the deſtruction of timid or innoxious beaſts; they boldly encounter the angry wild-boar, when he turns againſt his purſuers, excite the ſluggiſh courage of the bear, and provoke the fury of the tyger, as he ſlumbers in the thicket. Where there is danger there may be glory: and the mode of hunting, which opens the faireſt field to the exertions of valour, may juſtly be conſidered as the image, and as the ſchool, of war. The general hunting-matches, the pride and delight of the Tartar princes, compoſe an inſtructive exerciſe for their numerous cavalry. A circle is drawn, of many miles in circumference, to encompaſs the game of an extenſive diſtrict; and the troops that form the circle regularly advance towards a common centre; where the captive animals, ſurrounded on every ſide, are abandoned to the darts of the hunters. In this march, which frequently continues many days, the

cavalry

cavalry are obliged to climb the hills, to ſwim the rivers, and to wind through the vallies, without interrupting the preſcribed order of their gradual progreſs. They acquire the habit of directing their eye, and their ſteps, to a remote object; of preſerving their intervals; of ſuſpending, or accelerating, their pace, according to the motions of the troops on their right and left; and of watching and repeating the ſignals of their leaders. Their leaders ſtudy, in this practical ſchool, the moſt important leſſon of the military art; the prompt and accurate judgment of ground, of diſtance, and of time. To employ againſt a human enemy the ſame patience and valour, the ſame ſkill and diſcipline, is the only alteration which is required in real war; and the amuſements of the chaſe ſerve as a prelude to the conqueſt of an empire [12].

Government.

The political ſociety of the ancient Germans has the appearance of a voluntary alliance of independent warriors. The tribes of Scythia, diſtinguiſhed by the modern appellation of *Hords*, aſſume the form of a numerous and increaſing family; which, in the courſe of ſucceſſive generations, has been propagated from the ſame original ſtock. The meaneſt, and moſt ignorant, of the Tartars, preſerve, with conſcious pride, the ineſtimable treaſure of their genealogy; and whatever diſtinctions of rank may have been introduced, by the unequal diſtribution of paſtoral wealth, they mutually reſpect themſelves, and each other, as the deſcendants of the firſt founder of the tribe. The cuſtom, which ſtill prevails, of adopting the braveſt, and moſt faithful, of the captives, may countenance the very probable ſuſpicion, that this extenſive conſanguinity is, in a great meaſure,

[12] Petit de la Croix (Vie de Gengiſcan, l. iii. c. 7.) repreſents the full glory and extent of the Mogul chace. The Jeſuits Gerbillon and Verbieſt followed the emperor Kamhi when he hunted in Tartary (Duhalde, Deſcription de la Chine, tom. iv. p. 81. 290, &c. folio edit.). His grandſon, Kienlong, who unites the Tartar diſcipline with the laws and learning of China, deſcribes (Eloge de Moukden, p. 273—285.), as a poet, the pleaſures which he had often enjoyed, as a ſportſman.

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legal and fictitious. But the useful prejudice, which has obtained the sanction of time and opinion, produces the effects of truth; the haughty Barbarians yield a cheerful and voluntary obedience to the head of their blood; and their chief, or *mursa*, as the representative of their great father, exercises the authority of a judge, in peace, and of a leader, in war. In the original state of the pastoral world, each of the *mursas* (if we may continue to use a modern appellation) acted as the independent chief of a large and separate family; and the limits of their peculiar territories were gradually fixed, by superior force, or mutual consent. But the constant operation of various and permanent causes contributed to unite the vagrant Hords into national communities, under the command of a supreme head. The weak were desirous of support, and the strong were ambitious of dominion; the power, which is the result of union, oppressed and collected the divided forces of the adjacent tribes; and, as the vanquished were freely admitted to share the advantages of victory, the most valiant chiefs hastened to range themselves, and their followers, under the formidable standard of a confederate nation. The most successful of the Tartar princes assumed the military command, to which he was entitled by the superiority, either of merit, or of power. He was raised to the throne by the acclamations of his equals; and the title of *Khan* expresses, in the language of the North of Asia, the full extent of the regal dignity. The right of hereditary succession was long confined to the blood of the founder of the monarchy; and at this moment all the Khans, who reign from Crimea to the wall of China, are the lineal descendants of the renowned Zingis [13]. But, as it is the indispensable

[13] See the second volume of the Genealogical History of the Tartars: and the lists of the Khans, at the end of the life of Gengis, or Zingis. Under the reign of Timur, or Tamerlane, one of his subjects, a descendant of Zingis, still bore the regal appellation of Khan; and the conqueror of Asia contented himself with the title of Emir, or Sultan. Abulghazi, part v. c. 4. D'Herbelot, Bibliotheque Orientale, p. 878.

duty

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duty of a Tartar ſovereign to lead his warlike ſubjects into the field, the claims of an infant are often diſregarded; and ſome royal kinſman, diſtinguiſhed by his age and valour, is entruſted with the ſword and ſceptre of his predeceſſor. Two diſtinct and regular taxes are levied on the tribes, to ſupport the dignity of their national monarch, and of their peculiar chief; and each of thoſe contributions amounts to the tythe, both of their property, and of their ſpoil. A Tartar ſovereign enjoys the tenth part of the wealth of his people; and as his own domeſtic riches of flocks and herds increaſe in a much larger proportion, he is able plentifully to maintain the ruſtic ſplendour of his court, to reward the moſt deſerving, or the moſt favoured, of his followers, and to obtain, from the gentle influence of corruption, the obedience which might be ſometimes refuſed to the ſtern mandates of authority. The manners of his ſubjects, accuſtomed, like himſelf, to blood and rapine, might excuſe, in their eyes, ſuch partial acts of tyranny, as would excite the horror of a civilized people; but the power of a deſpot has never been acknowledged in the deſerts of Scythia. The immediate juriſdiction of the Khan is confined within the limits of his own tribe; and the exerciſe of his royal prerogative has been moderated by the ancient inſtitution of a national council. The Coroultai [14], or Diet, of the Tartars, was regularly held in the ſpring and autumn, in the midſt of a plain; where the princes of the reigning family, and the murſas of the reſpective tribes, may conveniently aſſemble on horſeback, with their martial and numerous trains; and the ambitious monarch, who reviewed the ſtrength, muſt conſult the inclination, of an armed people. The rudiments of a feudal government may be diſcovered in the conſtitution of the Scythian or Tartar nations; but the per-

[14] See the Diets of the ancient Huns (de Guignes, tom. ii. p. 26.), and a curious deſcription of thoſe of Zingis (Vie de Gengiſcan, l. i. c. 6. l. iv. c. 11.). Such aſſemblies are frequently mentioned in the Perſian hiſtory of Timur; though they ſerved only to countenance the reſolutions of their maſter.

petual

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petual conflict of those hostile nations has sometimes terminated in the establishment of a powerful and despotic empire. The victor, enriched by the tribute, and fortified by the arms, of dependent kings, has spread his conquests over Europe or Asia: the successful shepherds of the North have submitted to the confinement of arts, of laws, and of cities; and the introduction of luxury, after destroying the freedom of the people, has undermined the foundations of the throne [15].

Situation and extent of Scythia, or Tartary.

The memory of past events cannot long be preserved, in the frequent and remote emigrations of illiterate Barbarians. The modern Tartars are ignorant of the conquests of their ancestors [16]; and our knowledge of the history of the Scythians is derived from their intercourse with the learned and civilized nations of the South, the Greeks, the Persians, and the Chinese. The Greeks, who navigated the Euxine, and planted their colonies along the sea-coast, made the gradual and imperfect discovery of Scythia; from the Danube, and the confines of Thrace, as far as the frozen Mæotis, the seat of eternal winter, and Mount Caucasus, which, in the language of poetry, was described as the utmost boundary of the earth. They celebrated, with simple credulity, the virtues of the pastoral life [17]: they entertained a more rational apprehension of the strength and numbers of the warlike Barbarians [18], who contemptuously baffled the immense armament of

[15] Montesquieu labours to explain a difference, which has not not existed, between the liberty of the Arabs, and the *perpetual* slavery of the Tartars (Esprit des Loix, l. xvii. c. 5. l. xviii. c. 19, &c.).

[16] Abulghazi Khan, in the two first parts of his Genealogical History, relates the miserable fables and traditions of the Uzbeck Tartars concerning the times which preceded the reign of Zingis.

[17] In the thirteenth book of the Iliad, Jupiter turns away his eyes from the bloody fields of Troy, to the plains of Thrace and Scythia. He would not, by changing the prospect, behold a more peaceful or innocent scene.

[18] Thucydides, l. ii. c. 97.

Darius,

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Darius, the ſon of Hyſtaſpes[19]. The Perſian monarchs had extended their weſtern conqueſts to the banks of the Danube, and the limits of European Scythia. The eaſtern provinces of their empire were expoſed to the Scythians of Aſia; the wild inhabitants of the plains beyond the Oxus and the Jaxartes, two mighty rivers, which direct their courſe towards the Caſpian ſea. The long and memorable quarrel of Iran and Touran, is ſtill the theme of hiſtory or romance: the famous, perhaps the fabulous, valour of the Perſian heroes, Ruſtan and Aſfendiar, was ſignaliſed, in the defence of their country, againſt the Afraſiabs of the North[20]; and the invincible ſpirit of the ſame Barbarians reſiſted, on the ſame ground, the victorious arms of Cyrus and Alexander[21]. In the eyes of the Greeks and Perſians, the real geography of Scythia was bounded, on the Eaſt, by the mountains of Imaus, or Caf; and their diſtant proſpect of the extreme and inacceſſible parts of Aſia was clouded by ignorance, or perplexed by fiction. But thoſe inacceſſible regions are the ancient reſidence of a powerful and civilized nation[22], which aſcends, by a probable tradition, above forty centuries[23]; and which is able to verify

[19] See the fourth book of Herodotus. When Darius advanced into the Moldavian deſert, between the Danube and the Nieſter, the king of the Scythians ſent him a mouſe, a frog, a bird, and five arrows; a tremendous allegory!

[20] Theſe wars and heroes may be found, under their reſpective *titles*, in the Bibliotheque Orientale of d'Herbelot. They have been celebrated in an epic poem of ſixty thouſand rhymed couplets, by Ferduſi, the Homer of Perſia. See the Hiſtory of Nader Shah, p. 145. 165. The public muſt lament, that Mr. Jones has ſuſpended the purſuit of Oriental learning.

[21] The Caſpian ſea, with its rivers, and adjacent tribes, are laborioufly illuſtrated in the Examen Critique des Hiſtoriens d'Alexandre, which compares the true geography, and the errors produced by the vanity or ignorance of the Greeks.

[22] The original ſeat of the nation appears to have been in the North-weſt of China, in the provinces of Chenſi and Chanſi. Under the two firſt dynaſties, the principal town was ſtill a moveable camp; the villages were thinly ſcattered; more land was employed in paſture than in tillage; the exerciſe of hunting was ordained to clear the country from wild beaſts; Petcheli (where Pekin ſtands) was a deſert; and the ſouthern provinces were peopled with Indian ſavages. The dynaſty of the *Han* (before Chriſt 206) gave the empire its actual form and extent.

[23] The æra of the Chineſe monarchy has been variouſly fixed, from 2952 to 2132 years

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verify a ſeries of near two thouſand years, by the perpetual teſtimony of accurate and contemporary hiſtorians[24]. The annals of China[25] illuſtrate the ſtate and revolutions of the paſtoral tribes, which may ſtill be diſtinguiſhed by the vague appellation of Scythians, or Tartars; the vaſſals, the enemies, and ſometimes the conquerors, of a great empire; whoſe policy has uniformly oppoſed the blind and impetuous valour of the Barbarians of the North. From the mouth of the Danube to the ſea of Japan, the whole longitude of Scythia is about one hundred and ten degrees, which, in that parallel, are equal to more than five thouſand miles. The latitude of theſe extenſive deſerts cannot be ſo eaſily, or ſo accurately, meaſured; but, from the fortieth degree, which touches the wall of China, we may ſecurely advance above a thouſand miles to the northward, till our progreſs is ſtopped by the exceſſive cold of Siberia. In that dreary climate, inſtead of the animated picture of a

years before Chriſt: and the year 2637 has been choſen for the lawful epoch, by the authority of the preſent emperor. The difference ariſes from the uncertain duration of the two firſt dynaſties; and the vacant ſpace that lies beyond them, as far as the real, or fabulous, times of Fohi, or Hoangti. Sematſien dates his authentic chronology from the year 841: the thirty-ſix eclipſes of Confucius (thirty-one of which have been verified) were obſerved between the years 722 and 480 before Chriſt. The *hiſtorical period* of China does not aſcend above the Greek Olympiads.

[24] After ſeveral ages of anarchy and deſpotiſm, the dynaſty of the Han (before Chriſt 206) was the æra of the revival of learning. The fragments of ancient literature were reſtored; the characters were improved and fixed; and the future preſervation of books was ſecured, by the uſeful inventions of ink, paper, and the art of printing. Ninety-ſeven years before Chriſt, Sematſien publiſhed the firſt hiſtory of China. His labours were illuſtrated, and continued, by a ſeries of one hundred and eighty hiſtorians. The ſubſtance of their works is ſtill extant; and the moſt conſiderable of them are now depoſited in the king of France's library.

[25] China has been illuſtrated by the labours of the French; of the miſſionaries at Pekin, and Meſſrs. Freret, and de Guignes, at Paris. The ſubſtance of the three preceding notes is extracted from The *Chou-king*, with the preface and notes of M. de Guignes, Paris, 1770: The *Tong-kien-Kang-mou*, tranſlated by the P. de Mailla, under the name of Hiſt. Generale de la Chine, tom. i. p. xlix—cc.; the Memoires ſur la Chine, Paris, 1776, &c. tom. i. p. 1—323. tom. ii. p. 5—364.; the Hiſtoire des Huns, tom. i. p. 1—131. tom. v. p. 345—362.; and the Memoires de l'Academie des Inſcriptions, tom. x. p. 377—402. tom. xv. p. 495—564. tom. xviii. p. 178—295. tom. xxxvi. p. 164—238.

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Tartar camp, the ſmoke which iſſues from the earth, or rather from the ſnow, betrays the ſubterraneous dwellings of the Tongouſes, and the Samoiedes: the want of horſes and oxen is imperfectly ſupplied by the uſe of rein-deer, and of large dogs; and the conquerors of the earth inſenſibly degenerate into a race of deformed and diminutive ſavages, who tremble at the ſound of arms [26].

Original ſeat of the Huns.

The Huns, who under the reign of Valens threatened the empire of Rome, had been formidable, in a much earlier period, to the empire of China [27]. Their ancient, perhaps their original ſeat, was an extenſive, though dry and barren, tract of country, immediately on the north ſide of the great wall. Their place is at preſent occupied by the forty-nine Hords or Banners of the Mongous, a paſtoral nation, which conſiſts of about two hundred thouſand families [28]. But the valour of the Huns had extended the narrow limits of their dominions; and their ruſtic chiefs, who aſſumed the appellation of *Tanjou*, gradually became the conquerors, and the ſovereigns, of a formidable empire. Towards the Eaſt, their victorious arms were ſtopped only by the ocean; and the tribes, which are thinly ſcattered between the Amoor and the extreme peninſula of Corea, adhered, with reluctance, to the ſtandard of the Huns. On the Weſt, near the head of the Irtiſh, and in the vallies of Imaus, they found a more ample ſpace, and more numerous enemies. One of the lieutenants of the Tanjou ſubdued, in a ſingle expedition, twenty-ſix nations; the Igours [29], diſtinguiſhed above the Tartar race by the uſe

Their conqueſts in Scythia.

[26] See the Hiſtoire Generale des Voyages, tom. xviii. and the Genealogical Hiſtory, vol. ii. p. 620—664.

[27] M. de Guignes (tom. ii. p. 1—124.) has given the original hiſtory of the ancient Hiong-nou, or Huns. The Chineſe geography of their country (tom. i. part ii. p. lv—lxiii.) ſeems to compriſe a part of their conqueſts.

[28] See in Duhalde (tom. iv. p. 18—65.) a circumſtantial deſcription, with a correct map, of the country of the Mongous.

[29] The Igours, or Vigours, were divided into three branches; hunters, ſhepherds, and huſbandmen; and the laſt claſs was deſpiſed by the two former. See Abulghazi, part ii. c. 7.

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of letters, were in the number of his vaſſals; and, by the ſtrange connection of human events, the flight of one of thoſe vagrant tribes recalled the victorious Parthians from the invaſion of Syria [30]. On the ſide of the North, the ocean was aſſigned as the limit of the power of the Huns. Without enemies to reſiſt their progreſs, or witneſſes to contradict their vanity, they might ſecurely atchieve a real, or imaginary, conqueſt of the frozen regions of Siberia. The *Northern Sea* was fixed as the remote boundary of their empire. But the name of that ſea, on whoſe ſhores the patriot Sovou embraced the life of a ſhepherd and an exile [31], may be transferred, with much more probability, to the Baikal, a capacious baſon, above three hundred miles in length, which diſdains the modeſt appellation of a lake [32], and which actually communicates with the ſeas of the North, by the long courſe of the Angara, the Tonguſka, and the Jeniſſea. The ſubmiſſion of ſo many diſtant nations might flatter the pride of the Tanjou; but the valour of the Huns could be rewarded only by the enjoyment of the wealth and luxury of the empire of the South. In the third century before the Chriſtian æra, a wall of fifteen hundred miles in length was conſtructed, to defend the frontiers of China againſt the inroads of the Huns [33]; but this ſtupendous work, which holds a conſpicuous place in the map of the world, has never contributed to the ſafety

[30] Memoires de l'Academie des Inſcriptions, tom. xxv. p. 17—33. The comprehenſive view of M. de Guignes has compared theſe diſtant events.

[31] The fame of So-vou, or So-ou, his merit, and his ſingular adventures, are ſtill celebrated in China. See the Eloge de Moukden, p. 20. and notes, p. 241—247.; and Memoires ſur la Chine, tom. iii. p. 317—360.

[32] See Iſbrand Ives, in Harris's Collection, vol. ii. p. 931.; Bell's Travels, vol. i. p. 247—254.; and Gmelin, in the Hiſt. Generale des Voyages, tom. xviii. p. 283—329. They all remark the vulgar opinion, that the *holy ſea* grows angry and tempeſtuous, if any one preſumes to call it a *lake*. This grammatical nicety often excites a diſpute, between the abſurd ſuperſtition of the mariners, and the abſurd obſtinacy of travellers.

[33] The conſtruction of the wall of China is mentioned by Duhalde (tom. ii. p. 45.) and de Guignes (tom. ii. p. 59.).

of

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of an unwarlike people. The cavalry of the Tanjou frequently conſiſted of two or three hundred thouſand men, formidable by the matchleſs dexterity with which they managed their bows and their horſes; by their hardy patience in ſupporting the inclemency of the weather; and by the incredible ſpeed of their march, which was ſeldom checked by torrents, or precipices, by the deepeſt rivers, or by the moſt lofty mountains. They ſpread themſelves at once over the face of the country; and their rapid impetuoſity ſurpriſed, aſtoniſhed, and diſconcerted the grave and elaborate tactics of a Chineſe army. The emperor Kaoti [34], a ſoldier of fortune, whoſe perſonal merit had raiſed him to the throne, marched againſt the Huns with thoſe veteran troops which had been trained in the civil wars of China. But he was ſoon ſurrounded by the Barbarians; and, after a ſiege of ſeven days, the monarch, hopeleſs of relief, was reduced to purchaſe his deliverance by an ignominious capitulation. The ſucceſſors of Kaoti, whoſe lives were dedicated to the arts of peace, or the luxury of the palace, ſubmitted to a more permanent diſgrace. They too haſtily confeſſed the inſufficiency of arms and fortifications. They were too eaſily convinced, that while the blazing ſignals announced on every ſide the approach of the Huns, the Chineſe troops, who ſlept with the helmet on their head, and the cuiraſs on their back, were deſtroyed by the inceſſant labour of ineffectual marches [35]. A regular payment of money, and ſilk, was ſtipulated as

Their wars with the Chineſe, ant. Chriſt. 201.

[34] See the Life of Lieoupang, or Kaoti, in the Hiſt. de la Chine, publiſhed at Paris 1777, &c. tom. i. p. 442—522. This voluminous work is the tranſlation (by the P. de Mailla) of the *Tong-Kien-Kang-Mou*, the celebrated abridgment of the great Hiſtory of Semakouang (A. D. 1084) and his continuators.

[35] See a free and ample memorial, preſented by a Mandarin to the emperor Venti (before Chriſt 180—157), in Duhalde (tom. ii. p. 412—426.); from a collection of ſtate papers, marked with the red pencil by Kamhi himſelf (p. 384—612.). Another memorial from the miniſter of war (Kang-Mou, tom. ii. p. 555.) ſupplies ſome curious circumſtances of the manners of the Huns.

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the condition of a temporary and precarious peace; and the wretched expedient of diſguiſing a real tribute, under the names of a gift or a ſubſidy, was practiſed by the emperors of China, as well as by thoſe of Rome. But there ſtill remained a more diſgraceful article of tribute, which violated the ſacred feelings of humanity and nature. The hardſhips of the ſavage life, which deſtroy in their infancy the children who are born with a leſs healthy and robuſt conſtitution, introduce a remarkable diſproportion between the numbers of the two ſexes. The Tartars are an ugly, and even deformed race; and, while they conſider their own women as the inſtruments of domeſtic labour, their deſires, or rather their appetites, are directed to the enjoyment of more elegant beauty. A ſelect band of the faireſt maidens of China was annually devoted to the rude embraces of the Huns[36]; and the alliance of the haughty Tanjous was ſecured by their marriage with the genuine, or adopted, daughters of the Imperial family, which vainly attempted to eſcape the ſacrilegious pollution. The ſituation of theſe unhappy victims is deſcribed in the verſes of a Chineſe princeſs, who laments that ſhe had been condemned by her parents to a diſtant exile, under a Barbarian huſband; who complains that ſour milk was her only drink, raw fleſh her only food, a tent her only palace; and who expreſſes, in a ſtrain of pathetic ſimplicity, the natural wiſh, that ſhe were transformed into a bird, to fly back to her dear country; the object of her tender and perpetual regret[37].

Decline and fall of the Huns.

The conqueſt of China has been twice atchieved by the paſtoral tribes of the North: the forces of the Huns were not inferior to thoſe of the Moguls, or of the Mantcheoux; and their ambition might entertain the moſt ſanguine hopes of ſucceſs. But their pride

[36] A ſupply of women is mentioned as a cuſtomary article of treaty and tribute (Hiſt. de la Conquête de la Chine par les Tartares Mantcheoux, tom. i. p. 186, 187. with the note of the editor).

[37] De Guines, Hiſt. des Huns, tom. ii. p. 62.

was

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was humbled, and their progreſs was checked, by the arms and policy of Vouti[38], the fifth emperor of the powerful dynaſty of the Han. In his long reign of fifty-four years, the Barbarians of the ſouthern provinces ſubmitted to the laws and manners of China: and the ancient limits of the monarchy were enlarged, from the great river of Kiang, to the port of Canton. Inſtead of confining himſelf to the timid operations of a defenſive war, his lieutenants penetrated many hundred miles into the country of the Huns. In thoſe boundleſs deſerts, where it is impoſſible to form magazines, and difficult to tranſport a ſufficient ſupply of proviſions, the armies of Vouti were repeatedly expoſed to intolerable hardſhips: and, of one hundred and forty thouſand ſoldiers, who marched againſt the Barbarians, thirty thouſand only returned in ſafety to the feet of their maſter. Theſe loſſes, however, were compenſated by ſplendid and deciſive ſucceſs. The Chineſe generals improved the ſuperiority which they derived from the temper of their arms, their chariots of war, and the ſervice of their Tartar auxiliaries. The camp of the Tanjou was ſurpriſed in the midſt of ſleep and intemperance: and, though the monarch of the Huns bravely cut his way through the ranks of the enemy, he left above fifteen thouſand of his ſubjects on the field of battle. Yet this ſignal victory, which was preceded and followed by many bloody engagements, contributed much leſs to the deſtruction of the power of the Huns, than the effectual policy which was employed to detach the tributary nations from their obedience. Intimidated by the arms, or allured by the promiſes, of Vouti and his ſucceſſors, the moſt conſiderable tribes, both of the Eaſt and of the Weſt, diſclaimed the authority of the Tanjou. While ſome acknowledged themſelves the allies or vaſſals of the empire, they all became the implacable enemies of the Huns: and the numbers of

Ant. Chriſt. 141—87.

Ant. Chriſt. 70.

[38] See the reign of the emperor Vouti, in the Kang-Mou, tom. iii. p. 1—98. His various and inconſiſtent character ſeems to be impartially drawn.

that

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that haughty people, as ſoon as they were reduced to their native ſtrength, might, perhaps, have been contained within the walls of one of the great and populous cities of China [39]. The deſertion of his ſubjects, and the perplexity of a civil war, at length compelled the Tanjou himſelf to renounce the dignity of an independent ſovereign, and the freedom of a warlike and high-ſpirited nation. He was received at Sigan, the capital of the monarchy, by the troops, the Mandarins, and the emperor himſelf, with all the honours that could adorn and diſguiſe the triumph of Chineſe vanity [40]. A magnificent palace was prepared for his reception; his place was aſſigned above all the princes of the royal family; and the patience of the Barbarian king was exhauſted by the ceremonies of a banquet, which conſiſted of eight courſes of meat, and of nine ſolemn pieces of muſic. But he performed, on his knees, the duty of a reſpectful homage to the emperor of China; pronounced, in his own name, and in the name of his ſucceſſors, a perpetual oath of fidelity; and gratefully accepted a ſeal, which was beſtowed as the emblem of his regal dependance. After this humiliating ſubmiſſion, the Tanjous ſometimes departed from their allegiance, and ſeized the favourable moments of war and rapine; but the monarchy of the Huns gradually declined, till it was broken, by civil diſſenſion, into two hoſtile and ſeparate kingdoms. One of the princes of the nation was urged, by fear and ambition, to retire towards the South with eight hords, which compoſed between forty and fifty thouſand families. He obtained, with the title of Tanjou, a convenient territory on the verge of the Chineſe provinces; and his conſtant attach-

Ant. Chriſt. 51.

A. D. 48.

[39] This expreſſion is uſed in the memorial to the emperor Venti (Duhalde, tom. ii. p. 417.). Without adopting the exaggerations of Marco-Polo and Iſaac Voſſius, we may rationally allow for Pekin, two millions of inhabitants. The cities of the South, which contain the manufactures of China, are ſtill more populous.

[40] See the Kang-Mou, tom. iii. p. 150., and the ſubſequent events under the proper years. This memorable feſtival is celebrated in the Eloge de Moukden, and explained in a note by the P. Gaubil, p. 89, 90.

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ment to the ſervice of the empire was ſecured by weakneſs and the deſire of revenge. From the time of this fatal ſchiſm, the Huns of the North continued to languiſh about fifty years, till they were oppreſſed on every ſide by their foreign and domeſtic enemies. The proud inſcription[42] of a column, erected on a lofty mountain, announced to poſterity, that a Chineſe army had marched ſeven hundred miles into the heart of their country. The Sienpi[42], a tribe of Oriental Tartars, retaliated the injuries which they had formerly ſuſtained; and the power of the Tanjous, after a reign of thirteen hundred years, was utterly deſtroyed before the end of the firſt century of the Chriſtian æra[43]. A. D. 93.

Their emigrations, A. D. 100, &c.

The fate of the vanquiſhed Huns was diverſified by the various influence of character and ſituation[44]. Above one hundred thouſand perſons, the pooreſt, indeed, and the moſt puſillanimous, of the people, were contented to remain in their native country, to renounce their peculiar name and origin, and to mingle with the victorious nation of the Sienpi. Fifty-eight hords, about two hundred thouſand men, ambitious of a more honourable ſervitude, retired towards the South; implored the protection of the emperors of China; and were permitted to inhabit, and to guard, the extreme frontiers of the province of Chanſi and the territory of Ortous. But the moſt warlike and powerful tribes of the Huns maintained, in their adverſe fortune, the undaunted ſpirit of their anceſtors. The weſtern world was open to their valour; and they reſolved, under

[41] This inſcription was compoſed on the ſpot by Pankou, Preſident of the Tribunal of Hiſtory (Kang-Mou, tom. iii. p. 392.). Similar monuments have been diſcovered in many parts of Tartary (Hiſtoire des Huns, tom. ii. p. 122.).

[42] M. de Guignes (tom. i. p. 189.) has inſerted a ſhort account of the Sienpi.

[43] The æra of the Huns is placed, by the Chineſe, 1210 years before Chriſt. But the ſeries of their kings does not commence till the year 230 (Hiſt. des Huns, tom. ii. p. 21. 123.).

[44] The various accidents, the downfal, and flight of the Huns, are related in the Kang-Mou, tom. iii. p. 88. 91. 95. 139, &c. The ſmall numbers of each hord may be aſcribed to their loſſes and diviſions.

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the conduct of their hereditary chieftains, to diſcover and ſubdue ſome remote country, which was ſtill inacceſſible to the arms of the Sienpi, and to the laws of China[45]. The courſe of their emigration ſoon carried them beyond the mountains of Imaus, and the limits of the Chineſe geography; but *we* are able to diſtinguiſh the two great diviſions of theſe formidable exiles, which directed their march towards the Oxus, and towards the Volga. The firſt of theſe colonies eſtabliſhed their dominion in the fruitful and extenſive plains of Sogdiana, on the eaſtern ſide of the Caſpian; where they preſerved the name of Huns, with the epithet of Euthalites, or Nepthalites. Their manners were ſoftened, and even their features were inſenſibly improved, by the mildneſs of the climate, and their long reſidence in a flouriſhing province[46], which might ſtill retain a faint impreſſion of the arts of Greece[47]. The *white* Huns, a name which they derived from the change of their complexions, ſoon abandoned the paſtoral life of Scythia. Gorgo, which, under the appellation of Carizme, has ſince enjoyed a temporary ſplendour, was the reſidence of the king, who exerciſed a legal authority over an obedient people. Their luxury was maintained by the labour of the Sogdians; and the only veſtige of their ancient barbariſm, was the cuſtom which obliged all the companions, perhaps to the number of twenty, who had ſhared the liberality of a wealthy lord, to be buried alive in the ſame grave[48].

The white Huns of Sogdiana.

[45] M. de Guignes has ſkilfully traced the footſteps of the Huns through the vaſt deſerts of Tartary (tom. ii. p. 123. 277, &c. 325, &c.).

[46] Mohammed, Sultan of Carizme, reigned in Sogdiana when it was invaded (A. D. 1218) by Zingis and his Moguls. The Oriental hiſtorians (ſee d'Herbelot, Petit de la Croix, &c.) celebrate the populous cities which he ruined, and the fruitful country which he deſolated. In the next century, the ſame provinces of Choraſmia and Mawaralnahr were deſcribed by Abulfeda (Hudſon, Geograph. Minor. tom. iii.). Their actual miſery may be ſeen in the Genealogical Hiſtory of the Tartars, p. 423—469.

[47] Juſtin (xli. 6.) has left a ſhort abridgment of the Greek kings of Bactriana. To their induſtry I ſhould aſcribe the new and extraordinary trade, which tranſported the merchandiſes of India into Europe, by the Oxus, the Caſpian, the Cyrus, the Phaſis, and the Euxine. The other ways, both of the land and ſea, were poſſeſſed by the Seleucides and the Ptolemies (See L'Eſprit des Loix, l. xxi.).

[48] Procopius de Bell. Perſico, l. i. c. 3. p. 9.

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The vicinity of the Huns to the provinces of Perſia, involved them in frequent and bloody conteſts with the power of that monarchy. But they reſpected in peace, the faith of treaties; in war, the dictates of humanity; and their memorable victory over Peroſes, or Firuz, diſplayed the moderation, as well as the valour, of the Barbarians. The *ſecond* diviſion of their countrymen, the Huns, who gradually advanced towards the North-weſt, were exerciſed by the hardſhips of a colder climate, and a more laborious march. Neceſſity compelled them to exchange the ſilks of China, for the furs of Siberia; the imperfect rudiments of civilized life were obliterated; and the native fierceneſs of the Huns was exaſperated by their intercourſe with the ſavage tribes, who were compared, with ſome propriety, to the wild beaſts of the deſert. Their independent ſpirit ſoon rejected the hereditary ſucceſſion of the Tanjous; and while each hord was governed by its peculiar Murſa, their tumultuary council directed the public meaſures of the whole nation. As late as the thirteenth century, their tranſient reſidence on the Eaſtern banks of the Volga, was atteſted by the name of Great Hungary[49]. In the winter, they deſcended with their flocks and herds towards the mouth of that mighty river; and their ſummer excurſions reached as high as the latitude of Saratoff, or perhaps the conflux of the Kama. Such at leaſt were the recent limits of the black Calmucks[50], who remained about a century under the protection of Ruſſia; and who have ſince returned to their native ſeats on the frontiers of the Chineſe empire. The march, and the return, of thoſe wandering Tartars, whoſe united camp conſiſts of fifty thouſand

The Huns of the Volga.

[49] In the thirteenth century, the monk Rubruquis (who traverſed the immenſe plain of Kipzak, in his journey to the court of the Great Khan) obſerved the remarkable name of *Hungary*, with the traces of a common language and origin (Hiſt. des Voyages, tom. vii. p. 269.).

[50] Bell (vol. i. p. 29—34.), and the editors of the Genealogical Hiſtory (p. 539.), have deſcribed the Calmucks of the Volga in the beginning of the preſent century.

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tents or families, illuſtrate the diſtant emigrations of the ancient Huns[51].

Their conqueſt of the Alani.

It is impoſſible to fill the dark interval of time which elapſed after the Huns of the Volga were loſt in the eyes of the Chineſe, and before they ſhewed themſelves to thoſe of the Romans. There is ſome reaſon, however, to apprehend, that the ſame force which had driven them from their native ſeats, ſtill continued to impel their march towards the frontiers of Europe. The power of the Sienpi, their implacable enemies, which extended above three thouſand miles from Eaſt to Weſt[52], muſt have gradually oppreſſed them by the weight and terror of a formidable neighbourhood: and the flight of the tribes of Scythia would inevitably tend to increaſe the ſtrength, or to contract the territories, of the Huns. The harſh and obſcure appellations of thoſe tribes would offend the ear, without informing the underſtanding, of the reader; but I cannot ſuppreſs the very natural ſuſpicion, *that* the Huns of the North derived a conſiderable reinforcement from the ruin of the dynaſty of the South, which, in the courſe of the third century, ſubmitted to the dominion of China; *that* the braveſt warriors marched away in ſearch of their free and adventurous countrymen; *and* that, as they had been divided by proſperity, they were eaſily re-united by the common hardſhips of their adverſe fortune[53]. The Huns, with their flocks and herds, their wives

[51] This great tranſmigration of 300,000 Calmucks, or Torgouts, happened in the year 1771. The original narrative of Kien-long, the reigning emperor of China, which was intended for the inſcription of a column, has been tranſlated by the miſſionaries of Pekin (Memoiré ſur la Chine, tom. i. p. 401—418.). The emperor affects the ſmooth and ſpecious language of the Son of Heaven, and the Father of his people.

[52] The Kang-Mou (tom. iii. p. 447.) aſcribes to their conqueſts a ſpace of 14,000 *lis*. According to the preſent ſtandard, 200 *lis* (or more accurately 193) are equal to one degree of latitude; and one Engliſh mile conſequently exceeds three miles of China. But there are ſtrong reaſons to believe that the ancient *li* ſcarcely equalled one-half of the modern. See the elaborate reſearches of M. d'Anville, a geographer, who is not a ſtranger in any age, or climate, of the globe (Mémoires de l'Acad. tom. ii. p. 125—502. Meſures Itineraires, p. 154—167.).

[53] See the Hiſtoire des Huns, tom. ii. p. 125

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wives and children, their dependents and allies, were tranſported to the Weſt of the Volga: and they boldly advanced to invade the country of the Alani, a paſtoral people who occupied, or waſted, an extenſive tract of the deſerts of Scythia. The plains between the Volga and the Tanais were covered with the tents of the Alani, but their name and manners were diffuſed over the wide extent of their conqueſts; and the painted tribes of the Agathyrſi and Geloni were confounded among their vaſſals. Towards the North, they penetrated into the frozen regions of Siberia, among the ſavages who were accuſtomed, in their rage or hunger, to the taſte of human fleſh: and their Southern inroads were puſhed as far as the confines of Perſia and India. The mixture of Sarmatic and German blood had contributed to improve the features of the Alani, to whiten their ſwarthy complexions, and to tinge their hair with a yellowiſh caſt, which is ſeldom found in the Tartar race. They were leſs deformed in their perſons, leſs brutiſh in their manners, than the Huns; but they did not yield to thoſe formidable Barbarians in their martial and independent ſpirit; in the love of freedom, which rejected even the uſe of domeſtic ſlaves; and in the love of arms, which conſidered war and rapine as the pleaſure and the glory of mankind. A naked ſcymetar, fixed in the ground, was the only object of their religious worſhip; the ſcalps of their enemies formed the coſtly trappings of their horſes; and they viewed, with pity and contempt, the puſillanimous warriors, who patiently expected the infirmities of age, and the tortures of lingering diſeaſe[54]. On the banks of the Tanais, the military power of the Huns and the Alani encountered

125—144. The ſubſequent hiſtory (p. 145—277) of three or four Hunnic dynaſties evidently proves, that their martial ſpirit was not impaired by a long reſidence in China.

[54] Utque hominibus quietis et placidis otium eſt voluptabile, ita illos pericula juvant et bella. Judicatur ibi beatus qui in prœlio profuderit animam: ſeneſcentes etiam et fortuitis mortibus mundo digreſſos, ut degeneres et ignavos conviciis atrocibus inſectantur. We muſt think highly of the conquerors of *ſuch* men.

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each other with equal valour, but with unequal ſucceſs. The Huns prevailed in the bloody conteſt: the king of the Alani was ſlain; and the remains of the vanquiſhed nation were diſperſed by the ordinary alternative of flight or ſubmiſſion [55]. A colony of exiles found a ſecure refuge in the mountains of Caucaſus, between the Euxine and the Caſpian; where they ſtill preſerve their name and their independence. Another colony advanced, with more intrepid courage, towards the ſhores of the Baltic; aſſociated themſelves with the Northern tribes of Germany; and ſhared the ſpoil of the Roman provinces of Gaul and Spain. But the greateſt part of the nation of the Alani embraced the offers of an honourable and advantageous union: and the Huns, who eſteemed the valour of their leſs fortunate enemies, proceeded, with an increaſe of numbers and confidence, to invade the limits of the Gothic empire.

Their victories over the Goths, A. D. 375.

The great Hermanric, whoſe dominions extended from the Baltic to the Euxine, enjoyed, in the full maturity of age and reputation, the fruit of his victories, when he was alarmed by the formidable approach of an hoſt of unknown enemies [56], on whom his barbarous ſubjects might, without injuſtice, beſtow the epithet of Barbarians. The numbers, the ſtrength, the rapid motions, and the implacable cruelty of the Huns, were felt, and dreaded, and magnified, by the aſtoniſhed Goths; who beheld their fields and villages conſumed with flames, and deluged with indiſcriminate ſlaughter. To theſe real terrors they added, the ſurpriſe and abhorrence which were excited by the ſhrill voice, the uncouth geſtures, and the ſtrange de-

[55] On the ſubject of the Alani, ſee Ammianus (xxxi. 2.), Jornandes (de Rebus Geticis, c. 24.), M. de Guignes (Hiſt. des Huns, tom. ii. p. 279.), and the Genealogical Hiſtory of the Tartars (tom. ii. p. 617.).

[56] As we are poſſeſſed of the authentic hiſtory of the Huns, it would be impertinent to repeat, or to refute, the fables, which miſrepreſent their origin and progreſs, their paſſage of the mud or water of the Mæotis, in purſuit of an ox or ſtag, les Indes qu'ils avoient decouvertes, &c. (Zoſimus, l. iv. p. 224. Sozomen, l. vi. c. 37. Procopius Hiſt. Miſcell. c. 5. Jornandes, c. 24. Grandeur et Decadence, &c. des Romains, c. 17.)

formity

deformity of the Huns. Theſe ſavages of Scythia were compared (and the picture had ſome reſemblance) to the animals who walk very awkwardly on two legs; and to the miſ-ſhapen figures, the *Termini*, which were often placed on the bridges of antiquity. They were diſtinguiſhed from the reſt of the human ſpecies by their broad ſhoulders, flat noſes, and ſmall black eyes, deeply buried in the head; and as they were almoſt deſtitute of beards, they never enjoyed either the manly graces of youth, or the venerable aſpect of age [57]. A fabulous origin was aſſigned, worthy of their form and manners; that the witches of Scythia, who, for their foul and deadly practices, had been driven from ſociety, had copulated in the deſert with infernal ſpirits; and that the Huns were the offspring of this execrable conjunction [58]. The tale, ſo full of horror and abſurdity, was greedily embraced by the credulous hatred of the Goths; but, while it gratified their hatred, it increaſed their fear; ſince the poſterity of dæmons and witches might be ſuppoſed to inherit ſome ſhare of the præternatural powers, as well as of the malignant temper, of their parents. Againſt theſe enemies, Hermanric prepared to exert the united forces of the Gothic ſtate; but he ſoon diſcovered that his vaſſal tribes, provoked by oppreſſion, were much more inclined to ſecond, than to repel, the invaſion of the Huns. One of the chiefs of the Roxolani [59] had formerly deſerted the ſtandard of Hermanric, and the cruel tyrant had condemned the

[57] Prodigioſæ formæ, et pandi; ut bipedes exiſtimes beſtias; vel quales in commarginandis pontibus, effigiati ſtipites dolantur incompti. Ammian. xxxi. 1. Jornandes (c. 24.) draws a ſtrong caricature of a Calmuck face. Species pavendâ nigredine . . . quædam deformis offa, non facies; habenſque magis puncta quam lumina. See Buffon, Hiſt. Naturelle, tom. iii. p. 380.

[58] This execrable origin, which Jornandes (c. 24.) deſcribes with the rancour of a Goth, might be originally derived from a more pleaſing fable of the Greeks. (Herodot. l. iv. c. 9, &c.)

[59] The Roxolani may be the fathers of the Ρως, the *Ruſſians* (d'Anville, Empire de Ruſſie, p. 1—10.), whoſe reſidence (A. D. 862) about Novogrod Veliki cannot be very remote from that which the Geographer of Ravenna (i. 12. iv. 4. 46. v. 28. 30.) aſſigns to the Roxolani (A. D. 886).

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innocent wife of the traitor to be torn asunder by wild horses. The brothers of that unfortunate woman seized the favourable moment of revenge. The aged king of the Goths languished some time after the dangerous wound which he received from their daggers: but the conduct of the war was retarded by his infirmities; and the public councils of the nation were distracted by a spirit of jealousy and discord. His death, which has been imputed to his own despair, left the reins of government in the hands of Withimer, who, with the doubtful aid of some Scythian mercenaries, maintained the unequal contest against the arms of the Huns and the Alani, till he was defeated and slain, in a decisive battle. The Ostrogoths submitted to their fate: and the royal race of the Amali will hereafter be found among the subjects of the haughty Attila. But the person of Witheric, the infant king, was saved by the diligence of Alatheus and Saphrax; two warriors of approved valour and fidelity; who, by cautious marches, conducted the independent remains of the nation of the Ostrogoths towards the Danastus, or Niester; a considerable river, which now separates the Turkish dominions from the empire of Russia. On the banks of the Niester, the prudent Athanaric, more attentive to his own than to the general safety, had fixed the camp of the Visigoths; with the firm resolution of opposing the victorious Barbarians, whom he thought it less advisable to provoke. The ordinary speed of the Huns was checked by the weight of baggage, and the incumbrance of captives; but their military skill deceived, and almost destroyed, the army of Athanaric. While the judge of the Visigoths defended the banks of the Niester, he was encompassed and attacked by a numerous detachment of cavalry, who, by the light of the moon, had passed the river in a fordable place; and it was not without the utmost efforts of courage and conduct, that he was able to effect his retreat towards the hilly country. The undaunted general had already formed a new

new and judicious plan of defenſive war; and the ſtrong lines, which he was preparing to conſtruct between the mountains, the Pruth and the Danube, would have ſecured the extenſive and fertile territory that bears the modern name of Walachia, from the deſtructive inroads of the Huns[60]. But the hopes and meaſures of the judge of the Viſigoths were ſoon diſappointed, by the trembling impatience of his diſmayed countrymen; who were perſuaded by their fears, that the interpoſition of the Danube was the only barrier that could ſave them from the rapid purſuit, and invincible valour, of the Barbarians of Scythia. Under the command of Fritigern and Alavivus[61], the body of the nation haſtily advanced to the banks of the great river, and implored the protection of the Roman emperor of the Eaſt. Athanaric himſelf, ſtill anxious to avoid the guilt of perjury, retired, with a band of faithful followers, into the mountainous country of Caucaland; which appears to have been guarded, and almoſt concealed, by the impenetrable foreſts of Tranſylvania[62].

The Goths implore the protection of Valens, A. D. 376.

After Valens had terminated the Gothic war with ſome appearance of glory and ſucceſs, he made a progreſs through his dominions of Aſia, and at length fixed his reſidence in the capital of Syria. The five years[63] which he ſpent at Antioch were employed to watch, from a ſecure diſtance, the hoſtile deſigns of the Perſian monarch; to check the depredations of the Saracens and Iſaurians[64]; to enforce, by

[60] The text of Ammianus ſeems to be imperfect, or corrupt; but the nature of the ground explains, and almoſt defines, the Gothic rampart. Memoires de l'Academie, &c. tom. xxviii. p. 444—462.

[61] M. de Buat (Hiſt. des Peuples de l'Europe, tom. vi. p. 407.) has conceived a ſtrange idea, that Alavivus was the ſame perſon as Ulphilas the Gothic biſhop: and that Ulphilas, the grandſon of a Cappadocian captive, became a temporal prince of the Goths.

[62] Ammianus (xxxi. 3.) and Jornandes (de Rebus Geticis, c. 24.) deſcribe the ſubverſion of the Gothic empire by the Huns.

[63] The chronology of Ammianus is obſcure and imperfect. Tillemont has laboured to clear and ſettle the annals of Valens.

[64] Zoſimus, l. iv. p. 223. Sozomen, l. vi. c. 38. The Iſaurians, each winter, infeſted the roads of Aſia Minor, as far as the neighbourhood of Conſtantinople. Baſil, Epiſt. ccl. apud Tillemont, Hiſt. des Empereurs, tom. v. p. 106.

arguments

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arguments more prevalent than thoſe of reaſon and eloquence, the belief of the Arian theology; and to ſatisfy his anxious ſuſpicions by the promiſcuous execution of the innocent and the guilty. But the attention of the emperor was moſt ſeriouſly engaged, by the important intelligence which he received from the civil and military officers who were entruſted with the defence of the Danube. He was informed, that the North was agitated by a furious tempeſt; that the irruption of the Huns, an unknown and monſtrous race of ſavages, had ſubverted the power of the Goths; and that the ſuppliant multitudes of that warlike nation, whoſe pride was now humbled in the duſt, covered a ſpace of many miles along the banks of the river. With outſtretched arms, and pathetic lamentations, they loudly deplored their paſt misfortunes and their preſent danger; acknowledged, that their only hope of ſafety was in the clemency of the Roman government; and moſt ſolemnly proteſted, that if the gracious liberality of the emperor would permit them to cultivate the waſte lands of Thrace, they ſhould ever hold themſelves bound, by the ſtrongeſt obligations of duty and gratitude, to obey the laws, and to guard the limits, of the republic. Theſe aſſurances were confirmed by the ambaſſadors of the Goths, who impatiently expected, from the mouth of Valens, an anſwer that muſt finally determine the fate of their unhappy countrymen. The emperor of the Eaſt was no longer guided by the wiſdom and authority of his elder brother, whoſe death happened towards the end of the preceding year: and as the diſtreſsful ſituation of the Goths required an inſtant and peremptory deciſion, he was deprived of the favourite reſource of feeble and timid minds; who conſider the uſe of dilatory and ambiguous meaſures, as the moſt admirable efforts of conſummate prudence. As long as the ſame paſſions and intereſts ſubſiſt among mankind, the queſtions of war and peace, of juſtice and policy, which were debated in the councils of antiquity, will frequently

A. D. 375. Nov. 17.

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frequently preſent themſelves as the ſubject of modern deliberation. But the moſt experienced ſtateſman of Europe has never been ſummoned to conſider the propriety, or the danger, of admitting, or rejecting, an innumerable multitude of Barbarians, who are driven by deſpair and hunger to ſolicit a ſettlement on the territories of a civilized nation. When that important propoſition, ſo eſſentially connected with the public ſafety, was referred to the miniſters of Valens, they were perplexed and divided; but they ſoon acquieſced in the flattering ſentiment which ſeemed the moſt favourable to the pride, the indolence, and the avarice of their ſovereign. The ſlaves, who were decorated with the titles of præfects and generals, diſſembled or diſregarded the terrors of this national emigration; ſo extremely different from the partial and accidental colonies, which had been received on the extreme limits of the empire. But they applauded the liberality of fortune, which had conducted, from the moſt diſtant countries of the globe, a numerous and invincible army of ſtrangers, to defend the throne of Valens; who might now add to the royal treaſures, the immenſe ſums of gold ſupplied by the provincials to compenſate their annual proportion of recruits. The prayers of the Goths were granted, and their ſervice was accepted by the Imperial court: and orders were immediately diſpatched to the civil and military governors of the Thracian dioceſe, to make the neceſſary preparations for the paſſage and ſubſiſtence of a great people, till a proper and ſufficient territory could be allotted for their future reſidence. The liberality of the emperor was accompanied, however, with two harſh and rigorous conditions, which prudence might juſtify on the ſide of the Romans; but which diſtreſs alone could extort from the indignant Goths. Before they paſſed the Danube, they were required to deliver their arms: and it was inſiſted, that their children ſhould be taken from them, and diſperſed through the provinces of Aſia; where they might be

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civilized by the arts of education, and ſerve as hoſtages to ſecure the fidelity of their parents.

They are tranſported over the Danube into the Roman empire.

During this ſuſpenſe of a doubtful and diſtant negociation, the impatient Goths made ſome raſh attempts to paſs the Danube, without the permiſſion of the government, whoſe protection they had implored. Their motions were ſtrictly obſerved by the vigilance of the troops which were ſtationed along the river; and their foremoſt detachments were defeated with conſiderable ſlaughter: yet ſuch were the timid councils of the reign of Valens, that the brave officers who had ſerved their country in the execution of their duty, were puniſhed by the loſs of their employments, and narrowly eſcaped the loſs of their heads. The Imperial mandate was at length received for tranſporting over the Danube the whole body of the Gothic nation[65]; but the execution of this order was a taſk of labour and difficulty. The ſtream of the Danube, which in thoſe parts is above a mile broad[66], had been ſwelled by inceſſant rains; and, in this tumultuous paſſage, many were ſwept away, and drowned, by the rapid violence of the current. A large fleet of veſſels, of boats, and of canoes, was provided: many days and nights they paſſed and repaſſed with indefatigable toil; and the moſt ſtrenuous diligence was exerted by the officers of Valens, that not a ſingle Barbarian, of thoſe who were reſerved to ſubvert the foundations of Rome, ſhould be left on the oppoſite ſhore. It was thought expedient that an accurate account ſhould be taken of their numbers; but the perſons who were employed ſoon deſiſted, with amazement and

[65] The paſſage of the Danube is expoſed by Ammianus (xxxi. 3, 4.), Zoſimus (l. iv. p. 223, 224.), Eunapius (in Excerpt. Legat. p. 19, 20.), and Jornandes (c. 25, 26.). Ammianus declares (c. 5.), that he means only, ipſas rerum digerere *ſummitates*. But he often takes a falſe meaſure of their importance; and his ſuperfluous prolixity is diſagreeably balanced by his unſeaſonable brevity.

[66] Chiſhull, a curious traveller, has remarked the breadth of the Danube, which he paſſed to the ſouth of Buchareſt, near the conflux of the Argiſh (p. 77.). He admires the beauty and ſpontaneous plenty of Mæſia, or Bulgaria.

diſmay,

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diſmay, from the proſecution of the endleſs and impracticable taſk [67]: and the principal hiſtorian of the age moſt ſeriouſly affirms, that the prodigious armies of Darius and Xerxes, which had ſo long been conſidered as the fables of vain and credulous antiquity, were now juſtified, in the eyes of mankind, by the evidence of fact and experience. A probable teſtimony has fixed the number of the Gothic warriors at two hundred thouſand men; and if we can venture to add the juſt proportion of women, of children, and of ſlaves, the whole maſs of people which compoſed this formidable emigration, muſt have amounted to near a million of perſons of both ſexes, and of all ages. The children of the Goths, thoſe at leaſt of a diſtinguiſhed rank, were ſeparated from the multitude. They were conducted, without delay, to the diſtant ſeats aſſigned for their reſidence and education; and as the numerous train of hoſtages or captives paſſed through the cities, their gay and ſplendid apparel, their robuſt and martial figure, excited the ſurpriſe and envy of the Provincials. But the ſtipulation, the moſt offenſive to the Goths, and the moſt important to the Romans, was ſhamefully eluded. The Barbarians, who conſidered their arms as the enſigns of honour, and the pledges of ſafety, were diſpoſed to offer a price, which the luſt or avarice of the Imperial officers was eaſily tempted to accept. To preſerve their arms, the haughty warriors conſented, with ſome reluctance, to proſtitute their wives or their daughters; the charms of a beauteous maid, or a comely boy, ſecured the connivance of the inſpectors; who ſometimes caſt an eye of covetouſneſs

[67] Quem ſi ſcire velit, Libyci velit æquoris idem
Scire quam multæ Zephyro truduntur harenæ.
Ammianus has inſerted, in his proſe, theſe lines of Virgil (Georgic. l. ii.), originally deſigned by the poet to expreſs the impoſſibility of numbering the different ſorts of vines. See Plin. Hiſt. Natur. l. xiv.

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on the fringed carpets and linen garments of their new allies[68], or who ſacrificed their duty to the mean conſideration of filling their farms with cattle, and their houſes with ſlaves. The Goths, with arms in their hands, were permitted to enter the boats; and, when their ſtrength was collected on the other ſide of the river, the immenſe camp which was ſpread over the plains and the hills of the Lower Mæſia, aſſumed a threatening and even hoſtile aſpect. The leaders of the Oſtrogoths, Alatheus and Saphrax, the guardians of their infant king, appeared ſoon afterwards on the northern banks of the Danube; and immediately diſpatched their ambaſſadors to the court of Antioch, to ſolicit, with the ſame profeſſions of allegiance and gratitude, the ſame favour which had been granted to the ſuppliant Viſigoths. The abſolute refuſal of Valens ſuſpended their progreſs, and diſcovered the repentance, the ſuſpicions, and the fears, of the Imperial council.

Their diſtreſs and diſcontent.

An undiſciplined and unſettled nation of Barbarians required the firmeſt temper, and the moſt dexterous management. The daily ſubſiſtence of near a million of extraordinary ſubjects could be ſupplied only by conſtant and ſkilful diligence, and might continually be interrupted by miſtake or accident. The inſolence, or the indignation, of the Goths, if they conceived themſelves to be the objects, either of fear, or of contempt, might urge them to the moſt deſperate extremities; and the fortune of the ſtate ſeemed to depend on the prudence, as well as the integrity, of the generals of Valens. At this important criſis, the military government of Thrace was exerciſed by Lupicinus and Maximus, in whoſe venal minds the ſlighteſt hope of private emolument outweighed every conſideration of public advantage: and whoſe guilt was only

[68] Eunapius and Zoſimus curiouſly ſpecify theſe articles of Gothic wealth and luxury. Yet it muſt be preſumed, that they were the manufactures of the provinces; which the Barbarians had acquired as the ſpoils of war; or as the gifts, or merchandiſe, of peace.

alleviated

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alleviated by their incapacity of diſcerning the pernicious effects of their raſh and criminal adminiſtration. Inſtead of obeying the orders of their ſovereign, and ſatisfying, with decent liberality, the demands of the Goths, they levied an ungenerous and oppreſſive tax on the wants of the hungry Barbarians. The vileſt food was ſold at an extravagant price; and, in the room of wholeſome and ſubſtantial proviſions, the markets were filled with the fleſh of dogs, and of unclean animals, who had died of diſeaſe. To obtain the valuable acquiſition of a pound of bread, the Goths reſigned the poſſeſſion of an expenſive, though ſerviceable, ſlave; and a ſmall quantity of meat was greedily purchaſed with ten pounds of a precious, but uſeleſs, metal [69]. When their property was exhauſted, they continued this neceſſary traffic by the ſale of their ſons and daughters; and notwithſtanding the love of freedom, which animated every Gothic breaſt, they ſubmitted to the humiliating maxim, that it was better for their children to be maintained in a ſervile condition, than to periſh in a ſtate of wretched and helpleſs independence. The moſt lively reſentment is excited by the tyranny of pretended benefactors, who ſternly exact the debt of gratitude which they have cancelled by ſubſequent injuries: a ſpirit of diſcontent inſenſibly aroſe in the camp of the Barbarians, who pleaded, without ſucceſs, the merit of their patient and dutiful behaviour; and loudly complained of the inhoſpitable treatment which they had received from their new allies. They beheld around them the wealth and plenty of a fertile province, in the midſt of which they ſuffered the intolerable hardſhips of artificial famine. But the means of relief, and even of revenge,

[69] *Decem libras*; the word *ſilver* muſt be underſtood. Jornandes betrays the paſſions and prejudices of a Goth. The ſervile Greeks, Eunapius and Zoſimus, diſguiſe the Roman oppreſſion, and execrate the perfidy of the Barbarians. Ammianus, a patriot hiſtorian, ſlightly, and reluctantly, touches on the odious ſubject. Jerom, who wrote almoſt on the ſpot, is fair, though conciſe. Per avaritiam Maximi ducis, ad rebellionem fame *coacti* ſunt (in Chron.).

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were in their hands; ſince the rapaciouſneſs of their tyrants had left, to an injured people, the poſſeſſion and the uſe of arms. The clamours of a multitude, untaught to diſguiſe their ſentiments, announced the firſt ſymptoms of reſiſtance, and alarmed the timid and guilty minds of Lupicinus and Maximus. Thoſe crafty miniſters, who ſubſtituted the cunning of temporary expedients to the wiſe and ſalutary counſels of general policy, attempted to remove the Goths from their dangerous ſtation on the frontiers of the empire; and to diſperſe them, in ſeparate quarters of cantonment, through the interior provinces. As they were conſcious how ill they had deſerved the reſpect, or confidence, of the Barbarians, they diligently collected, from every ſide, a military force, that might urge the tardy and reluctant march of a people, who had not yet renounced the title, or the duties, of Roman ſubjects. But the generals of Valens, while their attention was ſolely directed to the diſcontented Viſigoths, imprudently diſarmed the ſhips and the fortifications which conſtituted the defence of the Danube. The fatal overſight was obſerved, and improved, by Alatheus and Saphrax, who anxiouſly watched the favourable moment of eſcaping from the purſuit of the Huns. By the help of ſuch rafts and veſſels as could be haſtily procured, the leaders of the Oſtrogoths tranſported, without oppoſition, their king and their army; and boldly fixed an hoſtile and independent camp on the territories of the empire [70].

Revolt of the Goths in Mæſia, and their firſt victories.

Under the name of judges, Alavivus and Fritigern were the leaders of the Viſigoths in peace and war; and the authority which they derived from their birth, was ratified by the free conſent of the nation. In a ſeaſon of tranquillity, their power might have been equal, as well as their rank; but, as ſoon as their countrymen were exaſperated by hunger and oppreſſion, the ſuperior abilities of Fritigern aſſumed the military command, which he was qualified to

[70] Ammianus, xxxi. 4, 5.

exerciſe

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exercise for the public welfare. He restrained the impatient spirit of the Visigoths, till the injuries and the insults of their tyrants should justify their resistance in the opinion of mankind: but he was not disposed to sacrifice any solid advantages for the empty praise of justice and moderation. Sensible of the benefits which would result from the union of the Gothic powers under the same standard, he secretly cultivated the friendship of the Ostrogoths; and while he professed an implicit obedience to the orders of the Roman generals, he proceeded by slow marches towards Marcianopolis, the capital of the Lower Mæsia, about seventy miles from the banks of the Danube. On that fatal spot, the flames of discord and mutual hatred burst forth into a dreadful conflagration. Lupicinus had invited the Gothic chiefs to a splendid entertainment; and their martial train remained under arms at the entrance of the palace. But the gates of the city were strictly guarded; and the Barbarians were sternly excluded from the use of a plentiful market, to which they asserted their equal claim of subjects and allies. Their humble prayers were rejected with insolence and derision; and as their patience was now exhausted, the townsmen, the soldiers, and the Goths, were soon involved in a conflict of passionate altercation and angry reproaches. A blow was imprudently given; a sword was hastily drawn; and the first blood that was spilt in this accidental quarrel, became the signal of a long and destructive war. In the midst of noise and brutal intemperance, Lupicinus was informed, by a secret messenger, that many of his soldiers were slain, and despoiled of their arms; and as he was already inflamed by wine, and oppressed by sleep, he issued a rash command, that their death should be revenged by the massacre of the guards of Fritigern and Alavivus. The clamorous shouts and dying groans apprised Fritigern of his extreme danger: and, as he possessed the calm and intrepid spirit of a hero, he saw that he was lost if he allowed a moment of deliberation

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to the man who had ſo deeply injured him. "A trifling diſpute," ſaid the Gothic leader, with a firm but gentle tone of voice, "appears to have ariſen between the two nations; but it may be "productive of the moſt dangerous conſequences, unleſs the tumult "is immediately pacified by the aſſurance of our ſafety, and the "authority of our preſence." At theſe words, Fritigern and his companions drew their ſwords, opened their paſſage through the unreſiſting crowd, which filled the palace, the ſtreets, and the gates, of Marcianopolis, and, mounting their horſes, haſtily vaniſhed from the eyes of the aſtoniſhed Romans. The generals of the Goths were ſaluted by the fierce and joyful acclamations of the camp: war was inſtantly reſolved, and the reſolution was executed without delay: the banners of the nation were diſplayed according to the cuſtom of their anceſtors; and the air reſounded with the harſh and mournful muſic of the Barbarian trumpet[71]. The weak and guilty Lupicinus, who had dared to provoke, who had neglected to deſtroy, and who ſtill preſumed to deſpiſe, his formidable enemy, marched againſt the Goths, at the head of ſuch a military force as could be collected on this ſudden emergency. The Barbarians expected his approach about nine miles from Marcianopolis; and on this occaſion the talents of the general were found to be of more prevailing efficacy than the weapons and diſcipline of the troops. The valour of the Goths was ſo ably directed by the genius of Fritigern, that they broke, by a cloſe and vigorous attack, the ranks of the Roman legions. Lupi-

[71] Vexillis de *more* ſublatis, auditiſque *triſte ſonantibus claſſicis*. Ammian. xxxi. 5. Theſe are the *rauca cornua* of Claudian (in Ruſin. ii. 57.), the large horns of the *Uri*, or wild bull; ſuch as have been more recently uſed by the Swiſs Cantons of Uri and Underwald (Simler de Republicâ Helvet. l. ii. p. 201. edit. Fuſelin. Tigur. 1734). Their military horn is finely, though perhaps caſually, introduced in an original narrative of the battle of Nancy (A. D. 1477). "Attendant le combat le dit cor fut corné "par trois fois, tant que le vent du ſoufleur "pouvoit durer: ce qui eſbahit fort Monſieur "de Bourgoigne; *car deja à Morat l'avoit "ouy*." (See the Pieces Juſtificatives in the 4to edition of Philippe de Comines, tom. iii. p. 493.)

cinus

cinus left his arms and ſtandards, his tribunes and his braveſt ſoldiers, on the field of battle; and their uſeleſs courage ſerved only to protect the ignominious flight of their leader. "That ſucceſsful day "put an end to the diſtreſs of the Barbarians, and the ſecurity "of the Romans: from that day, the Goths, renouncing the pre-"carious condition of ſtrangers and exiles, aſſumed the character "of citizens and maſters, claimed an abſolute dominion over the "poſſeſſors of land, and held, in their own right, the northern pro-"vinces of the empire, which are bounded by the Danube." Such are the words of the Gothic hiſtorian [72], who celebrates, with rude eloquence, the glory of his countrymen. But the dominion of the Barbarians was exerciſed only for the purpoſes of rapine and deſtruction. As they had been deprived, by the miniſters of the emperor, of the common benefits of nature, and the fair intercourſe of ſocial life, they retaliated the injuſtice on the ſubjects of the empire; and the crimes of Lupicinus were expiated by the ruin of the peaceful huſbandmen of Thrace, the conflagration of their villages, and the maſſacre, or captivity, of their innocent families. The report of the Gothic victory was ſoon diffuſed over the adjacent country; and while it filled the minds of the Romans with terror and diſmay, their own haſty imprudence contributed to increaſe the forces of Fritigern, and the calamities of the province. Some time before the great emigration, a numerous body of Goths, under the command of Suerid and Colias, had been received into the protection and ſervice of the empire [73]. They were encamped under the walls of Hadrianople: but the miniſters of Valens were anxious to remove them beyond the Helleſpont, at a diſtance from the dangerous temptation which might

They penetrate into Thrace.

[72] Jornandes de Rebus Geticis, c. 26. p. 648. edit. Grot. Theſe *ſplendidi panni* (they are comparatively ſuch) are undoubtedly tranſcribed from the larger hiſtories of Priſcus, Ablavius, or Caſſiodorius.

[73] Cum populis ſuis longe ante ſuſcepti. We are ignorant of the preciſe date and circumſtances of their tranſmigration.

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ſo eaſily be communicated by the neighbourhood, and the ſucceſs, of their countrymen. The reſpectful ſubmiſſion with which they yielded to the order of their march, might be conſidered as a proof of their fidelity; and their moderate requeſt of a ſufficient allowance of proviſions, and of a delay of only two days, was expreſſed in the moſt dutiful terms. But the firſt magiſtrate of Hadrianople, incenſed by ſome diſorders which had been committed at his country-houſe, refuſed this indulgence; and arming againſt them the inhabitants and manufacturers of a populous city, he urged, with hoſtile threats, their inſtant departure. The Barbarians ſtood ſilent and amazed, till they were exaſperated by the inſulting clamours, and miſſile weapons, of the populace: but when patience or contempt was fatigued, they cruſhed the undiſciplined multitude, inflicted many a ſhameful wound on the backs of their flying enemies, and deſpoiled them of the ſplendid armour[74], which they were unworthy to bear. The reſemblance of their ſufferings and their actions ſoon united this victorious detachment to the nation of the Viſigoths; the troops of Colias and Suerid expected the approach of the great Fritigern, ranged themſelves under his ſtandard, and ſignalized their ardour in the ſiege of Hadrianople. But the reſiſtance of the garriſon informed the Barbarians, that, in the attack of regular fortifications, the efforts of unſkilful courage are ſeldom effectual. Their general acknowledged his error, raiſed the ſiege, declared that "he was at peace with "ſtone walls[75]," and revenged his diſappointment on the adjacent country. He accepted, with pleaſure, the uſeful reinforcement of hardy workmen, who laboured in the gold mines of Thrace[76], for the

[74] An Imperial manufacture of ſhields, &c. was eſtabliſhed at Hadrianople; and the populace were headed by the *Fabricenſes*, or workmen (Valeſ. ad Ammian. xxxi. 6.).

[75] Pacem ſibi eſſe cum parietibus memorans. Ammian. xxxi. 7.

[76] Theſe mines were in the country of the Beſſi, in the ridge of mountains, the Rhodope,

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the emolument, and under the laſh, of an unfeeling maſter[77]: and theſe new aſſociates conducted the Barbarians, through the ſecret paths, to the moſt ſequeſtered places, which had been choſen to ſecure the inhabitants, the cattle, and the magazines of corn. With the aſſiſtance of ſuch guides, nothing could remain impervious, or inacceſſible: reſiſtance was fatal; flight was impracticable; and the patient ſubmiſſion of helpleſs innocence ſeldom found mercy from the Barbarian conqueror. In the courſe of theſe depredations, a great number of the children of the Goths, who had been ſold into captivity, were reſtored to the embraces of their afflicted parents; but theſe tender interviews, which might have revived and cheriſhed in their minds ſome ſentiments of humanity, tended only to ſtimulate their native fierceneſs by the deſire of revenge. They liſtened, with eager attention, to the complaints of their captive children, who had ſuffered the moſt cruel indignities from the luſtful or angry paſſions of their maſters; and the ſame cruelties, the ſame indignities, were ſeverely retaliated on the ſons and daughters of the Romans[78].

Operations of the Gothic war. A. D. 377.

The imprudence of Valens and his miniſters had introduced into the heart of the empire a nation of enemies; but the Viſigoths might even yet have been reconciled, by the manly confeſſion of paſt errors, and the ſincere performance of former engagements. Theſe healing and temperate meaſures ſeemed to concur with the timorous diſpoſition of the ſovereign of the Eaſt: but, on this occaſion alone,

dope, that runs between Philippi and Philippopolis; two Macedonian cities, which derived their name and origin from the father of Alexander. From the mines of Thrace he annually received the value, not the weight, of a thouſand talents (200,000l.); a revenue which paid the phalanx, and corrupted the orators of Greece. See Diodor. Siculus, tom. ii. l. xvi. p. 88. edit. Weſſeling. Godefroy's Commentary on the Theodoſian Code, tom. iii. p. 496. Cellarius, Geograph. Antiq. tom. i. p. 676. 857. D'Anville, Geographie Ancienne, tom. i. p. 336.

[77] As thoſe unhappy workmen often ran away, Valens had enacted ſevere laws to drag them from their hiding-places. Cod. Theodoſian. l. x. tit. xix. leg. 5. 7.

[78] See Ammianus, xxxi. 5, 6. The hiſtorian of the Gothic war loſes time and ſpace, by an unſeaſonable recapitulation of the ancient inroads of the Barbarians.

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Valens was brave; and his unſeaſonable bravery was fatal to himſelf and to his ſubjects. He declared his intention of marching from Antioch to Conſtantinople, to ſubdue this dangerous rebellion; and, as he was not ignorant of the difficulties of the enterpriſe, he ſolicited the aſſiſtance of his nephew, the emperor Gratian, who commanded all the forces of the Weſt. The veteran troops were haſtily recalled from the defence of Armenia; that important frontier was abandoned to the diſcretion of Sapor; and the immediate conduct of the Gothic war was entruſted, during the abſence of Valens, to his lieutenants Trajan and Profuturus, two generals who indulged themſelves in a very falſe and favourable opinion of their own abilities. On their arrival in Thrace, they were joined by Richomer, count of the domeſtics; and the auxiliaries of the Weſt, that marched under his banner, were compoſed of the Gallic legions, reduced indeed by a ſpirit of deſertion to the vain appearances of ſtrength and numbers. In a council of war, which was influenced by pride, rather than by reaſon, it was reſolved to ſeek, and to encounter, the Barbarians; who lay encamped in the ſpacious and fertile meadows, near the moſt ſouthern of the ſix mouths of the Danube [79]. Their camp was ſurrounded by the uſual fortification of waggons [80]; and the Barbarians, ſecure within the vaſt circle of the incloſure, enjoyed the fruits of their valour, and the ſpoils of the province. In the midſt of riotous intemperance, the watchful Fritigern obſerved the motions, and penetrated the deſigns, of the Romans. He perceived, that the numbers of the enemy were continually increaſing; and, as he underſtood their intention of attacking his rear, as ſoon as

[79] The Itinerary of Antoninus (p. 226, 227. edit. Weſſeling) marks the ſituation of this place about ſixty miles north of Tomi, Ovid's exile: and the name of *Salices* (the willows) expreſſes the nature of the ſoil.

[80] This circle of waggons, the *Carrago*, was the uſual fortification of the Barbarians (Vegetius de Re Militari, l. iii. c. 10. Valeſius ad Ammian. xxxi. 7.) The practice and the name were preſerved by their deſcendants, as late as the fifteenth century. The *Charroy*, which ſurrounded the *Oſt*, is a word familiar to the readers of Froiſſard, or Comines.

the

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the ſcarcity of forage ſhould oblige him to remove his camp; he recalled to their ſtandard his predatory detachments, which covered the adjacent country. As ſoon as they deſcried the flaming beacons [81], they obeyed, with incredible ſpeed, the ſignal of their leader; the camp was filled with the martial crowd of Barbarians; their impatient clamours demanded the battle, and their tumultuous zeal was approved and animated by the ſpirit of their chiefs. The evening was already far advanced; and the two armies prepared themſelves for the approaching combat, which was deferred only till the dawn of day. While the trumpets ſounded to arms, the undaunted courage of the Goths was confirmed by the mutual obligation of a ſolemn oath; and as they advanced to meet the enemy, the rude ſongs, which celebrated the glory of their forefathers, were mingled with their fierce and diſſonant outcries; and oppoſed to the artificial harmony of the Roman ſhout. Some military ſkill was diſplayed by Fritigern to gain the advantage of a commanding eminence; but the bloody conflict, which began and ended with the light, was maintained, on either ſide, by the perſonal and obſtinate efforts of ſtrength, valour, and agility. The legions of Armenia ſupported their fame in arms; but they were oppreſſed by the irreſiſtible weight of the hoſtile multitude: the left wing of the Romans was thrown into diſorder, and the field was ſtrewed with their mangled carcaſes. This partial defeat was balanced, however, by partial ſucceſs; and when the two armies, at a late hour of the evening, retreated to their reſpective camps, neither of them could claim the honours, or the effects, of a deciſive victory. The real loſs was more ſeverely felt by the Romans, in proportion to the ſmallneſs of their numbers; but the Goths were ſo deeply confounded and diſmayed by

[81] Statim ut accenſi malleoli. I have uſed the literal ſenſe of real torches or beacons: but I almoſt ſuſpect, that it is only one of thoſe turgid metaphors, thoſe falſe ornaments, that perpetually diſfigure the ſtyle of Ammianus.

this

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this vigorous, and perhaps unexpected, reſiſtance, that they remained ſeven days within the circle of their fortifications. Such funeral rites, as the circumſtances of time and place would admit, were piouſly diſcharged to ſome officers of diſtinguiſhed rank; but the indiſcriminate vulgar was left unburied on the plain. Their fleſh was greedily devoured by the birds of prey, who, in that age, enjoyed very frequent and delicious feaſts; and ſeveral years afterwards the white and naked bones, which covered the wide extent of the fields, preſented to the eyes of Ammianus, a dreadful monument of the battle of Salices [82].

Union of the Goths with the Huns, Alani, &c.

The progreſs of the Goths had been checked by the doubtful event of that bloody day; and the Imperial generals, whoſe army would have been conſumed by the repetition of ſuch a conteſt, embraced the more rational plan, of deſtroying the Barbarians, by the wants and preſſure of their own multitudes. They prepared to confine the Viſigoths in the narrow angle of land, between the Danube, the deſert of Scythia, and the mountains of Hæmus, till their ſtrength and ſpirit ſhould be inſenſibly waſted by the inevitable operation of famine. The deſign was proſecuted with ſome conduct and ſucceſs; the Barbarians had almoſt exhauſted their own magazines, and the harveſts of the country; and the diligence of Saturninus, the maſter-general of the cavalry, was employed to improve the ſtrength, and to contract the extent, of the Roman fortifications. His labours were interrupted by the alarming intelligence, that new ſwarms of Barbarians had paſſed the unguarded Danube, either to ſupport the cauſe, or to imitate the example, of Fritigern. The juſt apprehenſion, that he himſelf might be ſurrounded, and overwhelmed, by

[82] Indicant nunc uſque albentes oſſibus campi. Ammian. xxxi. 7. The hiſtorian might have viewed theſe plains, either as a ſoldier, or as a traveller. But his modeſty has ſuppreſſed the adventures of his own life ſubſequent to the Perſian wars of Conſtantius and Julian. We are ignorant of the time when he quitted the ſervice, and retired to Rome, where he appears to have compoſed his Hiſtory of his Own Times.

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the arms of hoſtile and unknown nations, compelled Saturninus to relinquiſh the ſiege of the Gothic camp: and the indignant Viſigoths, breaking from their confinement, ſatiated their hunger and revenge, by the repeated devaſtation of the fruitful country, which extends above three hundred miles from the banks of the Danube to the ſtreights of the Helleſpont [83]. The ſagacious Fritigern had ſucceſsfully appealed to the paſſions, as well as to the intereſt, of his Barbarian allies; and the love of rapine, and the hatred of Rome, ſeconded, or even prevented, the eloquence of his ambaſſadors. He cemented a ſtrict and uſeful alliance with the great body of his countrymen, who obeyed Alatheus and Saphrax as the guardians of their infant king: the long animoſity of rival tribes was ſuſpended by the ſenſe of their common intereſt; the independent part of the nation was aſſociated under one ſtandard; and the chiefs of the Oſtrogoths appear to have yielded to the ſuperior genius of the general of the Viſigoths. He obtained the formidable aid of the Taifalæ, whoſe military renown was diſgraced and polluted by the public infamy of their domeſtic manners. Every youth, on his entrance into the world, was united by the ties of honourable friendſhip, and brutal love, to ſome warrior of the tribe; nor could he hope to be releaſed from this unnatural connection, till he had approved his manhood, by ſlaying, in ſingle combat, a huge bear, or a wild boar of the foreſt [84]. But the moſt powerful auxiliaries of the Goths were drawn from the camp of thoſe enemies who had expelled them from their native ſeats. The looſe ſubordination, and extenſive poſſeſſions, of

[83] Ammian. xxxi. 8.

[84] Hanc Taifalorum gentem turpem, et obſcenæ vitæ flagitiis ita accipimus merſam; ut apud eos nefandi concubitûs fœdere copulentur mares puberes, ætatis viriditatem in eorum pollutis uſibus conſumpturi. Porro, ſi qui jam adultus aprum exceperit ſolus, vel interemit urſum immanem, colluvione liberatur inceſti. Ammian. xxxi. 9. Among the Greeks likewiſe, more eſpecially among the Cretans, the holy bands of friendſhip were confirmed, and ſullied, by unnatural love.

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the Huns and the Alani, delayed the conqueſts, and diſtracted the councils, of that victorious people. Several of the hords were allured by the liberal promiſes of Fritigern; and the rapid cavalry of Scythia added weight and energy to the ſteady and ſtrenuous efforts of the Gothic infantry. The Sarmatians, who could never forgive the ſucceſſor of Valentinian, enjoyed and increaſed the general confuſion; and a ſeaſonable irruption of the Alemanni, into the provinces of Gaul, engaged the attention, and diverted the forces, of the emperor of the Weſt[85].

Victory of Gratian over the Alemanni. A. D. 378. May.

One of the moſt dangerous inconveniences of the introduction of the Barbarians into the army and the palace, was ſenſibly felt in their correſpondence with their hoſtile countrymen; to whom they imprudently, or maliciouſly, revealed the weakneſs of the Roman empire. A ſoldier of the life-guards of Gratian was of the nation of the Alemanni, and of the tribe of the Lentienſes, who dwelt beyond the lake of Conſtance. Some domeſtic buſineſs obliged him to requeſt a leave of abſence. In a ſhort viſit to his family and friends, he was expoſed to their curious inquiries; and the vanity of the loquacious ſoldier tempted him to diſplay his intimate acquaintance with the ſecrets of the ſtate, and the deſigns of his maſter. The intelligence, that Gratian was preparing to lead the military force of Gaul, and of the Weſt, to the aſſiſtance of his uncle Valens, pointed out to the reſtleſs ſpirit of the Alemanni, the moment, and the mode, of a ſucceſsful invaſion. The enterpriſe of ſome light detachments, who, in the month of February, paſſed the Rhine upon the ice, was the prelude of a more important war. The boldeſt hopes of rapine, perhaps of conqueſt, outweighed the conſiderations of timid prudence, or national faith. Every foreſt, and every village, poured

[85] Ammian. xxxi. 8, 9. Jerom (tom i. p. 26.) enumerates the nations, and marks a calamitous period of twenty years. This epiſtle to Heliodorus was compoſed in the year 397 (Tillemont, Mem. Eccleſ. tom. xii. p. 645.).

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forth a band of hardy adventurers; and the great army of the Alemanni, which, on their approach, was eſtimated at forty thouſand men by the fears of the people, was afterwards magnified to the number of ſeventy thouſand, by the vain and credulous flattery of the Imperial court. The legions, which had been ordered to march into Pannonia, were immediately recalled, or detained, for the defence of Gaul; the military command was divided between Nanienus and Mellobaudes; and the youthful emperor, though he reſpected the long experience and ſober wiſdom of the former, was much more inclined to admire, and to follow, the martial ardour of his colleague; who was allowed to unite the incompatible characters of count of the domeſtics, and of king of the Franks. His rival Priarius, king of the Alemanni, was guided, or rather impelled, by the ſame headſtrong valour; and as their troops were animated by the ſpirit of their leaders, they met, they ſaw, they encountered, each other, near the town of Argentaria, or Colmar [86], in the plains of Alſace. The glory of the day was juſtly aſcribed to the miſſile weapons, and well-practiſed evolutions of the Roman ſoldiers: the Alemanni, who long maintained their ground, were ſlaughtered with unrelenting fury: five thouſand only of the Barbarians eſcaped to the woods and mountains; and the glorious death of their king on the field of battle, ſaved him from the reproaches of the people, who are always diſpoſed to accuſe the juſtice, or policy, of an unſucceſsful war. After this ſignal victory, which ſecured the peace of Gaul, and aſſerted the honour of the Roman arms, the emperor Gratian appeared to proceed without delay on his Eaſtern expedition; but as he approached the confines of the Alemanni, he ſuddenly inclined to the left,

[86] The field of battle, *Argentaria*, or *Argentovaria*, is accurately fixed by M. d'Anville (Notice de l'Ancienne Gaule, p. 96—99.) at twenty-three Gallic leagues, or thirty-four and a half Roman miles, to the ſouth of Straſburgh. From its ruins the adjacent town of *Colmar* has ariſen.

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ſurpriſed them by his unexpected paſſage of the Rhine, and boldly advanced into the heart of their country. The Barbarians oppoſed to his progreſs the obſtacles of nature and of courage; and ſtill continued to retreat, from one hill to another, till they were ſatisfied, by repeated trials, of the power and perſeverance of their enemies. Their ſubmiſſion was accepted, as a proof, not indeed of their ſincere repentance, but of their actual diſtreſs; and a ſelect number of their brave and robuſt youth was exacted from the faithleſs nation, as the moſt ſubſtantial pledge of their future moderation. The ſubjects of the empire, who had ſo often experienced, that the Alemanni could neither be ſubdued by arms, nor reſtrained by treaties, might not promiſe themſelves any ſolid or laſting tranquillity: but they diſcovered, in the virtues of their young ſovereign, the proſpect of a long and auſpicious reign. When the legions climbed the mountains, and ſcaled the fortifications, of the Barbarians, the valour of Gratian was diſtinguiſhed in the foremoſt ranks; and the gilt and variegated armour of his guards was pierced and ſhattered by the blows, which they had received in their conſtant attachment to the perſon of their ſovereign. At the age of nineteen, the ſon of Valentinian ſeemed to poſſeſs the talents of peace and war; and his perſonal ſucceſs againſt the Alemanni was interpreted as a ſure preſage of his Gothic triumphs [87].

Valens marches againſt the Goths, A. D. 378. May 30th—June 11th.

While Gratian deſerved and enjoyed the applauſe of his ſubjects, the emperor Valens, who, at length, had removed his court and army from Antioch, was received by the people of Conſtantinople as the author of the public calamity. Before he had repoſed himſelf ten days in the capital, he was urged, by the licentious clamours of the Hippodrome, to march againſt the Barbarians, whom he had invited

[87] The full and impartial narrative of Ammianus (xxxi. 10.) may derive ſome additional light from the Epitome of Victor, the Chronicle of Jerom, and the Hiſtory of Oroſius (l. vii. c. 33. p. 552. edit. Havercamp).

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into his dominions: and the citizens, who are always brave at a diſtance from any real danger, declared, with confidence, that, if they were ſupplied with arms, *they* alone would undertake to deliver the province from the ravages of an inſulting foe[88]. The vain reproaches of an ignorant multitude haſtened the downfal of the Roman empire; they provoked the deſperate raſhneſs of Valens; who did not find, either in his reputation, or in his mind, any motives to ſupport with firmneſs the public contempt. He was ſoon perſuaded, by the ſucceſsful atchievements of his lieutenants, to deſpiſe the power of the Goths, who, by the diligence of Fritigern, were now collected in the neighbourhood of Hadrianople. The march of the Taifalæ had been intercepted by the valiant Frigerid; the king of thoſe licentious Barbarians was ſlain in battle; and the ſuppliant captives were ſent into diſtant exile to cultivate the lands of Italy, which were aſſigned for their ſettlement, in the vacant territories of Modena and Parma[89]. The exploits of Sebaſtian[90], who was recently engaged in the ſervice of Valens, and promoted to the rank of maſter-general of the infantry, were ſtill more honourable to himſelf, and uſeful to the republic. He obtained the permiſſion of ſelecting three hundred ſoldiers from each of the legions; and this ſeparate detachment ſoon acquired the ſpirit of diſcipline, and the exerciſe of arms, which were almoſt forgotten under the reign of

[88] Moratus pauciſſimos dies, ſeditione popularium levium pulſus. Ammian. xxxi. 11. Socrates (l. iv. c. 38.) ſupplies the dates and ſome circumſtances.

[89] Vivoſque omnes circa Mutinam, Regiumque, et Parmam, Italica oppida, rura culturos exterminavit. Ammianus, xxxi. 9. Thoſe cities and diſtricts, about ten years after the colony of the Taifalæ, appear in a very deſolate ſtate. See Muratori, Diſſertazioni ſopra le Antichità Italiane, tom. i. Diſſert. xxi. p. 354.

[90] Ammian. xxxi. 11. Zoſimus, l. iv. p. 228—230. The latter expatiates on the deſultory exploits of Sebaſtian, and diſpatches, in a few lines, the important battle of Hadrianople. According to the eccleſiaſtical critics, who hate Sebaſtian, the praiſe of Zoſimus is diſgrace (Tillemont, Hiſt. des Empereurs, tom. v. p. 121.). His prejudice and ignorance undoubtedly render him a very queſtionable judge of merit.

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Valens. By the vigour and conduct of Sebaſtian, a large body of the Goths was ſurpriſed in their camp: and the immenſe ſpoil, which was recovered from their hands, filled the city of Hadrianople, and the adjacent plain. The ſplendid narratives, which the general tranſmitted of his own exploits, alarmed the Imperial court by the appearance of ſuperior merit; and though he cautiouſly inſiſted on the difficulties of the Gothic war, his valour was praiſed, his advice was rejected; and Valens, who liſtened with pride and pleaſure to the flattering ſuggeſtions of the eunuchs of the palace, was impatient to ſeize the glory of an eaſy and aſſured conqueſt. His army was ſtrengthened by a numerous reinforcement of veterans; and his march from Conſtantinople to Hadrianople was conducted with ſo much military ſkill, that he prevented the activity of the Barbarians, who deſigned to occupy the intermediate defiles, and to intercept either the troops themſelves, or their convoys of proviſions. The camp of Valens, which he pitched under the walls of Hadrianople, was fortified, according to the practice of the Romans, with a ditch and rampart; and a moſt important council was ſummoned, to decide the fate of the emperor and of the empire. The party of reaſon and of delay was ſtrenuouſly maintained by Victor, who had corrected, by the leſſons of experience, the native fierceneſs of the Sarmatian character; while Sebaſtian, with the flexible and obſequious eloquence of a courtier, repreſented every precaution, and every meaſure, that implied a doubt of immediate victory, as unworthy of the courage and majeſty of their invincible monarch. The ruin of Valens was precipitated by the deceitful arts of Fritigern, and the prudent admonitions of the emperor of the Weſt. The advantages of negociating in the midſt of war, were perfectly underſtood by the general of the Barbarians; and a Chriſtian eccleſiaſtic was diſpatched, as the holy miniſter of peace, to penetrate, and to perplex, the councils of the enemy. The miſfortunes, as well as the provocations, of the Gothic

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Gothic nation, were forcibly and truly deſcribed by their ambaſſador; who proteſted, in the name of Fritigern, that he was ſtill diſpoſed to lay down his arms, or to employ them only in the defence of the empire; if he could ſecure, for his wandering countrymen, a tranquil ſettlement on the waſte lands of Thrace, and a ſufficient allowance of corn and cattle. But he added, in a whiſper of confidential friendſhip, that the exaſperated Barbarians were averſe to theſe reaſonable conditions; and, that Fritigern was doubtful whether he could accompliſh the concluſion of the treaty, unleſs he found himſelf ſupported by the preſence, and terrors, of an Imperial army. About the ſame time, count Richomer returned from the Weſt, to announce the defeat and ſubmiſſion of the Alemanni, to inform Valens, that his nephew advanced by rapid marches at the head of the veteran and victorious legions of Gaul; and to requeſt, in the name of Gratian, and of the republic, that every dangerous and deciſive meaſure might be ſuſpended, till the junction of the two emperors ſhould enſure the ſucceſs of the Gothic war. But the feeble ſovereign of the Eaſt was actuated only by the fatal illuſions of pride and jealouſy. He diſdained the importunate advice; he rejected the humiliating aid; he ſecretly compared the ignominious, at leaſt the inglorious, period of his own reign, with the fame of a beardleſs youth; and Valens ruſhed into the field, to erect his imaginary trophy, before the diligence of his colleague could uſurp any ſhare of the triumphs of the day.

Battle of Hadrianople, A. D. 378. Auguſt 9th.

On the ninth of Auguſt, a day which has deſerved to be marked among the moſt inauſpicious of the Roman calendar[91], the emperor Valens, leaving, under a ſtrong guard, his baggage and military treaſure, marched from Hadrianople to attack the Goths, who

[91] Ammianus (xxxi. 12, 13.) almoſt alone deſcribes the councils and actions which were terminated by the fatal battle of Hadrianople. We might cenſure the vices of his ſtyle, the diſorder and perplexity of his narrative: but we muſt now take leave of this impartial hiſtorian; and reproach is ſilenced by our regret for ſuch an irreparable loſs.

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were encamped about twelve miles from the city [92]. By ſome miſtake of the orders, or ſome ignorance of the ground, the right wing, or column of cavalry, arrived in ſight of the enemy, whilſt the left was ſtill at a conſiderable diſtance; the ſoldiers were compelled, in the ſultry heat of ſummer, to precipitate their pace; and the line of battle was formed with tedious confuſion and irregular delay. The Gothic cavalry had been detached to forage in the adjacent country; and Fritigern ſtill continued to practiſe his cuſtomary arts. He diſpatched meſſengers of peace, made propoſals, required hoſtages, and waſted the hours, till the Romans, expoſed without ſhelter to the burning rays of the ſun, were exhauſted by thirſt, hunger, and intolerable fatigue. The emperor was perſuaded to ſend an ambaſſador to the Gothic camp; the zeal of Richomer, who alone had courage to accept the dangerous commiſſion, was applauded: and the count of the domeſtics, adorned with the ſplendid enſigns of his dignity, had proceeded ſome way in the ſpace between the two armies, when he was ſuddenly recalled by the alarm of battle. The haſty and imprudent attack was made by Bacurius the Iberian, who commanded a body of archers and targeteers; and as they advanced with raſhneſs, they retreated with loſs and diſgrace. In the ſame moment, the flying ſquadrons of Alatheus and Saphrax, whoſe return was anxiouſly expected by the general of the Goths, deſcended like a whirlwind from the hills, ſwept acroſs the plain, and added new terrors to the tumultuous, but irreſiſtible, charge of the Barbarian hoſt. The event of the battle of Hadrianople, ſo fatal to Valens and to the empire, may be deſcribed in a few words: the Roman cavalry fled; the infantry was abandoned, ſurrounded, and cut in pieces. The moſt ſkilful evolutions, the firmeſt courage, are ſcarcely ſufficient to extri-

The defeat of the Romans.

[92] The difference of the eight miles of Ammianus, and the twelve of Idatius, can only embarraſs thoſe critics (Valeſius ad loc.), who ſuppoſe a great army to be a mathematical point, without ſpace or dimenſions.

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cate a body of foot, encompaſſed, on an open plain, by ſuperior numbers of horſe: but the troops of Valens, oppreſſed by the weight of the enemy and their own fears, were crowded into a narrow ſpace, where it was impoſſible for them to extend their ranks, or even to uſe, with effect, their ſwords and javelins. In the midſt of tumult, of ſlaughter, and of diſmay, the emperor, deſerted by his guards, and wounded, as it was ſuppoſed, with an arrow, ſought protection among the Lancearii and the Mattiarii, who ſtill maintained their ground with ſome appearance of order and firmneſs. His faithful generals, Trajan and Victor, who perceived his danger, loudly exclaimed, that all was loſt, unleſs the perſon of the emperor could be ſaved. Some troops, animated by their exhortation, advanced to his relief: they found only a bloody ſpot, covered with a heap of broken arms and mangled bodies, without being able to diſcover their unfortunate prince, either among the living or the dead. Their ſearch could not indeed be ſucceſsful, if there is any truth in the circumſtances, with which ſome hiſtorians have related the death of the emperor. By the care of his attendants, Valens was removed from the field of battle to a neighbouring cottage, where they attempted to dreſs his wound, and to provide for his future ſafety. But this humble retreat was inſtantly ſurrounded by the enemy: they tried to force the door; they were provoked by a diſcharge of arrows from the roof; till at length, impatient of delay, they ſet fire to a pile of dry faggots, and conſumed the cottage, with the Roman emperor and his train. Valens periſhed in the flames; and a youth who dropt from the window, alone eſcaped, to atteſt the melancholy tale, and to inform the Goths of the ineſtimable prize which they had loſt by their own raſhneſs. A great number of brave and diſtinguiſhed officers periſhed in the battle of Hadrianople, which equalled, in the actual loſs, and far ſurpaſſed, in the fatal conſequences, the misfortune which Rome had formerly ſuſtained

Death of the emperor Valens.

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ſuſtained in the fields of Cannæ[93]. Two maſter-generals of the cavalry and infantry, two great officers of the palace, and thirty-five tribunes, were found among the ſlain; and the death of Sebaſtian might ſatisfy the world, that he was the victim, as well as the author, of the public calamity. Above two-thirds of the Roman army were deſtroyed: and the darkneſs of the night was eſteemed a very favourable circumſtance; as it ſerved to conceal the flight of the multitude, and to protect the more orderly retreat of Victor and Richomer, who alone, amidſt the general conſternation, maintained the advantage of calm courage and regular diſcipline[94].

Funeral oration of Valens and his army.

While the impreſſions of grief and terror were ſtill recent in the minds of men, the moſt celebrated rhetorician of the age compoſed the funeral oration of a vanquiſhed army, and of an unpopular prince, whoſe throne was already occupied by a ſtranger. "There "are not wanting," ſays the candid Libanius, "thoſe who arraign "the prudence of the emperor, or who impute the public misfortune "to the want of courage and diſcipline in the troops. For my own "part, I reverence the memory of their former exploits: I reverence "the glorious death, which they bravely received, ſtanding, and "fighting in their ranks: I reverence the field of battle, ſtained with "*their* blood, and the blood of the Barbarians. Thoſe honourable "marks have been already waſhed away by the rains: but the lofty "monuments of their bones, the bones of generals, of centurions,

[93] Nec ullâ, annalibus, præter Cannenſem pugnam ita ad internecionem res legitur geſta. Ammian. xxxi. 13. According to the grave Polybius, no more than 370 horſe, and 3000 foot, eſcaped from the field of Cannæ: 10,000 were made priſoners; and the number of the ſlain amounted to 5630 horſe, and 70,000 foot (Polyb. l. iii. p. 371. edit. Caſaubon, in 8vo.). Livy (xxii. 49.) is ſomewhat leſs bloody: he ſlaughters only 2700 horſe, and 40,000 foot. The Roman army was ſuppoſed to conſiſt of 87,200 effective men (xxii. 36.).

[94] We have gained ſome faint light from Jerom (tom. i. p. 26. and in Chron. p. 188.), Victor (in Epitome), Oroſius (l. vii. c. 33. p. 554.), Jornandes (c. 27.), Zoſimus (l. iv. p. 230.), Socrates (l. iv. c. 38.), Sozomen (l. vi. c. 40.), Idatius (in Chron.). But their united evidence, if weighed againſt Ammianus alone, is light and unſubſtantial.

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" and of valiant warriors, claim a longer period of duration. The " king himſelf fought and fell in the foremoſt ranks of the battle. " His attendants preſented him with the fleeteſt horſes of the Impe- " rial ſtable, that would ſoon have carried him beyond the purſuit " of the enemy. They vainly preſſed him to reſerve his important " life for the future ſervice of the republic. He ſtill declared, that " he was unworthy to ſurvive ſo many of the braveſt and moſt faith- " ful of his ſubjects; and the monarch was nobly buried under a " mountain of the ſlain. Let none, therefore, preſume to aſcribe " the victory of the Barbarians to the fear, the weakneſs, or the " imprudence, of the Roman troops. The chiefs and the ſoldiers " were animated by the virtue of their anceſtors, whom they equal- " led in diſcipline, and the arts of war. Their generous emulation " was ſupported by the love of glory, which prompted them to con- " tend at the ſame time with heat and thirſt, with fire and the ſword; " and cheerfully to embrace an honourable death, as their refuge " againſt flight and infamy. The indignation of the gods has been " the only cauſe of the ſucceſs of our enemies." The truth of hiſ- tory may diſclaim ſome parts of this panegyric, which cannot ſtrictly be reconciled with the character of Valens, or the circumſtances of the battle: but the faireſt commendation is due to the eloquence, and ſtill more to the generoſity, of the ſophiſt of Antioch [95].

The Goths beſiege Hadrianople.

The pride of the Goths was elated by this memorable victory; but their avarice was diſappointed by the mortifying diſcovery, that the richeſt part of the Imperial ſpoil had been within the walls of Hadrianople. They haſtened to poſſeſs the reward of their valour; but they were encountered by the remains of a vanquiſhed army, with an intrepid reſolution, which was the effect of their deſpair, and the only hope of their ſafety. The walls of the city, and the

[95] Libanius de ulciſcend. Julian. Nece, c. 3. in Fabricius, Bibliot. Græc. tom. vii. p. 146—148.

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ramparts of the adjacent camp, were lined with military engines, that threw ſtones of an enormous weight; and aſtoniſhed the ignorant Barbarians by the noiſe, and velocity, ſtill more than by the real effects, of the diſcharge. The ſoldiers, the citizens, the provincials, the domeſtics of the palace, were united in the danger, and in the defence: the furious aſſault of the Goths was repulſed; their ſecret arts of treachery and treaſon were diſcovered; and, after an obſtinate conflict of many hours, they retired to their tents; convinced, by experience, that it would be far more adviſable to obſerve the treaty, which their ſagacious leader had tacitly ſtipulated with the fortifications of great and populous cities. After the haſty and impolitic maſſacre of three hundred deſerters, an act of juſtice extremely uſeful to the diſcipline of the Roman armies, the Goths indignantly raiſed the ſiege of Hadrianople. The ſcene of war and tumult was inſtantly converted into a ſilent ſolitude: the multitude ſuddenly diſappeared; the ſecret paths of the woods and mountains were marked with the footſteps of the trembling fugitives, who ſought a refuge in the diſtant cities of Illyricum and Macedonia: and the faithful officers of the houſehold, and the treaſury, cautiouſly proceeded in ſearch of the emperor, of whoſe death they were ſtill ignorant. The tide of the Gothic inundation rolled from the walls of Hadrianople to the ſuburbs of Conſtantinople. The Barbarians were ſurpriſed with the ſplendid appearance of the capital of the Eaſt, the height and extent of the walls, the myriads of wealthy and affrighted citizens who crowded the ramparts, and the various proſpect of the ſea and land. While they gazed with hopeleſs deſire on the inacceſſible beauties of Conſtantinople, a ſally was made from one of the gates by a party of Saracens[96], who had been fortunately

[96] Valens had gained, or rather purchaſed, the friendſhip of the Saracens, whoſe vexatious inroads were felt on the borders of Phœnicia, Paleſtine, and Egypt. The Chriſtian faith had been lately introduced among a people, reſerved, in a future age, to propagate another religion (Tillemont, Hiſt. des Empereurs, tom. v. p. 104. 106. 141. Mem. Eccleſ. tom. vii. p. 593.).

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engaged in the ſervice of Valens. The cavalry of Scythia was forced to yield to the admirable ſwiftneſs and ſpirit of the Arabian horſes: their riders were ſkilled in the evolutions of irregular war; and the Northern Barbarians were aſtoniſhed, and diſmayed, by the inhuman ferocity of the Barbarians of the South. A Gothic ſoldier was ſlain by the dagger of an Arab: and the hairy, naked ſavage, applying his lips to the wound, expreſſed a horrid delight, while he ſucked the blood of his vanquiſhed enemy[97]. The army of the Goths, laden with the ſpoils of the wealthy ſuburbs, and the adjacent territory, ſlowly moved, from the Boſphorus, to the mountains which form the weſtern boundary of Thrace. The important paſs of Succi was betrayed by the fear, or the miſconduct, of Maurus; and the Barbarians, who no longer had any reſiſtance to apprehend from the ſcattered and vanquiſhed troops of the Eaſt, ſpread themſelves over the face of a fertile and cultivated country, as far as the confines of Italy, and the Hadriatic ſea[98].

They ravage the Roman provinces, A. D. 378, 379.

The Romans, who ſo coolly, and ſo conciſely, mention the acts of *juſtice* which were exerciſed by the legions[99], reſerve their compaſſion, and their eloquence, for their own ſufferings, when the provinces were invaded, and deſolated, by the arms of the ſucceſsful Barbarians. The ſimple circumſtantial narrative (did ſuch a narrative exiſt) of the ruin of a ſingle town, of the misfortunes of a

[97] Crinitus quidam, nudus omnia præter pubem, ſubraucum et lugubre ſtrepens. Ammian. xxxi. 16. and Valeſ. ad loc. The Arabs often fought naked; a cuſtom which may be aſcribed to their ſultry climate, and oſtentatious bravery. The deſcription of this unknown ſavage is the lively portrait of Derar, a name ſo dreadful to the Chriſtians of Syria. See Ockley's Hiſt. of the Saracens, vol. i. p. 72. 84. 87.

[98] The ſeries of events may ſtill be traced in the laſt pages of Ammianus (xxxi. 15, 16.). Zoſimus (l. iv. p. 227. 231.), whom we are now reduced to cheriſh, miſplaces the ſally of the Arabs before the death of Valens. Eunapius (in Excerpt. Legation. p. 20.) praiſes the fertility of Thrace, Macedonia, &c.

[99] Obſerve with how much indifference Cæſar relates, in the Commentaries of the Gallic war; *that* he put to death the whole ſenate of the Veneti, who had yielded to his mercy (iii. 16.); *that* he laboured to extirpate the whole nation of the Eburones (vi. 31.); *that* forty thouſand perſons were maſſacred at Bourges by the juſt revenge of his ſoldiers, who ſpared neither age nor ſex (vii. 27.), &c.

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ſingle family [100], might exhibit an intereſting and inſtructive picture of human manners: but the tedious repetition of vague and declamatory complaints would fatigue the attention of the moſt patient reader. The ſame cenſure may be applied, though not perhaps in an equal degree, to the profane, and the eccleſiaſtical, writers of this unhappy period; that their minds were inflamed by popular and religious animoſity; and, that the true ſize and colour of every object is falſified by the exaggerations of their corrupt eloquence. The vehement Jerom [101] might juſtly deplore the calamities inflicted by the Goths, and their barbarous allies, on his native country of Pannonia, and the wide extent of the provinces, from the walls of Conſtantinople to the foot of the Julian Alps; the rapes, the maſſacres, the conflagrations; and, above all, the profanation of the churches, that were turned into ſtables, and the contemptuous treatment of the relics of holy martyrs. But the Saint is ſurely tranſported beyond the limits of nature and hiſtory, when he affirms, "that, in thoſe deſert countries, nothing was left except the ſky "and the earth; that, after the deſtruction of the cities, and the "extirpation of the human race, the land was overgrown with thick "foreſts, and inextricable brambles; and that the univerſal deſola-"tion, announced by the prophet Zephaniah, was accompliſhed, in "the ſcarcity of the beaſts, the birds, and even of the fiſh." Theſe complaints were pronounced about twenty years after the death of Valens; and the Illyrian provinces, which were conſtantly expoſed to the invaſion and paſſage of the Barbarians, ſtill continued, after a calamitous period of ten centuries, to ſupply new materials for rapine

[100] Such are the accounts of the ſack of Magdeburgh, by the eccleſiaſtic and the fiſherman, which Mr. Harte has tranſcribed (Hiſt. of Guſtavus Adolphus, vol. i. p. 313—320.), with ſome apprehenſion of violating the *dignity* of hiſtory.

[101] Et vaſtatis urbibus, hominibuſque interfectis ſolitudinem et *raritatem beſtiarum* quoque fieri, *et volatilium, piſciumque*: teſtis Illyricum eſt, teſtis Thracia, teſtis in quo ortus ſum ſolum (Pannonia); ubi præter cœlum et terram, et creſcentes vepres, et condenſa ſylvarum *cuncta perierunt*. Tom. vii. p. 250. ad 1. Cap. Sophonias; and tom. i. p. 26.

and

and deſtruction. Could it even be ſuppoſed, that a large tract of country had been left without cultivation, and without inhabitants, the conſequences might not have been ſo fatal to the inferior productions of animated nature. The uſeful and feeble animals, which are nouriſhed by the hand of man, might ſuffer and periſh, if they were deprived of his protection: but the beaſts of the foreſt, his enemies, or his victims, would multiply in the free and undiſturbed poſſeſſion of their ſolitary domain. The various tribes that people the air, or the waters, are ſtill leſs connected with the fate of the human ſpecies; and it is highly probable, that the fiſh of the Danube would have felt more terror and diſtreſs, from the approach of a voracious pike, than from the hoſtile inroad of a Gothic army.

Maſſacre of the Gothic youth in Aſia, A. D. 378.

Whatever may have been the juſt meaſure of the calamities of Europe, there was reaſon to fear that the ſame calamities would ſoon extend to the peaceful countries of Aſia. The ſons of the Goths had been judiciouſly diſtributed through the cities of the Eaſt; and the arts of education were employed, to poliſh, and ſubdue, the native fierceneſs of their temper. In the ſpace of about twelve years, their numbers had continually increaſed; and the children, who, in the firſt emigration, were ſent over the Helleſpont, had attained, with rapid growth, the ſtrength and ſpirit of perfect manhood[102]. It was impoſſible to conceal from their knowledge the events of the Gothic war; and, as thoſe daring youths had not ſtudied the language of diſſimulation, they betrayed their wiſh, their deſire, perhaps their intention, to emulate the glorious example of their fathers. The danger of the times ſeemed to juſtify the jealous ſuſpicions of the provincials; and theſe ſuſpicions were admitted as unqueſtionable evidence, that the Goths of Aſia had formed a ſecret and dangerous conſpiracy againſt the public ſafety. The death of Valens had left

[102] Eunapius (in Excerpt. Legat. p. 20.) fooliſhly ſuppoſes a præternatural growth of the young Goths; that he may introduce Cadmus's armed men, who ſprung from the dragon's teeth, &c. Such was the Greek eloquence of the times.

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the East without a sovereign; and Julius, who filled the important station of master-general of the troops, with a high reputation of diligence and ability, thought it his duty to consult the senate of Constantinople; which he considered, during the vacancy of the throne, as the representative council of the nation. As soon as he had obtained the discretionary power of acting as he should judge most expedient for the good of the republic, he assembled the principal officers; and privately concerted effectual measures for the execution of his bloody design. An order was immediately promulgated, that, on a stated day, the Gothic youth should assemble in the capital cities of their respective provinces; and, as a report was industriously circulated, that they were summoned to receive a liberal gift of lands and money, the pleasing hope allayed the fury of their resentment, and perhaps suspended the motions of the conspiracy. On the appointed day, the unarmed crowd of the Gothic youth was carefully collected in the square, or Forum: the streets and avenues were occupied by the Roman troops, and the roofs of the houses were covered with archers and slingers. At the same hour, in all the cities of the East, the signal was given of indiscriminate slaughter; and the provinces of Asia were delivered, by the cruel prudence of Julius, from a domestic enemy, who, in a few months, might have carried fire and sword from the Hellespont to the Euphrates [103]. The urgent consideration of the public safety may undoubtedly authorise the violation of every positive law. How far that, or any other, consideration may operate, to dissolve the natural obligations of humanity and justice, is a doctrine, of which I still desire to remain ignorant.

[103] Ammianus evidently approves this execution, efficacia velox et salutaris, which concludes his work (xxxi. 16.). Zosimus, who is curious and copious (l. iv. p. 233—236.), mistakes the date, and labours to find the reason, why Julius did not consult the emperor Theodosius; who had not yet ascended the throne of the East.

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The emperor Gratian invests Theodosius with the empire of the East, A. D. 379. January 19.

The emperor Gratian was far advanced on his march towards the plains of Hadrianople, when he was informed, at first by the confused voice of fame, and afterwards by the more accurate reports of Victor and Richomer, that his impatient colleague had been slain in battle, and that two-thirds of the Roman army were exterminated by the sword of the victorious Goths. Whatever resentment the rash and jealous vanity of his uncle might deserve, the resentment of a generous mind is easily subdued by the softer emotions of grief and compassion: and even the sense of pity was soon lost in the serious and alarming consideration of the state of the republic. Gratian was too late to assist, he was too weak to revenge, his unfortunate colleague; and the valiant and modest youth felt himself unequal to the support of a sinking world. A formidable tempest of the Barbarians of Germany seemed ready to burst over the provinces of Gaul; and the mind of Gratian was oppressed, and distracted, by the administration of the Western empire. In this important crisis, the government of the East, and the conduct of the Gothic war, required the undivided attention of a hero and a statesman. A subject invested with such ample command would not long have preserved his fidelity to a distant benefactor; and the Imperial council embraced the wise and manly resolution, of conferring an obligation, rather than of yielding to an insult. It was the wish of Gratian to bestow the purple as the reward of virtue; but, at the age of nineteen, it is not easy for a prince, educated in the supreme rank, to understand the true characters of his ministers and generals. He attempted to weigh, with an impartial hand, their various merits and defects; and, whilst he checked the rash confidence of ambition, he distrusted the cautious wisdom, which despaired of the republic. As each moment of delay diminished something of the power and resources of the future sovereign of the East, the situation of the times would not allow a tedious debate. The choice of Gratian was soon declared

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declared in favour of an exile, whoſe father, only three years before, had ſuffered, under the ſanction of *his* authority, an unjuſt and ignominious death. The great Theodoſius, a name celebrated in hiſtory, and dear to the Catholic Church [104], was ſummoned to the Imperial court, which had gradually retreated from the confines of Thrace to the more ſecure ſtation of Sirmium. Five months after the death of Valens, the emperor Gratian produced before the aſſembled troops, *his* colleague, and *their* maſter; who, after a modeſt, perhaps a ſincere, reſiſtance, was compelled to accept, amidſt the general acclamations, the diadem, the purple, and the equal title of Auguſtus [105]. The provinces of Thrace, Aſia, and Egypt, over which Valens had reigned, were reſigned to the adminiſtration of the new emperor: but, as he was ſpecially entruſted with the conduct of the Gothic war, the Illyrian præfecture was diſmembered; and the two great dioceſes of Dacia and Macedonia were added to the dominions of the Eaſtern empire [106].

Birth and character of Theodoſius.

The ſame province, and, perhaps, the ſame city [107], which had given to the throne the virtues of Trajan, and the talents of Hadrian, was the original ſeat of another family of Spaniards, who, in a leſs fortunate age, poſſeſſed, near fourſcore years, the declining empire

[104] A life of Theodoſius the Great was compoſed in the laſt century (Paris 1679, in 4to; 1680, in 12mo), to inflame the mind of the young Dauphin with Catholic zeal. The author, Fleſchier, afterwards biſhop of Niſmes, was a celebrated preacher; and his hiſtory is adorned, or tainted, with pulpit-eloquence; but he takes his learning from Baronius, and his principles from St. Ambroſe and St. Auguſtin.

[105] The birth, character, and elevation of Theodoſius, are marked in Pacatus (in Panegyr. Vet. xii. 10, 11, 12.), Themiſtius (Orat. xiv. p. 182.), Zoſimus (l. iv. p. 231.), Auguſtin (de Civitat. Dei, v. 25.), Oroſius (l. vii. c. 34.) Sozomen (l. vii. c. 2.), Socrates (l. v. c. 2.), Theodoret (l. v. c. 5.), Philoſtorgius (l. ix. c. 17. with Godefroy, p. 393.), the Epitome of Victor, and the Chronicles of Proſper, Idatius, and Marcellinus, in the Theſaurus Temporum of Scaliger.

[106] Tillemont, Hiſt. des Empereurs, tom. v. p. 716, &c.

[107] *Italica*, founded by Scipio Africanus for his wounded veterans of *Italy*. The ruins ſtill appear, about a league above Seville, but on the oppoſite bank of the river. See the Hiſpania Illuſtrata of Nonius, a ſhort, though valuable, treatiſe. C. xvii. p. 64—67.

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of Rome [108]. They emerged from the obſcurity of municipal honours by the active ſpirit of the elder Theodoſius, a general, whoſe exploits in Britain and Africa have formed one of the moſt ſplendid parts of the annals of Valentinian. The ſon of that general, who likewiſe bore the name of Theodoſius, was educated, by ſkilful preceptors, in the liberal ſtudies of youth; but he was inſtructed in the art of war by the tender care and ſevere diſcipline of his father [109]. Under the ſtandard of ſuch a leader, young Theodoſius ſought glory and knowledge, in the moſt diſtant ſcenes of military action; inured his conſtitution to the difference of ſeaſons and climates; diſtinguiſhed his valour by ſea and land; and obſerved the various warfare of the Scots, the Saxons, and the Moors. His own merit, and the recommendation of the conqueror of Africa, ſoon raiſed him to a ſeparate command: and, in the ſtation of duke of Mæſia, he vanquiſhed an army of Sarmatians; ſaved the province; deſerved the love of the ſoldiers; and provoked the envy of the court [110]. His riſing fortunes were ſoon blaſted by the diſgrace and execution of his illuſtrious father; and Theodoſius obtained, as a favour, the permiſſion of retiring to a private life, in his native province of Spain. He diſplayed a firm and temperate character in the eaſe with which he adapted himſelf to this new ſituation. His time was almoſt equally divided between the town and country: the ſpirit, which had animated his public conduct, was ſhewn in the active and

[108] I agree with Tillemont (Hiſt. des Empereurs, tom. v. p. 726.) in ſuſpecting the royal pedigree, which remained a ſecret till the promotion of Theodoſius. Even after that event, the ſilence of Pacatus outweighs the venal evidence of Themiſtius, Victor, and Claudian, who connect the family of Theodoſius with the blood of Trajan and Hadrian.

[109] Pacatus compares, and conſequently prefers, the youth of Theodoſius, to the military education of Alexander, Hannibal, and the ſecond Africanus; who, like him, had ſerved under their fathers (xii. 8.).

[110] Ammianus (xxix. 6.) mentions this victory of Theodoſius Junior Dux Mæſiæ, primâ etiam tum lanugine juvenis, princeps poſtea perſpectiſſimus. The ſame fact is atteſted by Themiſtius and Zoſimus: but Theodoret (l. v. c. 5.), who adds ſome curious circumſtances, ſtrangely applies it to the time of the Interregnum.

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affectionate performance of every ſocial duty; and the diligence of the ſoldier was profitably converted to the improvement of his ample patrimony [111], which lay between Valladolid and Segovia, in the midſt of a fruitful diſtrict, ſtill famous for a moſt exquiſite breed of ſheep [112]. From the innocent, but humble, labours of his farm, Theodoſius was tranſported, in leſs than four months, to the throne of the Eaſtern empire: and the whole period of the hiſtory of the world will not perhaps afford a ſimilar example, of an elevation, at the ſame time, ſo pure, and ſo honourable. The princes who peaceably inherit the ſceptre of their fathers, claim and enjoy a legal right, the more ſecure, as it is abſolutely diſtinct from the merits of their perſonal characters. The ſubjects, who, in a monarchy, or a popular ſtate, acquire the poſſeſſion of ſupreme power, may have raiſed themſelves, by the ſuperiority either of genius or virtue, above the heads of their equals: but their virtue is ſeldom exempt from ambition; and the cauſe of the ſucceſsful candidate is frequently ſtained by the guilt of conſpiracy, or civil war. Even in thoſe governments which allow the reigning monarch to declare a colleague, or a ſucceſſor, his partial choice, which may be influenced by the blindeſt paſſions, is often directed to an unworthy object. But the moſt ſuſpicious malignity cannot aſcribe to Theodoſius, in his obſcure ſolitude of Caucha, the arts, the deſires, or even the hopes, of an ambitious ſtateſman; and the name of the Exile would long ſince have been forgotten, if his genuine and diſtinguiſhed virtues had not left a deep impreſſion in the Imperial court. During the ſeaſon of proſperity, he had been neglected; but, in the public diſtreſs, his ſuperior merit was univerſally felt and acknowledged. What confidence muſt have been repoſed in his integrity, ſince Gratian could

[111] Pacatus (in Panegyr. Vet. xii. 9.) prefers the ruſtic life of Theodoſius to that of Cincinnatus: the one was the effect of choice, the other of poverty.

[112] M. d'Anville (Geographie Ancienne, tom. i. p. 25.) has fixed the ſituation of Caucha, or Coca, in the old province of Gallicia, where Zoſimus and Idatius have placed the birth, or patrimony, of Theodoſius.

truſt,

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truſt, that a pious ſon would forgive, for the ſake of the republic, the murder of his father! What expectations muſt have been formed of his abilities, to encourage the hope, that a ſingle man could ſave, and reſtore, the empire of the Eaſt! Theodoſius was inveſted with the purple in the thirty-third year of his age. The vulgar gazed with admiration on the manly beauty of his face, and the graceful majeſty of his perſon, which they were pleaſed to compare with the pictures and medals of the emperor Trajan; whilſt intelligent obſervers diſcovered, in the qualities of his heart and underſtanding, a more important reſemblance to the beſt and greateſt of the Roman princes.

His prudent and ſucceſsful conduct of the Gothic war. A. D. 739—382.

It is not without the moſt ſincere regret, that I muſt now take leave of an accurate and faithful guide, who has compoſed the hiſtory of his own times, without indulging the prejudices and paſſions, which uſually affect the mind of a contemporary. Ammianus Marcellinus, who terminates his uſeful work with the defeat and death of Valens, recommends the more glorious ſubject of the enſuing reign to the youthful vigour and eloquence of the riſing generation [113]. The riſing generation was not diſpoſed to accept his advice, or to imitate his example [114]; and, in the ſtudy of the reign of Theodoſius, we are reduced to illuſtrate the partial narrative of Zoſimus, by the obſcure hints of fragments and Chronicles, by the figurative ſtyle of poetry or panegyric, and by the precarious

[113] Let us hear Ammianus himſelf. Hæc, ut miles quondam et Græcus, a principatu Cæſaris Nervæ exorſus, aduſque Valentis interitum, pro virium explicavi menſurâ: nunquam, ut arbitror, ſciens, ſilentio auſus corrumpere vel mendacio. Scribant reliqua potiores ætate, doctriniſque florentes. Quos id, ſi libuerit, aggreſſuros, procudere linguas ad majores moneo ſtilos. Ammian. xxxi. 16. The firſt thirteen books, a ſuperficial epitome of two hundred and fifty-ſeven years, are now loſt: the laſt eighteen, which contain no more than twenty-five years, ſtill preſerve the copious and authentic hiſtory of his own times.

[114] Ammianus was the laſt ſubject of Rome who compoſed a profane hiſtory in the Latin language. The Eaſt, in the next century, produced ſome rhetorical hiſtorians, Zoſimus, Olympiodorus, Malchus, Candidus, &c. See Voſſius de Hiſtoricis Græcis, l. ii. c. 18. de Hiſtoricis Latinis, l. ii. c. 10, &c.

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assistance of the ecclesiastical writers, who, in the heat of religious faction, are apt to despise the profane virtues of sincerity and moderation. Conscious of these disadvantages, which will continue to involve a considerable portion of the decline and fall of the Roman empire, I shall proceed with doubtful and timorous steps. Yet I may boldly pronounce, that the battle of Hadrianople was never revenged by any signal or decisive victory of Theodosius over the Barbarians; and the expressive silence of his venal orators may be confirmed by the observation of the condition and circumstances of the times. The fabric of a mighty state, which has been reared by the labours of successive ages, could not be overturned by the misfortune of a single day, if the fatal power of the imagination did not exaggerate the real measure of the calamity. The loss of forty thousand Romans, who fell in the plains of Hadrianople, might have been soon recruited in the populous provinces of the East, which contained so many millions of inhabitants. The courage of a soldier is found to be the cheapest, and most common, quality of human nature; and sufficient skill to encounter an undisciplined foe, might have been speedily taught by the care of the surviving centurions. If the Barbarians were mounted on the horses, and equipped with the armour, of their vanquished enemies, the numerous studs of Cappadocia and Spain would have supplied new squadrons of cavalry; the thirty-four arsenals of the empire were plentifully stored with magazines of offensive and defensive arms; and the wealth of Asia might still have yielded an ample fund for the expences of the war. But the effects which were produced by the battle of Hadrianople on the minds of the Barbarians, and of the Romans, extended the victory of the former, and the defeat of the latter, far beyond the limits of a single day. A Gothic chief was heard to declare, with insolent moderation, that, for his own part, he was fatigued with slaughter; but that he was astonished how a people, who

fled

fled before him like a flock of ſheep, could ſtill preſume to diſpute the poſſeſſion of their treaſures and provinces [115]. The ſame terrors, which the name of the Huns had ſpread among the Gothic tribes, were inſpired, by the formidable name of the Goths, among the ſubjects and ſoldiers of the Roman empire [116]. If Theodoſius, haſtily collecting his ſcattered forces, had led them into the field to encounter a victorious enemy, his army would have been vanquiſhed by their own fears; and his raſhneſs could not have been excuſed by the chance of ſucceſs. But the *great* Theodoſius, an epithet which he honourably deſerved on this momentous occaſion, conducted himſelf as the firm and faithful guardian of the republic. He fixed his head-quarters at Theſſalonica, the capital of the Macedonian dioceſe [117]; from whence he could watch the irregular motions of the Barbarians, and direct the operations of his lieutenants, from the gates of Conſtantinople to the ſhores of the Hadriatic. The fortifications and garriſons of the cities were ſtrengthened; and the troops, among whom a ſenſe of order and diſcipline was revived, were inſenſibly emboldened by the confidence of their own ſafety. From theſe ſecure ſtations, they were encouraged to make frequent ſallies on the Barbarians, who infeſted the adjacent country; and, as they were ſeldom allowed to engage, without ſome deciſive ſuperiority, either of ground or of numbers, their enterpriſes were, for the moſt part, ſucceſsful; and they were ſoon convinced, by their own experience, of the poſſibility of vanquiſhing their *invincible* enemies. The detachments of theſe ſeparate garriſons were gradually united into ſmall armies; the ſame cautious meaſures were purſued, according to an extenſive and well-concerted plan of operations; the

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[115] Chryſoſtom, tom. i. p. 344. edit. Montfaucon. I have verified, and examined, this paſſage; but I ſhould never, without the aid of Tillemont (Hiſt. des Emp. tom. v. p. 152.), have detected an hiſtorical anecdote, in a ſtrange medley of moral and myſtic exhortations, addreſſed, by the preacher of Antioch, to a young widow.

[116] Eunapius, in Excerpt. Legation. p. 21.

[117] See Godefroy's Chronology of the Laws. Codex Theodoſ. tom. i. Prolegomen. p. xcix—civ.

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events of each day added ſtrength and ſpirit to the Roman arms; and the artful diligence of the emperor, who circulated the moſt favourable reports of the ſucceſs of the war, contributed to ſubdue the pride of the Barbarians, and to animate the hopes and courage of his ſubjects. If, inſtead of this faint and imperfect outline, we could accurately repreſent the counſels and actions of Theodoſius, in four ſucceſſive campaigns, there is reaſon to believe, that his conſummate ſkill would deſerve the applauſe of every military reader. The republic had formerly been ſaved by the delays of Fabius: and, while the ſplendid trophies of Scipio, in the field of Zama, attract the eyes of poſterity, the camps and marches of the Dictator among the hills of Campania, may claim a juſter proportion of the ſolid and independent fame, which the general is not compelled to ſhare, either with fortune or with his troops. Such was likewiſe the merit of Theodoſius; and the infirmities of his body, which moſt unſeaſonably languiſhed under a long and dangerous diſeaſe, could not oppreſs the vigour of his mind, or divert his attention from the public ſervice [118].

Diviſions, defeat, and ſubmiſſion, of the Goths, A. D. 379—382.

The deliverance and peace of the Roman provinces [119] was the work of prudence, rather than of valour: the prudence of Theodoſius was ſeconded by fortune; and the emperor never failed to ſeize, and to improve, every favourable circumſtance. As long as the ſuperior genius of Fritigern preſerved the union, and directed the motions, of the Barbarians, their power was not inadequate to the conqueſt of a great empire. The death of that hero, the predeceſſor and maſter of the renowned Alaric, relieved an impatient multitude

[118] Moſt writers inſiſt on the illneſs, and long repoſe, of Theodoſius, at Theſſalonica; Zoſimus, to diminiſh his glory; Jornandes, to favour the Goths; and the eccleſiaſtical writers, to introduce his baptiſm.

[119] Compare Themiſtius (Orat. xiv. p. 181.) with Zoſimus (l. iv. p. 232.), Jornandes (c. xxvii. p. 649.), and the prolix Commentary of M. de Buat (Hiſt. des Peuples, &c. tom. vi. p. 477—552.). The Chronicles of Idatius and Marcellinus allude, in general terms, to, magna certamina, *magna multaque* prælia. The two epithets are not eaſily reconciled.

from

from the intolerable yoke of diſcipline and diſcretion. The Barbarians, who had been reſtrained by his authority, abandoned themſelves to the dictates of their paſſions; and their paſſions were ſeldom uniform, or conſiſtent. An army of conquerors was broken into many diſorderly bands of ſavage robbers; and their blind and irregular fury was not leſs pernicious to themſelves, than to their enemies. Their miſchievous diſpoſition was ſhewn in the deſtruction of every object, which they wanted ſtrength to remove, or taſte to enjoy; and they often conſumed, with improvident rage, the harveſts, or the granaries, which ſoon afterwards became neceſſary for their own ſubſiſtence. A ſpirit of diſcord aroſe among the independent tribes and nations, which had been united only by the bands of a looſe and voluntary alliance. The troops of the Huns and the Alani would naturally upbraid the flight of the Goths; who were not diſpoſed to uſe with moderation the advantages of their fortune: the ancient jealouſy of the Oſtrogoths and the Viſigoths could not long be ſuſpended; and the haughty chiefs ſtill remembered the inſults and injuries, which they had reciprocally offered, or ſuſtained, while the nation was ſeated in the countries beyond the Danube. The progreſs of domeſtic faction abated the more diffuſive ſentiment of national animoſity; and the officers of Theodoſius were inſtructed to purchaſe, with liberal gifts and promiſes, the retreat, or ſervice, of the diſcontented party. The acquiſition of Modar, a prince of the royal blood of the Amali, gave a bold and faithful champion to the cauſe of Rome. The illuſtrious deſerter ſoon obtained the rank of maſter-general, with an important command; ſurpriſed an army of his countrymen, who were immerſed in wine and ſleep; and, after a cruel ſlaughter of the aſtoniſhed Goths, returned with an immenſe ſpoil, and four thouſand waggons, to the Imperial camp [120]. In the

[120] Zoſimus (l. iv. p. 232.) ſtyles him a Scythian, a name which the more recent Greeks ſeem to have appropriated to the Goths.

hands

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hands of a ſkilful politician, the moſt different means may be ſucceſſfully applied to the ſame ends: and the peace of the empire, which had been forwarded by the diviſions, was accompliſhed by the reunion, of the Gothic nation. Athanaric, who had been a patient ſpectator of theſe extraordinary events, was at length driven, by the chance of arms, from the dark receſſes of the woods of Caucaland. He no longer heſitated to paſs the Danube; and a very conſiderable part of the ſubjects of Fritigern, who already felt the inconveniencies of anarchy, were eaſily perſuaded to acknowledge for their king, a Gothic Judge, whoſe birth they reſpected, and whoſe abilities they had frequently experienced. But age had chilled the daring ſpirit of Athanaric; and, inſtead of leading his people to the field of battle and victory, he wiſely liſtened to the fair propoſal of an honourable and advantageous treaty. Theodoſius, who was acquainted with the merit and power of his new ally, condeſcended to meet him at the diſtance of ſeveral miles from Conſtantinople; and entertained him in the Imperial city, with the confidence of a friend, and the magnificence of a monarch. "The Barbarian prince obſerved, with "curious attention, the variety of objects which attracted his notice, "and at laſt broke out into a ſincere and paſſionate exclamation of "wonder. I now behold, ſaid he, what I never could believe, "the glories of this ſtupendous capital! and as he caſt his eyes "around, he viewed, and he admired, the commanding ſituation "of the city, the ſtrength and beauty of the walls and public edifices, "the capacious harbour, crowded with innumerable veſſels, the "perpetual concourſe of diſtant nations, and the arms and diſcipline "of the troops. Indeed, continued Athanaric, the emperor of "the Romans is a god upon earth; and the preſumptuous man, who "dares to lift his hand againſt him, is guilty of his own blood [121]."

Death and funeral of Athanaric, A. D. 381, January 25.

The

[121] The reader will not be diſpleaſed to ſee the original words of Jornandes, or the author whom he tranſcribed. Regiam urbem ingreſſus eſt; miranſque, En, inquit, cerno quod

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The Gothic king did not long enjoy this ſplendid and honourable reception; and, as temperance was not the virtue of his nation, it may juſtly be ſuſpected, that his mortal diſeaſe was contracted amidſt the pleaſures of the Imperial banquets. But the policy of Theodoſius derived more ſolid benefit from the death, than he could have expected from the moſt faithful ſervices, of his ally. The funeral of Athanaric was performed with ſolemn rites in the capital of the Eaſt; a ſtately monument was erected to his memory; and his whole army, won by the liberal courteſy, and decent grief, of Theodoſius, enliſted under the ſtandard of the Roman empire [122]. The ſubmiſſion of ſo great a body of the Viſigoths was productive of the moſt ſalutary conſequences; and the mixed influence of force, of reaſon, and of corruption, became every day more powerful, and more extenſive. Each independent chieftain haſtened to obtain a ſeparate treaty, from the apprehenſion that an obſtinate delay might expoſe *him*, alone and unprotected, to the revenge, or juſtice, of the conqueror. The general, or rather the final, capitulation of the Goths, may be dated four years, one month, and twenty-five days, after the defeat and death of the emperor Valens [123]. A. D. 382, October 3.

The provinces of the Danube had been already relieved from the oppreſſive weight of the Gruthungi, or Oſtrogoths, by the voluntary retreat of Alatheus and Saphrax; whoſe reſtleſs ſpirit had prompted them to ſeek new ſcenes of rapine and glory. Their deſtructive

Invaſion and defeat of the Gruthungi, or Oſtrogoths, A. D. 386, October.

quod ſæpe incredulus audiebam, famam videlicet tantæ urbis. Et huc illuc oculos volvens, nunc ſitum urbis commeatumque navium, nunc mœnia clara proſpectans, miratur; populoſque diverſarum gentium, quaſi fonte in uno e diverſis partibus ſcaturiente undâ, ſic quoque militem ordinatum aſpiciens. Deus, inquit, eſt ſine dubio terrenus Imperator, et quiſquis adverſus eum manum moverit, ipſe ſui ſanguinis reus exiſtit. Jornandes (c. xxviii. p. 650.) proceeds to mention his death and funeral.

[122] Jornandes, c. xxviii. p. 650. Even Zoſimus (l. iv. p. 246.) is compelled to approve the generoſity of Theodoſius, ſo honourable to himſelf, and ſo beneficial to the public.

[123] The ſhort, but authentic, hints in the *Faſti* of Idatius (Chron. Scaliger. p. 52.) are ſtained with contemporary paſſion. The fourteenth oration of Themiſtius is a compliment to Peace, and the conſul Saturninus (A. D. 383),

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course was pointed towards the West; but we must be satisfied with a very obscure and imperfect knowledge of their various adventures. The Ostrogoths impelled several of the German tribes on the provinces of Gaul; concluded, and soon violated, a treaty with the emperor Gratian; advanced into the unknown countries of the North; and, after an interval of more than four years, returned, with accumulated force, to the banks of the Lower Danube. Their troops were recruited with the fiercest warriors of Germany and Scythia; and the soldiers, or at least the historians, of the empire, no longer recognised the name and countenances of their former enemies [124]. The general, who commanded the military and naval powers of the Thracian frontier, soon perceived that his superiority would be disadvantageous to the public service; and that the Barbarians, awed by the presence of his fleet and legions, would probably defer the passage of the river till the approaching winter. The dexterity of the spies, whom he sent into the Gothic camp, allured the Barbarians into a fatal snare. They were persuaded, that, by a bold attempt, they might surprise, in the silence and darkness of the night, the sleeping army of the Romans; and the whole multitude was hastily embarked in a fleet of three thousand canoes [125]. The bravest of the Ostrogoths led the van; the main body consisted of the remainder of their subjects and soldiers; and the women and children securely followed in the rear. One of the nights without a moon had been selected for the execution of their design; and they had almost reached the southern bank of the Danube, in the firm confidence that they should find an easy landing, and an unguarded

[124] Εθνος το Σκυθικον πασιν αγωνιστον. Zosimus, l. iv. p. 252.

[125] I am justified, by reason and example, in applying this Indian name to the μονοξυλα of the Barbarians, the single trees hollowed into the shape of a boat, πληθει μονοξυλων εμβιβαζοντες. Zosimus, l. iv. p. 253.

Ausi Danubium quondam tranare Gruthungi
In lintres fregere nemus: ter mille ruebant
Per fluvium plenæ cuneis immanibus alni.
Claudian, in iv. Conf. Hon. 623.

camp.

camp. But the progreſs of the Barbarians was ſuddenly ſtopped by an unexpected obſtacle; a triple line of veſſels, ſtrongly connected with each other, and which formed an impenetrable chain of two miles and a half along the river. While they ſtruggled to force their way in the unequal conflict, their right flank was overwhelmed by the irreſiſtible attack of a fleet of gallies, which were urged down the ſtream by the united impulſe of oars and of the tide. The weight and velocity of thoſe ſhips of war broke, and ſunk, and diſperſed, the rude and feeble canoes of the Barbarians: their valour was ineffectual: and Alatheus, the king, or general, of the Oſtrogoths, periſhed, with his braveſt troops, either by the ſword of the Romans, or in the waves of the Danube. The laſt diviſion of this unfortunate fleet might regain the oppoſite ſhore: but the diſtreſs and diſorder of the multitude rendered them alike incapable, either of action or counſel; and they ſoon implored the clemency of the victorious enemy. On this occaſion, as well as on many others, it is a difficult taſk to reconcile the paſſions and prejudices of the writers of the age of Theodoſius. The partial and malignant hiſtorian, who miſrepreſents every action of his reign, affirms, that the emperor did not appear in the field of battle till the Barbarians had been vanquiſhed by the valour and conduct of his lieutenant Promotus[126]. The flattering poet, who celebrated, in the court of Honorius, the glory of the father and of the ſon, aſcribes the victory to the perſonal proweſs of Theodoſius: and almoſt inſinuates, that the king of the Oſtrogoths was ſlain by the hand of the emperor[127]. The truth

[126] Zoſimus, l. iv. p. 252—255. He too frequently betrays his poverty of judgment, by diſgracing the moſt ſerious narratives with trifling and incredible circumſtances.

[127] ——— Odothæi Regis *opima*
Retulit ——— Ver. 632.
The *opima* were the ſpoils, which a Roman general could only win from the king, or general, of the enemy, whom he had ſlain with his own hands: and no more than three ſuch examples are celebrated in the victorious ages of Rome.

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of hiſtory might perhaps be found in a juſt medium between theſe extreme and contradictory aſſertions.

Settlement of the Goths in Thrace and Aſia, A. D. 383—395.

The original treaty which fixed the ſettlement of the Goths, aſcertained their privileges and ſtipulated their obligations, would illuſtrate the hiſtory of Theodoſius and his ſucceſſors. The ſeries of their hiſtory has imperfectly preſerved the ſpirit and ſubſtance of this ſingular agreement[128]. The ravages of war and tyranny had provided many large tracts of fertile, but uncultivated land, for the uſe of thoſe Barbarians, who might not diſdain the practice of agriculture. A numerous colony of the Viſigoths was ſeated in Thrace: the remains of the Oſtrogoths were planted in Phrygia and Lydia; their immediate wants were ſupplied by a diſtribution of corn and cattle; and their future induſtry was encouraged by an exemption from tribute, during a certain term of years. The Barbarians would have deſerved to feel the cruel and perfidious policy of the Imperial court, if they had ſuffered themſelves to be diſperſed through the provinces. They required, and they obtained, the ſole poſſeſſion of the villages and diſtricts aſſigned for their reſidence; they ſtill cheriſhed and propagated their native manners and language; aſſerted, in the boſom of deſpotiſm, the freedom of their domeſtic government; and acknowledged the ſovereignty of the emperor, without ſubmitting to the inferior juriſdiction of the laws and magiſtrates of Rome. The hereditary chiefs of the tribes and families were ſtill permitted to command their followers in peace and war; but the royal dignity was aboliſhed; and the generals of the Goths were appointed and removed at the pleaſure of the emperor. An army of forty thouſand Goths was maintained for the perpetual ſervice of the empire of the Eaſt; and thoſe haughty troops, who aſſumed the title

[128] See Themiſtius, Orat. xvi. p. 211. Claudian (in Eutrop. l. ii. 152.) mentions the Phrygian colony:

—Oſtrogothis colitur miſtiſque Gruthungis
Phryx ager ——

and then proceeds to name the rivers of Lydia, the Pactolus and Hermus.

of

of *Fœderati*, or allies, were diſtinguiſhed by their gold collars, liberal pay, and licentious privileges. Their native courage was improved by the uſe of arms, and the knowledge of diſcipline; and, while the republic was guarded, or threatened, by the doubtful ſword of the Barbarians, the laſt ſparks of the military flame were finally extinguiſhed in the minds of the Romans [129]. Theodoſius had the addreſs to perſuade his allies, that the conditions of peace which had been extorted from him by prudence and neceſſity, were the voluntary expreſſions of his ſincere friendſhip for the Gothic nation [130]. A different mode of vindication or apology was oppoſed to the complaints of the people; who loudly cenſured theſe ſhameful and dangerous conceſſions [131]. The calamities of the war were painted in the moſt lively colours; and the firſt ſymptoms of the return of order, of plenty, and ſecurity, were diligently exaggerated. The advocates of Theodoſius could affirm, with ſome appearance of truth and reaſon, that it was impoſſible to extirpate ſo many warlike tribes, who were rendered deſperate by the loſs of their native country; and that the exhauſted provinces would be revived by a freſh ſupply of ſoldiers and huſbandmen. The Barbarians ſtill wore an angry and hoſtile aſpect; but the experience of paſt times might encourage the hope, that they would acquire the habits of induſtry and obedience; that their manners would be poliſhed by time, education, and the influ-

[129] Compare Jornandes (c. xx. 27.), who marks the condition and number of the Gothic *Fœderati*, with Zoſimus (l. iv. p. 258.), who mentions their golden collars; and Pacatus (in Panegyr. Vet. xii. 37.), who applauds, with falſe or fooliſh joy, their bravery and diſcipline.

[130] Amator pacis generiſque Gothorum, is the praiſe beſtowed by the Gothic hiſtorian (c. xxix.), who repreſents his nation as innocent, peaceable men, ſlow to anger, and patient of injuries. According to Livy, the Romans conquered the world in their own defence.

[131] Beſides the partial invectives of Zoſimus (always diſcontented with the Chriſtian reigns), ſee the grave repreſentations which Syneſius addreſſes to the emperor Arcadius (de Regno, p. 25, 26. edit. Petav.). The philoſophic biſhop of Cyrene was near enough to judge; and he was ſufficiently removed from the temptation of fear, or flattery.

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ence of Chriſtianity; and that their poſterity would inſenſibly blend with the great body of the Roman people[132].

Their hoſtile ſentiments.

Notwithſtanding theſe ſpecious arguments, and theſe ſanguine expectations, it was apparent to every diſcerning eye, that the Goths would long remain the enemies, and might ſoon become the conquerors, of the Roman empire. Their rude and inſolent behaviour expreſſed their contempt of the citizens and provincials, whom they inſulted with impunity[133]. To the zeal and valour of the Barbarians, Theodoſius was indebted for the ſucceſs of his arms: but their aſſiſtance was precarious; and they were ſometimes ſeduced, by a treacherous and inconſtant diſpoſition, to abandon his ſtandard, at the moment when their ſervice was the moſt eſſential. During the civil war againſt Maximus, a great number of Gothic deſerters retired into the moraſſes of Macedonia, waſted the adjacent provinces, and obliged the intrepid monarch to expoſe his perſon, and exert his power, to ſuppreſs the riſing flame of rebellion[134]. The public apprehenſions were fortified by the ſtrong ſuſpicion, that theſe tumults were not the effect of accidental paſſion, but the reſult of deep and premeditated deſign. It was generally believed, that the Goths had ſigned the treaty of peace with an hoſtile and inſidious ſpirit; and that their chiefs had previouſly bound themſelves, by a ſolemn and ſecret oath, never to keep faith with the Romans; to maintain the faireſt ſhew of loyalty and friendſhip, and to watch the favourable

[132] Themiſtius (Orat. xvi. p. 211, 212.) compoſes an elaborate and rational apology, which is not, however, exempt from the puerilities of Greek rhetoric. Orpheus could *only* charm the wild beaſts of Thrace: but Theodoſius enchanted the men and women, whoſe predeceſſors in the ſame country had torn Orpheus in pieces, &c.

[133] Conſtantinople was deprived, half a day, of the public allowance of bread, to expiate the murder of a Gothic ſoldier: κωντες το Σκυθικον was the guilt of the people. Libanius, Orat. xii. p. 394. edit. Morel.

[134] Zoſimus, l. iv. p. 267—271. He tells a long and ridiculous ſtory of the adventurous prince, who roved the country with only five horſemen, of a ſpy whom they detected, whipped, and killed in an old woman's cottage, &c.

moment

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moment of rapine, of conqueſt, and of revenge. But, as the minds of the Barbarians were not inſenſible to the power of gratitude, ſeveral of the Gothic leaders ſincerely devoted themſelves to the ſervice of the empire, or, at leaſt, of the emperor: the whole nation was inſenſibly divided into two oppoſite factions, and much ſophiſtry was employed in converſation and diſpute, to compare the obligations of their firſt, and ſecond, engagements. The Goths, who conſidered themſelves as the friends of peace, of juſtice, and of Rome, were directed by the authority of Fravitta, a valiant and honourable youth, diſtinguiſhed above the reſt of his countrymen, by the politeneſs of his manners, the liberality of his ſentiments, and the mild virtues of ſocial life. But the more numerous faction adhered to the fierce and faithleſs Priulf, who inflamed the paſſions, and aſſerted the independence, of his warlike followers. On one of the ſolemn feſtivals, when the chiefs of both parties were invited to the Imperial table, they were inſenſibly heated by wine, till they forgot the uſual reſtraints of diſcretion and reſpect; and betrayed, in the preſence of Theodoſius, the fatal ſecret of their domeſtic diſputes. The emperor, who had been the reluctant witneſs of this extraordinary controverſy, diſſembled his fears and reſentment, and ſoon diſmiſſed the tumultuous aſſembly. Fravitta, alarmed and exaſperated by the inſolence of his rival, whoſe departure from the palace might have been the ſignal of a civil war, boldly followed him; and, drawing his ſword, laid Priulf dead at his feet. Their companions flew to arms; and the faithful champion of Rome would have been oppreſſed by ſuperior numbers, if he had not been protected by the ſeaſonable interpoſition of the Imperial guards [135]. Such were the

[135] Compare Eunapius (in Excerpt. Legat. p. 21, 22.) with Zoſimus (l. iv. p. 279.). The difference of circumſtances and names muſt undoubtedly be applied to the ſame ſtory. Fravitta, or Travitta, was afterwards conſul (A. D. 401), and ſtill continued his faithful ſervice to the eldeſt ſon of Theodoſius (Tillemont, Hiſt. des Empereurs, tom. v. p. 467.).

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ſcenes of Barbaric rage which diſgraced the palace and table of the Roman emperor; and, as the impatient Goths could only be reſtrained by the firm and temperate character of Theodoſius, the public ſafety ſeemed to depend on the life and abilities of a ſingle man [136].

[136] Les Goths ravagerent tout depuis le Danube juſqu'au Boſphore; exterminerent Valens et ſon armée; et ne repaſſerent le Danube, que pour abandonner l'affreuſe ſolitude, qu'ils avoient faite (Oeuvres de Monteſquieu, tom. iii. p. 479; Conſiderations ſur les *Cauſes* de la Grandeur et de la Decadence des Romains, c. xvii.). The preſident Monteſquieu ſeems ignorant, that the Goths, after the defeat of Valens, *never* abandoned the Roman territory. It is now thirty years, ſays Claudian (de Bello Getico, 166, &c. A. D. 404),

Ex quo jam patrios gens hæc oblita Triones,
Atque Iſtrum tranſvecta ſemel, veſtigia fixit
Threicio funeſta ſolo ——

The error is inexcuſable; ſince it diſguiſes the principal and immediate cauſe of the fall of the Weſtern empire of Rome.

END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.

MVSEVM BRITANNICVM